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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE  
NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 1.

## PROFESSOR KASTNER'S HYPOTHESIS.

After reading Professor Kastner's interesting coda to my article in the January *Modern Language Review*, I am certain that he is more sure of his position than I am of mine. And rightly, since he is saying but what we have all been taught from our childhood. So true is this that when Emil Koepel—surely a great scholar—found the parallelism between the sonnets of Wyatt and Saint-Gelais, he assumed with but a slight caveat that he had found Wyatt's original. I am the one who is here the heretic. I question a theory so often stated that we think of it as fact. And I do not quite see how Professor Kastner has answered my question. In spite of the "numerous errors of fact or judgment"—it is tempting to deviate from the main issue to object here—the situation has been left by Professor Kastner precisely where he found it. There are three sonnets by Sannazaro, Wyatt, and Saint-Gelais which are so similar in treatment as to preclude the idea that they all might have been written independently. We all agree that of the three Sannazaro's is the original. In the February number of *Modern Language Notes*, 1908,<sup>2</sup> I endeavored

to show that from internal evidence the Saint-Gelais was taken from the Wyatt. In the April number of *Modern Language Review* of the same year Professor Kastner had also found the Sannazaro, but attributed the Saint-Gelais to him. He added a note referring to my article, stating his disbelief in my attribution on *a priori* grounds. My next attempt, then, was to show that on *a priori* grounds it was not impossible that *Petrarchismo* reached England before it reached France. This I believe I have done.

The situation then is this. Three sonnets exist of which we know nothing concerning the origin, motive or circumstances. The dates of publication give us no aid since, altho the Sannazaro was published for the first time as late as 1531, his *Rime* is usually dated 1480–1504; since, altho Wyatt's did not appear until 1557, Wyatt died in 1542; and as since, altho Saint-Gelais may have published a volume as early as 1547, Vaganay dates a sonnet of his in 1544. Granting that the Sannazaro is the original, the problem is to account for the other two. The problem is made still more perplexing from the fact that this sonnet is the only one yet identified that Wyatt took from any author but Petrarch, and the only sonnet published in the Saint-Gelais volume of 1547. Nor is the sonnet itself, aside from its literary history, of any literary value. Professor Kastner argues that both writers translated independently. He is led to this conclusion from the undoubtedly ignorance of English literature on the part of French authors, and he explains the coincidence on the ground that, as both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais were influenced by Scrafino, that is, they were Quattrocentistic—he will pardon my use of this ugly word—they chose this sonnet out of all the other sonnets of Sannazaro because it is in that manner, that is, it is not characteristic of Sannazaro. "In choosing the sonnet in question from among those of Sannazaro rather than any other both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais remained

<sup>1</sup> For example :

"Overlooking numerous errors of fact or judgment more particularly in the estimation of the part played by those poets who pointed the way to the Pléiade, we come to this equally audacious declaration: 'while the manner is undoubtedly absent, there is virtual agreement that Marot introduced the sonnet form.' . . . There is nothing to contradict Du Bellay's statement, and recent criticism is inclined to confirm it." Kastner, *M. L. R.*, Vol. iv, pp. 252–3.

"Marot, le premier en France, fit des sonnets." Joseph Vianey—*Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe Siècle*, Montpellier, 1909, p. 102.

In a note Vianey adds: "C'est ce qu'a établi M. H. Vagnay dans le *Sonnet en Italie et en France au XVIe siècle*" (!).

<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact both of us were anticipated by Mr. Arthur Tilley. *Mod. Lang. Quarterly*, Vol. v, p. 149.

true to one side at least of their natural bent. Its exaggerated metaphors and strained hyperboles single it out from the rest of Sannazaro's sonnets. Serafino, Tebaldeo, or Pamfilo Sasso, that apt pupil of theirs, might have written it. The central idea is identically the same as in the following strambotto of Serafino.<sup>3</sup> (He quotes here the strambotto, where the central idea is similar tho scarcely identical.)<sup>4</sup> "Though I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of what may only be a coincidence, it almost looks as if Sannazaro who was friendly with Cariteo, the precursor of the group, and with Tebaldeo, had one day wished to show his friends that he could, if he so desired, hold his own with them on their own ground. There were special reasons why this particular sonnet of Sannazaro should have appealed to Saint-Gelais and to Wyatt, both disciples of Serafino and his associates."<sup>5</sup>

But this clever explanation fails to satisfy. Granted of course that both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais were under the influence of Serafino (Prof. Koeppel<sup>4</sup> has shown this for Wyatt and M. Vianey<sup>5</sup> for Saint-Gelais). Yet it seems strange that both normally should turn to Sannazaro that was on the contrary not Quattrocentistic. Why did they not copy one of the one hundred and sixteen sonnets definitely written by him? It was not because they were not accessible, as M. Vaganay lists twenty-five editions before 1550, or in Tibaldo, Pamfilo Sasso, or any other poet of the Quattrocento? This is the first of the curious chances which Professor Kastner's theory presupposes, that two men independently, because they are influenced by one author of a certain type, copy another author who represents a different type.

To this is added that of the eighty-eight sonnets published under the name of Sannazaro, both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais chose but one, and they chose only this because "its exaggerated metaphors and strained hyperboles single it out from the rest of Sannazaro's sonnets."<sup>6</sup> But Wyatt in the sixteen sonnets which he translated from

Petrarch was not necessarily influenced by exaggerated metaphor.

"The long love that in my heart I harbor,"

for example, to chose the first at hand, is surely not Quattrocentistic. In the case of one man the selection of this sonnet is curious; in the case of two it becomes significant.

Under these circumstances Professor Kastner shows his critical acumen in stressing the peculiarities of this sonnet. It consists in a series of comparisons, the first line particularizing a natural feature and the succeeding line applying it to the conditions of the lover. Yet, even granting with Flaminis<sup>6</sup> that "è chiaro che (Sannazaro) le ha rimaneggiate secondo i nuovi criteri d'arte, poi che son scritte nel più puro idioma letterario, col più corretto petrarchismo e ne' soli metri consacrati dell'esempio del lirico trecentista," other sonnets in the collection may be found not so dissimilar as to force us to the conclusion that that one alone should be imitated. They might have remained "true to at least one side of their natural bent" and imitated the elaborate comparison of sonnet seventeen,<sup>7</sup>

"O vita, vita nò, ma vivo affanno,  
Navi di vetro in mar di cieco errore . . ."

or sonnet twenty, wherein the loved one is compared elaborately to a burning-glass, or sonnet forty where with a triumph of conceit Sannazaro has united the double features of the basilisk and the labyrinth. Under these circumstances it is worthy of remark that two men should have happened to choose the same sonnet.

Consequently I do not feel that Professor Kastner is justified in assigning a motive to Sannazaro in composing that one sonnet. The unsubstantiated hypothesis is the curse of scholarship. To the scholar it "almost looks as if," to the popularizer it is a fact, and another error has been added to the list. It must be borne in mind that we know absolutely nothing concerning the origin of the sonnet in question. Professor Kastner is willing to go much farther than the recent editor of

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Review*, Vol. iv, p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Emil Koeppel, *Romanische Forschungen*, v, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Vianey, *ibid.*, pp. 50-58.

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Flaminis, *Il Cinquecento*, p. 176-7.

<sup>7</sup> *Le Opere Volgari di M. Jacopo Sannazzaro*, In Padova, 1723.

Cariteo, Sig. Pèrcopo,<sup>8</sup> who on this point says: "La maggiore e miglior parte delle rime di Siucero era stata composta sotto il regno degli Aragonesi, e il Chariteo ben poteva conoscerle." Sig. Pèrcopo shows clearly that Cariteo imitated Sannazaro, and Sig. Scherillo<sup>9</sup> shows us that Serafino did also, but that Sannazaro imitated Cariteo or "had one day wished to show his friends that he could, if he so desired, hold his own with them on their own ground," Sig. Pèrcopo<sup>10</sup> opposes with an emphatic negative: "Che il Sannazaro avesse, invece, imitato il Gareth, non pare: egli era troppo altero e disdegnoso." Even in general I can find no grounds for this hypothesis.

But the singularity of this hypothesis is still further increased by a glance at the literary history of this particular sonnet. So far from knowing with what motive Sannazaro composed it, we do not even know that he composed it at all! It was apparently attributed to him only because it was like his manner. Of Sannazaro's *Rime* I know fourteen different editions in the sixteenth century. But only four of them, the editions of 1531, 1532, 1533, and 1538, have the Third Part, in which alone this sonnet appears. Moreover as the first three of these four have one other distinguishing characteristic, namely that no place of publication is given, obviously their publication was irregular. In them all the Third Part is separately entitled: "Delle Rime di M. Giacobo Sannazaro Nobile Napoletano, la terza parte nuouamente aggiunta, dal suo proprio originale cauata, con somma diligenza corretta & stampata." This, however, does not seem to have been above suspicion, as the 1538 Venetian editors feel it necessary to prefix the following note: "Ecco Studiosi Letteri, la Terza Parte delle Rime di Missier Giacomo Sannazaro: la quale da alcuni riprouata per delicatezza d'orecchie (per non attribuirlo a mancamento di sapere, ò pure a inuidia della fama di questo Ilustre Poeta) noi, con parere di molti, forsi di loro più esperti nell'arte; l'abbiamo qui posta, a commune beneficio de'intendenti di Poesia; essendo cosa irragionevole,

<sup>8</sup> *Le Rime di Benedetto Gareth*, Erasmo Pèrcopo, Napoli 1892, 1, xcvi.

<sup>9</sup> *Arcadia di Jacobo Sannazaro*, Michele Scherillo, ccix, note.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, xcvi.

defraudare il mondo di così degno frutto, & il Poeta della gloria di così nobil fatica." Even this critical fulmination seems to have been unconvincing, as the editors of the next edition, 1543, not only omit it but also pride themselves on the omission: "Non so che altri pochi sonetti, capitoli, canzoni, che uanno, Lettori miei candidi, attorno, sotto'l nome dell'auttore, noi studiosamente gli habbiamo lasciati, non per schisar fatica, ò defraudarvi del la lor lettione à tempo, come è costume di Barbari, auari stampatori: ma perche ne sono quelli parsi & alle nostre purgatae orecchie poco conueniente, e de la elegantia, e leggiadria d'un si giudicioso spirto, come era il nostro Sannazaro del tutto indegni." Their example was followed in all the other editions until 1723, the Crusca edition, in which the terse comment is added, "Come alcuni suppongono." To my knowledge the question has never been settled. So far from our knowing Sannazaro's motive in composing it, the very question of authorship is unsolved. By far the balance of early authority, the weight of Lodovico Dolce, is against it. On the other hand it is sufficiently like his manner to have been included in some of the early editions. Here again, then, we are startled by the coincidence of finding two men imitating a disputed sonnet which appears in but four of the ten editions previous to 1547, the date of the Saint-Gelais volume.

Up to this point the reasoning has been rather negative than positive. Nor is the positive side at all satisfactory. Wyatt normally translates with extreme accuracy, and in this particular instance has done so beyond his usual custom. Saint-Gelais on the other hand has allowed himself so much freedom that if we knew nothing but the text of the sonnets in question, it would be almost hopeless to make a case. Yet, altho in sixteen lines there is not much opportunity for internal criticism, certain similarities in rendering deserve notice. First, whereas the rhyming sounds in the Italian octave are monti-doglie-voglie-fonti, Wyatt has montayns-ire-desire-fontayns and Gaint-Gelais lointaine-deplaisir-désir-certainte. The third lines respectively read

Alti son questi, ed alti le mie voglie  
for of great height be they, & high is my desire  
Haut est leur chef, et haut est mon désir.

Here the last half of the French line is a literal translation of the English; both poets agree in rendering the Italian plural in the singular. The tenth lines reads

Soffian sempre fra lor rabbiosi venti

where the *lor* refers to the mountains. Wyatt is more specific :

The boysteous wyndes oft their high bowghes do blast.

The *their* normally refers again to mountains. In Saint-Gelais,

Et de grands vents leur cime est toute pleine,

the *cime* may of course refer to mountains. As in this case, however, he describes a distant mountain top as being full of wind, it seems more likely that he had Wyatt's line in mind, that the top referred to is a tree top which would naturally be full of wind. Again whereas the Sannazaro ends normally (cdcdcd) Saint-Gelais follows the English fashion in ending with a couplet. Altho these similarities are apparently trivial, the fact is important, that whereas there is nothing common to the Italian and to the French not in the English, there are similarities common to French and English not in the Italian.<sup>11</sup> Thus while there is no possible way of proving by internal evidence that Saint-Gelais copied from Wyatt,—it is perfectly possible that he independently chanced upon the same rendition—yet it adds another to the series of coincidences which strains Professor Kastner's theory to the breaking point.

As thus comically enough Professor Kastner and myself are in complete agreement on the main issues, the whole contention may be summarized in a few words :

1. Altho we both accept Sannazaro's sonnet as the original, we know nothing of the datation of any of the three sonnets.
2. Both Wyatt and Saint-Gelais had been in Italy and both were influenced by at least one Italian author beside Petrarch, Serafino.

<sup>11</sup>This statement does not hold of the version of the Wyatt sonnet published in *Tottel*. The text as given by Wyatt's autograph manuscript is in Professor Padelford's *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics*, D. C. Heath, Boston, 1907.

3. French ignorance of English literature is proverbial and we have no data to show that Saint-Gelais was an exception.

On the other hand :

1. It is curious that the only sonnet in Wyatt taken from another author than Petrarch and the only sonnet of Saint-Gelais published in his first volume should have been chosen from Sannazaro;
2. That they should have both chanced upon the same sonnet ;
3. That that sonnet should have been one accessible only in four of ten possible editions ;
4. That in every doubtful case they should choose the same renditions ;
5. That Saint-Gelais diverges from the Italian and the French is the use of the terminal couplet ;
6. That whereas both poets show the influence of Serafino, neither translates a sonnet from him ;
7. That Petrarchismo in the sonnet form reached England before it reached France ;
8. That as Wyatt was sent as ambassador to the French Court where Saint-Gelais was the court poet, translation from the English to the French is not improbable.

In this case positive proof is impossible. It is merely a question which hypothesis one prefers. Professor Kastner insists that to assume that a single Frenchman knew the English language, or knew a friend who knew the English language, or knew Wyatt who presumably knew French, is audacious and startling. But is it any more startling than to assume that two men working independently chanced upon the same author, chanced upon one sonnet only, chanced upon the same sonnet, chanced upon a sonnet which appears in a minority of editions, and chanced to make the same renderings? Personally—with apologies to Professor Kastner—my position seems the more probable. If this be accepted, it is but again the story of the exception to the rule and should serve as a warning against hasty generalization.

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#### A NOTE ON THE TEMPEST.

The Shakespeare editors and glossarists are still in doubt as to the meaning of the words 'pioned' and 'twilled' in the following passage from *The Tempest* (iv, 1. 60-67) :

"Ceres, most bounteous lady, thy rich leas,  
Of wheat, rye, barley, fetches, oats, and pease ;  
Thy turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep,  
And flat meads thatch'd with stover, them to keep ;  
Thy banks with pioned and twilled brims,  
Which spongy April at thy hest betrims,  
To make cold nymphs chaste crowns—"

The easy way out of the difficulty, assuming "error of the press," has, as usual, been tried. "Throw out the 'w' of 'twilled' and we have 'tilled.'" "Tulip'd," 'lilied,' 'willowed,' are other suggested emendations. Dr. Furness, after devoting nearly six pages (pp. 195-201), of the Variorum to proposed explanations, says : "I doubt if there be any corruption in this line which calls for change. We have simply lost the meanings of words which were perfectly intelligible to Shakespeare's audience." The most recent editors, as those of the Arden and the Temple editions, either satisfy themselves with quoting the earlier editors, or, as Dyce (*Glossary*, revised by Littledale), discreetly omit.

A digest of the explanations offered places them in two groups. The first group includes those explanations that interpret 'pioned' and 'twilled' as covered with flowers: 'pioned' equivalent to "overgrown with peonies," that is, the marsh-marigold, and 'twilled' as 'grown up in reeds.' Provincial words are cited in support of these meanings. The second group contains those explanations that would interpret 'pioned' as 'dug' or 'trenched,' and 'twilled' as 'ridged,' and fit these interpretations into the passage in various ways.

The explanations of the first group are now virtually abandoned. The *NED*. says of 'pioned': "The meaning of 'pioned' in the Shaks. passage has been much disputed. . . . (The conjecture overgrown with marsh-marigolds . . . is not supported by any sense of *peony* known to Britten and Holland, *Eng. Plant Names*, or to *Eng. Dial. Diet.*).". Skeat under 'twill' says : "Twilled in *The Tempest* is yet unexplained."

Henley (not "W. E.") seems first to have suggested the explanations of the second group. Although accepted by Dr. Furness and others temporarily as "the best means of enabling 'spongy April' to betrim the banks," Henley's explanation seems to have convinced no one. It can be shown, I think, that Henley is probably in error with regard to all three words : 'banks,' 'pioned,' and 'twilled.'

Henley, as quoted in full by Dr. Furness, contends that the passage does not warrant the assumption that the banks are those of a river ; that since these banks are in the care of Ceres, they must be mounds or banks out in the meadow, thus more definitely within Ceres's province. "The giving way of the brims of those banks, occasioned by the heats, rains, and frosts of the preceding year are made good by opening [‘pioning’] the trenches from whence [sic] the banks themselves were first raised, and [‘twilling’ them, that is] facing them up with the mire those trenches contain. . . . 'Twilled' is obviously from the French *touiller*, which Cotgrave interprets ‘filthily to mix or mingle ; confound or shuffle together ; bedurt [sic] ; begrime ; besmear,’—significations that confirm the explanation here given." This last a fine *circulus in probando!*

'Pion' means, according to the *NED.*, "to dig, trench, excavate." The English word is from the Old French *pioneer*, which is derived from *pion*, a foot soldier, originally from the Latin, *pes*. Related English words are 'peon,' 'pawn,' 'pioneer,' the last meaning originally a foot soldier. Shakespeare's form of 'pioneer' is 'pioner,' as in *Hamlet*, I, 5. 163, *Henry V*, III, 2. 92, *Othello*, III, 3. 346, and *Lucrece*, 1380. The pioneers were the company of soldiers on foot, who, with axes, picks, and shovels, preceded the cavalry to clear the way, and whose special office it was also to undermine fortified places and to throw up breastworks. To 'pion,' then, is to do the work of a pioneer. The idea of throwing up an embankment as a means of defense or protection is the only meaning possible in Spenser's passage (*F. Q.*, II, x. 63-64) :

"Which to outbarre, with painful pionings  
From sea to sea he heaped a mighty mound."

This meaning of 'pion' (p. p. 'pioned'), 'to throw up an embankment for protection,' seems never to have been suggested ; yet it is abun-

dantly warranted. This is the sense in which I propose to take 'pioned' in the passage under discussion.

'Twill' is used by Shakespeare only in this place. The word in its legitimate English meaning is "to weave so as to produce diagonal lines or ribs on the surface of the cloth." The shuttle passes over one and under two threads of the woof ; hence Dutch *twillen*, from the root of 'two.' Where an embankment is to be subjected to the action of water it is frequently constructed of alternate layers of branches of trees and earth. In this way the embankment is reinforced. The branches thus placed would produce upon the 'brim'—the top and sides of the embankment—the 'twilled' effect. In this figurative use I would interpret 'twilled' in *The Tempest*.

Finally, since "flat meads" usually lie along the banks of streams, and since these banks with brims so perfectly conform with those on the sides of a stream which have been thrown up, as dykes, to protect the "flat meads" from overflow, is it a violent assumption to suppose there is a stream in this case ? Surely these banks, constructed to protect her "stover" from damage by flood, would be peculiarly under the care of Ceres. This assumption becomes indeed only natural inference when supported by the unforced interpretation of the other difficult words of the passage.

Problems of the nature of this one are impossible of a Q. E. D.; we must select that explanation which best meets the conditions. According to my suggestion, we have banks of a stream—otherwise 'pioned' would have lost its special significance—with brims 'pioned'—artificially heaped up for protection—and 'twilled'—criss-crossed with branches of trees. These banks "spongy April" would have no difficulty in betrimming with flowers "to make cold nymphs chaste crowns." Shakespeare may easily have had in mind the Avon with its low-lying, flat meads protected by such embankments.

Is it too much to hope that the following prophecy of Dr. Furness has been fulfilled?—"As agricultural or horticultural forms 'pioned' and 'twilled' will be some day, probably, sufficiently explained to enable us to weave from them the chaste crowns for cold nymphs."

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A CONFESSION OF SINS, AND A  
PRAYER TO CHRIST.

In Herrig's *Archiv*, volume 98 (1897), Dr. Furnivall printed a poem which he called "A Confession of Sins, and a Prayer to Christ." Later he printed the same poem in volume 117, (p. 785) of the *Publications of the Early English Text Society*. The piece, which was found in the binding of a book, was so torn that Dr. Furnivall tried, but not with entire success, to supply the missing parts. A variant of this poem is found in volume 98 (p. 19) of the *Publications of the E. E. T. S.* By comparing the two versions we shall be able to get a more correct text. The poem in volume 98 we shall call Version *A*, and the mutilated poem in volume 117 Version *B*.

Version *A* begins :

Swete ihesu crist, to þe,  
A guilti wrecche Ich gelde me  
ffor sunnes þat icbaue ido  
In al my lyf hider-to.

Version *B* begins :

Swete ihesu crist, to þe,  
Copable wrecche ich gelde me,  
Of sennes þat ich babbe ydo  
Yn al my lyue hider-to.

Version *B* follows Version *A*, with slight variations to l. 9, when four lines, which in *A* deal with the Commandments, in *B* are entirely missing. Line 9 of *B* corresponds to l. 13 of *A*; and *B* now follows *A* closely, except that *B* has an extra line after l. 12, and after 20 of *B* there are four lines in *A* which in *B* are lacking. Dr. Furnivall's restorations may be corrected as follows :

L. 18. And of al my [grete] folye  
should be simply  
And of al my folye.

Cf. Version *A* :

"And of alle my folye."

Dr. Furnivall prints l. 22 as follows :

"Efter my senfol dede, . . . ."

with the note : "Two lines are no doubt left out after l. 22; the sense wants, 'If thou rewardest me according to my sinful deeds I must go to hell,' or some equivalent words to make a couplet."

By comparing *B* with *A* we see that no lines have been omitted.

Version *A* reads :

Ne gif þou me none mede  
Aftur my sunfule dede.  
But aftur, lord, þi grete pite  
Ihesu lord, asoyle þou me.

Version *B* reads :

gef þou me none med[e]  
Efter my senful dede [.] . . .  
Ak after, lord, þy grete [pite]  
Lord ihesu, asoyle þou me.

Lines 30-31 Dr. Furnivall restores thus :

"And let me neuere b[e so nice]  
To do no maner dede [of vice]."

Version *A* reads :

And let me neuere eft beginne  
To do no more dedly synne.

Lines 36-37 of *B* reads :

Yn-to at blisse of [bevenriche]  
þen þou regnest lo[rd . . . .]

The *A* text has it :

In to þat blissful Empyre  
þer þat þou regnest lord and sire.

The doubtful portion of *B* as restored by comparison with *A* is printed below :

Line 17. And of al my folye,  
Mercy, lord, mercy, ich crye!  
Al-þag ich sengede euere,  
Lord, icb for-soc þe neuere.  
gef þou me none med[e]  
Efter my senful dede,  
Ak after, lord þy grete [pite],  
Lord ihesu, asoyle þou me,  
And send me ofte, er y [deye]  
Sorge of berte and teres o[f ege]  
For sennes þat ich habbe [ido]  
Yn al my lyue hider [to];  
And let me neuere [eft] b[eginne]  
To do no maner dede[ly synne]  
So þat ich at myn end[yng-day]  
Clene of senne deye [may],  
Srifte and housele at [mynde],  
þat my saule mote [wende]  
Yn-to þat blisse of [Empyre]  
þer þou regnest, lo[rd and sire].

In l. 29 I have inserted "eft" from the corresponding line of Version *A*. Line 33, in Ver-

sion *A* reads: "blisful Empyre" instead of "blisse of" of *B*. I have preferred to insert "Empyre" from the *A* text and to change the *n* of *ben* in the next line to *r* without further emendation, even though the reading is not entirely satisfactory.

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### THE DATE OF THE SCENE OF TIECK'S *STERNBALD*.

Minor, in his edition of Tieck's *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (Kürschner, D. N. L., vol. 145) attempts to set the date when the scene of the novel is supposed to hav taken place. The entire internal evidence of the work taken as a whole, does not bear out Minor's contention.

In the story (page 264) Franz asks the unknown monk, "Was macht der edle Rafael von Urbino? Habt Ihr ihn noch gesehen?" The monk ansers, "Nein, leider hat diese Zier der edlen Malerkunst die Erde verlassen; er ist im vorigen Jahre gestorben." Minor's note to this reads, "Raphel ist 1520 gestorben. Tieck hält also auch hier den Zeitpunkt der Handlung fest, auf welchen das Gespräch zwischen Dürer und Lukas verweist: 1521."

The visit of Dürer to Lukas von Leyden, which is historical, took place in 1521, according to a note in Dürer's diary. Tieck's version of this visit is given in the course of the story, but as can be seen from a careful perusal of the novel, it is made to occur in the year before Franz' conversation with the monk. That is, Franz leaves Leyden, passes the winter in part with Vansen in Antwerp and with the beginning of the second volume, enters upon a new spring. According to this, Franz would be questioning the monk in the year 1522 which does not agree with the statement in regard to Rafael's deth. It is plain that Tieck has blurd the outlines of his chronology, a discrepancy which Minor has evidently not notist.

Now in the course of the conversation during the visit (*op. cit.* 192), Lukas is made to say that he is not yet 30 years old, indeed scarcely 29. This offers a new difficulty, for Lukas was born in 1494 and his twenty-ninth year would fall in

1523. By this reckoning Franz would be questioning the monk in 1524.

This, however, is not all, for a curious error on Tieck's part adds a final complication. Franz (page 267) asks Rafael's age at deth and is told that he livd to be 39. This is quite wrong, as Tieck surely knew very well. In the Tieck-Wackenroder *Herzensergießungen* (Jessen's ed., page 129) the age is correctly given as 37. The question now arises, was Tieck dating from a wrong birth date, from a wrong deth date or was the whole an unconscious slip? If the latter, then the error persists into the Schriften, where in volume XVI it is still uncorrected.

While it is hardly conceivable that Tieck would deliberately add two years to Rafael's age in order to reconcile the hazy chronology of the story, yet there is a bare possibility that he has done something of this sort. Tieck may hav had indefinitely in his mind the date of Lukas' age, that is, the last date of which he had been thinking during the interview. Then, with a certain Romantic disregard of events, he had felt that Franz' query was in 1523 and so juggled with Rafael's age. But if this disregard of facts can be used here, it can also be used in Minor's argument. Minor, however, inadvertently took two different years as his starting point, 1520 and 1521 and this chronology cannot be made to jibe with the other dates in the story.

From the forgoing it will be seen that any attempt to fix the date of Sternbald's "musical wanderings" is beset with insuperable difficulties and Minor has errd iu supposing that 1521 is a final and fixt date. The discrepancies point certainly not to 1521 but perhaps to 1523, or what is far more likely, to a shifting series of dates from 1520 to 1524, group by Tieck around a few historical events. Tieck himself was well aware of these difficulties, for he says in his preface (*op. cit.*), "Man rechne mir kleine chronologische Fehler nicht zu strenge nach, man behandle dies kleine Buch nicht wie die Geschichte eines Staats."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Minor decides in favor of Tieck's authorship of "Ein Brief Joseph Berglingers in Phantasien über die Kunst [D. N. L., vol. 145, p. 75 ff.], on internal evidence as shown in the mood of the letter and in spite of the contents

### THE SOURCES OF STEVENSON'S BOTTLE IMP.

Into one corner of the great hall in Stevenson's house at Vailima was built a large safe that greatly exercised the imagination of the natives. It was supposed to be the prison of the Bottle Imp, the magical source of all Stevenson's fortune.<sup>1</sup> Soon after his arrival among the Samoans, he had written the tale in which that creature appears; and before it was given to English readers, the natives could read it in their own language in the Mission magazine.<sup>2</sup> They little guessed, nor did Stevenson himself know fully, the transformations undergone by the tale since it was told about the fire-side in remote German villages. Stevenson refers us to "that very unliterary product, the English drama of the early part of the century" for the central idea of the story which he so charmingly made over for a Polynesian audience. With the usual thoughtfulness of literary genius, he has left to the historian of literature his congenial task of hunting origins, referring to his source not more definitely than as "a picce once rendered popular by the redoubtable B. Smith." A few hundred years, and it might be difficult to find this piece and trace its sources. To-day it is easy enough, and it makes an instructive study in the art of story-telling.

The redoubtable B. Smith proves to be "O." Smith, a popular actor and stage-manager in the

which are Wackenroderish (pages 75 and 77 notes). One of the latest comments on the question by Helene Stöcker (*Palaestra*, xxvi, page 24), takes sides against Minor who however seems to be confirmed by two slight internal facts which he does not mention. The two last lines at the bottom of page 78, "So spott' ich über mich selbst—und auch dieses Spotten ist nur elendes Spielwerk" are genuinely Tieckian and smack still of Abdallah and Lovell where the Romantic irony took this form. This is, if I understand Minor aright, something slightly different from the posing he mentions in his first note.

Tieck's predilection for the locution *gefangen hält* is mirrored in the *gefangen hielt* of page 79. Of course there is no good reason why Wackenroder should not have used the term; but I have never noted a use from him and have a round dozen from his friend, the best known of which is in the famous quatrain from Oktavianus without a mention of which no article on Tieck seems to be complete.

<sup>1</sup> Balfour's *Life of Stevenson*, II, 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, II, 155, 260.

two or three decades preceding the birth of Stevenson. His real name was Richard John Smith, and he got his nickname from the hit he made in the part of Obi Smith in *Three-fingered Jack*. (According to Forster, he was acceptable, in dramatizations of Dickens, in parts like Mantalini and Newman Noggs.) Grotesque and desperate characters were his specialty: in the burletta entitled *Die Hexen am Rhein*, he played the star part of Mons. Bilrin, a Belgian giant eight feet high; and he was the Mephistopheles of the *Dice of Death*.<sup>3</sup> In 1828 he made the success of another burletta or "melodramatic romance," played at several different London theatres.<sup>4</sup> This was the *Bottle Imp*, the immediate source of Stevenson's tale.

Obi Smith was never more "redoubtable" than

<sup>3</sup> Clement Scott's *Drama of Yesterday and Today*, I, 14, 19. Michael Williams' *Some London Theatres: Past and Present*, p. 151. Another part taken by O. Smith was Graff, in *Valsha, or, The Slave Queen*, printed in the second volume of Webster's *National Drama*. For other parts see Williams, p. 143. For O. Smith as a stage manager, see James C. Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, p. 351, and Williams, p. 148. Was it a misprint in Stevenson? or was there possibly also a B. Smith famous in the same part of the *Bottle Imp*?

<sup>4</sup> Genest, in 1830, was unaware of the publication of the *Bottle Imp*. In his *Account of the English Stage*, IX, 472-3, he notes the first performances at Covent Garden, beginning Oct. 17, 1828; and remarks the play was "seemingly not printed." It was, however, printed more than once, perhaps in the same year. The British Museum has a copy entitled: "The Bottle Imp, A dramatic romance in two acts. Written expressly for and adapted to Dyer Senior's characters and scenes only," with a woodcut frontispiece dated 25 Oct., 1828. London, published by J. Dyer, Sen. 25 pp. A copy in the Lenox library in New York has the following description on the title page: "The bottle imp. A melodramatic romance, in two acts. Produced at the Theatre Royal, English Opera House, July, 1828. Overture and music composed by G. H. B. Rodwell. . . . London : Chapman and Hall, "(1828?) 29 pp. 12°. The frontispiece consists of an etching by Pierce Egan, the younger, and is from a drawing taken during the representation of the play. This is apparently the form of the play reproduced in Benjamin Webster's *Acting National Drama*. London : Chapman and Hall. 1838. According to Adams' *Dictionary of the Drama*, the first performance was at the Lyceum Theatre, London, on July 7, 1828. The cast were practically the same at the various reported performances, being made up of members of the Lyceum company. Other performances are recorded during July and October, 1829 (Williams, p. 147).

in this part. His costume is described as a "tightly-fitting skin dress of a sea green, horns on the head, and demon's face, from the wrist to the hips a wide-spreading wing, extending or folding at pleasure." A frontispiece engraving in the book of the play presents the batlike creature in the midst of sulphurous smoke, triumphing horribly over his human victim. No doubt the imagination of young Stevenson could easily conjure up in all its vividness the scene as actually witnessed by the artist.

The book is printed from a stage copy of the play, and was not published until after the presentation of the successful piece. It was composed by R. B. Peake, Esq., a member of the Dramatic Authors' Society. Mr. Peake offers no information as to the source of his story, and so far as I know, this has never been pointed out.<sup>5</sup> I think there can be no question the author made use of a tale entitled *The Bottle Imp*, found in the first volume of a somewhat obscure collection of *Popular Tales and Romances of the Northern Nations*, 1823.<sup>6</sup> This anonymous work represents an early crop of translations from the German about the time when Blackwood's was printing its *Horae Germanicae*, and when DeQuincey and Carlyle were doing their best to interest English readers in German romance. It was in this very collection that DeQuincey seems to have published originally his tale from the German, *The Fatal Marksman*.<sup>7</sup> Last summer, finding a

<sup>5</sup> Adams says merely, quoting M. Williams: "The story was based upon the German legend, that the possessor of a bottle imp could command riches, power, and prosperity of every kind, at the mere wish; but that if he retained the spirit to the end of his life, his soul was forfeited to the evil one. Meanwhile he had the privilege of disposing of the bottle, provided he sold it for less than he gave."

<sup>6</sup> London: Printed for W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, and J. H. Boote. Copies of this work are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Boston Public, and the Congressional Libraries. Besides the title, various phrases and sentences common to the two (as opposed to the Roscoe translation mentioned below), given in a later note, will serve to mark this version of the story for the source of the play.

<sup>7</sup> I had the same experience with this tale as Prof. Masson. In the Editor's Preface to vol. XII of the Edinburgh 1889-90 edition of DeQuincey, Professor Masson writes: "Having looked by mere accident into an anonymous . . . collection of 'Popular Tales and Romances,' . . . there, to

copy of this work in a Chicago book store, I was started on this little hunt. There is no indication in the book of the authors or translators of the several stories. But among other German writers mentioned in the preface is LaMotte Fouqué; and the *Bottle Imp* proves to be merely a translation of his tale of *Das Galgenmännlein*, slightly condensed and a bit altered in the conclusion. That the story was a popular one is shown by its inclusion in Thomas Roscoe's *German Novelists*, published three years later.<sup>8</sup> There it bears the inappropriate title of *The Mandrake*. Roscoe's translation is more exact than that in the earlier work, but the earlier translator was much happier in his rendering of the title.<sup>9</sup> 'The Bottle Imp'

our surprise, in vol. III, we found DeQuincey's *Fatal Marksman*, exactly as we now have it, both title and text, but without the name of either the original author or the translator. The inference is that one of DeQuincey's little commercial asides in 1823, when he was at his busiest in writing for the *London Magazine*, was this contribution to a collection of Tales from the German, and that, having a copy of it beside him in 1859, he thought it then worth reprinting just as it stood."<sup>10</sup> Prof. Masson points out that DeQuincey makes no acknowledgment, in reprinting the story, of its being from the German. It is based upon the same German tale as the libretto of Weber's *Freischütz*—which, it is interesting to observe, made a sensational success at the Lyceum Theatre in the year of publication of this collection of tales (Williams, p. 140).

It is also interesting to find in this collection two of the tales included by Carlyle in his *German Romance* published four years later (1827). *The Spectre Barber* is a translation of Musäus' *Stumme Liebe* (Carlyle's *Dumb Love*); and *Auburn Egbert* is a translation of Tieck's *Der Blonde Eckbert* (Carlyle's *Fair-Haired Eckbert*). The titles will sufficiently illustrate the greater exactness of Carlyle in translation. I find no indication of acquaintance with this collection on the part of Carlyle, who indeed seems to have wished to include in his own collection pieces not yet translated.

Other pieces which I have identified are *The Treasure-Seeker* (Musäus' *Der Schatzgräber*), *Elfin-Land* (Tieck's *Die Elfen*), and *The Tale* (Goethe's *Märchen in Unterhaltungen Deutscher Ausgewanderten*). *Kibitz* is the same *Schwank* that Hans Christian Andersen has worked up with so much drollery in *Lille Claus og Stor Claus*.

<sup>8</sup> Four volumes. London, 1826. The tale is printed in vol. II, pp. 327-366.

<sup>9</sup> The Blackwood reviewer (September, 1823) does not share my liking for this title. "Ill-chosen," he calls it; and it was doubtless his disapproval that led Roscoe to make in his translation the certainly much less happy choice.

stuck ; and it was on the tale so designated that the playwright founded his piece.

Some one with access to collections of German *Maerchen* may perhaps trace the kernel of Fouqué's story to some popular tale or tradition.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile it is interesting to follow the transformations of the story from Fouqué's version to the Samoan form.

The German tale relates how, during the Thirty Years War, a young German merchant, visiting Venice, is led to spend all his substance in riotous living. Among the revellers, is a Spanish captain, not so gay as the others. When Richard's money fails, the Spaniard draws him aside, and makes him a surprising offer,—an offer, namely, of the power of procuring as much money as he may desire. “I know not whether you are acquainted with a certain little creature, which they call a mandrake (*Galgenmännlein*). It is a very diminutive black looking imp, enclosed in a vial. Whoever possesses one of these creatures may by its means obtain whatever is most desirable in life, particularly an unbounded quantity of money. In return the Mandrake requires the soul of the possessor for his master Lucifer, provided he dies without having transferred the Mandrake into other hands. This can only be done by selling it, and that too for a smaller sum than the possessor himself has given for it. Mine cost me ten ducats, and if you will give me nine for it, 'tis yours.”<sup>11</sup> After some debate, Richard consents to purchase the talisman for five ducats, and proceeds at once to prove its magic. With its assistance, he continues his life

<sup>10</sup> One thinks of the Devil on Two Sticks (Diable boiteux), the Peau de Chagrin, and the imprisoned djinn of the Arabian Nights ; but these do not take us far. (One may begin the search by consulting the notes to Grimm No. 99.)

<sup>11</sup> Quoted from Roscoe's translation. The other translation follows the text with almost the same fidelity, but differs in many details of phraseology, the play always agreeing with this anonymous version. The following sentence, for example, is exactly reproduced in the play. “I know not whether you are acquainted with certain little spirits, that are called bottle imps.” Again, “Whoever possesses one of these (Bottle Imps) can command from it whatever worldly possessions he desires most.” Both quotations from Act I, scene IV. The play and the anonymous translation agree in the un-English expression, “a less sum” for the “smaller sum” of Roscoe.

of extravagant dissipation, in company with a Venetian bona roba named Lucretia. When reproached for his abandoned life, he exclaims, “Richard is my name, and my riches are so boundless that no expense in the world can exhaust them.” (“Reichard ist mein Name, und mein Reichtum ist so hart, dass ihm keine Ausgabe den Kopf einzustossen vermag.”) One remarkable property of the bottle is that, as often as it is thrown away, it returns to its owner, as the stones removed from Arthur's cairn returned to their proper place. This was proved one day when Lucretia threw it into a brook, and Richard shortly after found it in his pocket.

Richard is at length overcome with sickness, the result of his dissipations ; and while in a feverish state, he seems to see the impish vial dancing among the other medicine bottles near his bed. The imp is then heard singing a song of triumph over his victim. He begins to grow suddenly long and thin ; he crawls out of the bottle, and stretches his loathesome body upon that of Richard, like an iucubus. Finally Richard wakes, sweating, to see a horrid black toad running into the bed clothes. He has had enough of the bottle imp, and proceeds to palm it off on his doctor for a *lusus naturae*. The doctor, however, soon discovers his bad bargain, and manages to sell the imp back to Richard by a ruse of his own. Similarly the imp is sold to Lucretia, but returns to poor Richard again. He now determines to seek another district in the effort to get rid of his unhappy wares. He goes to Rome, and lives sumptuously there, but is unable to find a pur-chaser. He enlists in the wars as a captain, and succeeds in selling the imp ; but he buys it back once more by mistake, paying for it now a farthing (heller), the coin of lowest known denomination. His soul is now beyond hope of salvation unless he can get some one to take his wares for a half-farthing. Everywhere he begs this boon with frantic insistence, until he comes to be known as the crazy half-farthing (der tolle Halbheller).

The conclusion displays all the grotesquerie of German supernatural romance. Richard is finally saved by a giant in blood red dress, mounted on a wild black horse, whom he meets at the horrible Black Fountain. This is an iuky well in a valley reached through a darksome cave with withered

cypresses before its mouth in the manner of Boecklin. "It was as if the two cypresses were dried up with fright over the hateful gulf." There every Friday the giant washes himself in contempt of his creator. He is bound to the devil for 100,000 gold pieces per year ; but this he finds insufficient for his needs, and he desires the unlimited supply of coin offered by the bottle imp. Moreover, being already damned beyond hope himself, he is glad to cheat the devil, and save the soul of Richard. Him he directs to a prince whose money has so depreciated in value that three of his farthings will exchange for but one good coin. And with one of these base coins he buys the bottle imp, and disappears walking up the cliffs like a fly.<sup>12</sup> Richard is now quite ready for reform. He marries a good woman, and is able, generations later, to tell his grandchildren the moral tale of the bottle imp.

An ideal subject for one of the musical melodramas that held the London stage in the 20's and 30's. Mr. Peake has summoned to his assistance the musical genius of Mr. Rodwell ; and has arranged in his play some effective scenes for "O" Smith and his fellow-actors. Lucretia keeps her part and name. Richard is renamed Albert, with a loss of the German pun. He is given a servant Willibald, for the benefit of Mr. Keeley, the actor of character parts. This droll Dutchman makes a great deal of fun for the groundlings with his frequent allusions to his native village of Schlauchenhausenberg and to his uncle Schwellinbogel's bagpipes. He is made major domo of his master's sumptuous household, and is given a comic scene or two with those "merry devils," as he supposes them, the servants. A notion of the quality may be had from the following bit of dialogue between Willibald and Lucretia's maid Phillipa :

"*Phi.* You look admirably in your new dress, signor.

<sup>12</sup>In the anonymous translation, the conclusion has been slightly altered "so as to render it more satisfactory." A hollow voice from the Black Fountain announces that "Now then are all our labours frustrated, for he who while doomed to destruction could attempt the rescue of another may even yet be saved himself." But as the playwright has given an entirely new turn to the conclusion, this variation does not affect the form of the story in the play.

*Wil.* Flattery—many a man is seduced by flattery. But I won't be—tempting little devil, too—

*Phi.* You like our dwelling-place ?

*Wil.* Your dwelling-place ? never was there, thank mercy (*aside*) her dwelling-place.

*Phi.* Ah, signor, my mistress is very much attached to your master ; (*mysteriously*) if I thought no one was near, I could unfold a tale.

*Wil.* (*aside*) Unfold her tail ! No, no ; remain as you are—no, don't unfold."

A whole new set of characters is introduced in the play in order to get the hero properly married in the end. These are the family of Marcelia, a maiden who has been betrayed by the German traveller. She is thus given an opportunity of playing a magnanimous, melodramatic part in saving the life of her betrayer.

Particularly clever is the way the playwright disposes of the bottle in the end. The nameless and fairly innocent Spanish officer of the German story has become a Nicola, a necromancer, whose many crimes and intimate knowledge of the black arts, set forth prominently at the start, make him a proper scapegoat. In the end, he is arrested by the ecclesiastical authorities and shut up in the prison of the Inquisition. The prison takes fire, and troops are summoned to guard the prisoners. German Albert, now a Venetian officer, is in command. In the midst of a lurid scene, aptly suggesting the destined torments of hell, thirsting Nicola begs for something to drink ; and in his desperation, he buys back the fatal bottle with a coin of the lowest value in the world. Thereupon appears the fiend, seizes his victim "by the hair of the head," and they sink in a shower of fire, orchestra playing with doleful fury. Morality play come back to the London stage !

This then was the form of the story known to Stevenson, the suggestion for his *Bottle Imp*. The playwright had certainly used his materials with freedom, and turned out a series of scenes well adapted to the talents of the actors and the taste of the time. Mr. Williams still speaks with warmth, in 1883, of the enthusiasm aroused by this play. A far greater transformation the tale has undergone in the hands of Stevenson, till there remains scarcely anything but the original kernel of the

bottle imp. And yet it is interesting to trace some of the best traits of his tale to hints from the play.

The story has been given a new dress altogether. Time, place and names are changed beyond recognition. It is an Hawaiian, Keawe, who leaves his home on a pleasure trip and finds the wishing bottle in San Francisco. Keawe buys the bottle of an old man, who invites the ingenuous stranger into his house as he is passing by. The bottle sells for \$50. It was brought to earth, the old man tells him, by the devil, who sold it first of all to Prester John for many millions. Other owners have been Napoleon and Capt. Cook, and this accounts for their great successes. When Keawe wishes himself \$50, he gets the exact sum—forty-nine dollars American money, and one Chili piece. "That looks like the truth," said Keawe. He has the same experience with the bottle as German Albert. You can't get rid of it except by sale—it always comes back.

From this point, with one important exception, the tale has little in common with the earlier versions. On his return to Honolulu, Keawe finds himself heir to a wealthy uncle deceased.<sup>13</sup> He builds himself a great house just to his liking, and then sells the bottle to a friend. He proceeds to fall in love with a beautiful girl, Kokua, whom he sees bathing. The courtship is brief, and they become engaged. And then at the apex of fortune and happiness, Keawe discovers that he is a leper!<sup>14</sup> There is nothing now but to bunt down the wishing-bottle and buy it back. This Keawe succeeds in doing but alas! the price has fallen terribly, and he is obliged to buy for the desperately low sum of two cents. However, he wishes himself well, and is married to Kokua. But he cannot forget his peril, and life does not go happily

<sup>13</sup> Stevenson may have had a hint for this timely death of Keawe's uncle from the parricide performed by Nicola under the influence of the fiend, and with rather vague relation to the wishing-bottle. In Stevenson's tale, the inference is that the death of the uncle was accomplished by the fiend in carrying out the wish of Keawe for a fine house. Very gently, by suggestion, the moral is conveyed that devil's help can be had only at the expense of devil's work.

<sup>14</sup> Suggested by the sickness of Albert in the play. But while there the sickness has no essential place in the story, Stevenson makes it of prime importance for plot and of high dramatic interest.

with the young couple. Keawe at length explains the reason for his sadness, to the relief of Kokua, who had interpreted it as displeasure with her. She declares she will save her husband's soul; and being an educated woman, she comes to the rescue with the suggestion of coins lower than a cent. In search of the centime, they sail to the French islands, prepared to put on great style in order the better to "push the bottle."<sup>15</sup> But in this they have no success, merely arousing suspicion of sorcery. Finally Kokua, to save her beloved spouse, determines to risk her own salvation; and persuading an old man to buy the bottle of Keawe for four centimes, she buys it of him for three. Keawe is greatly relieved, and indulges in tavern pleasures. But after a while he discovers his Kokua's sacrifice; and, not to be outdone in altruism and shrewdness, he buys the bottle back through a brutal drunkard of a boatswain. The boatswain pays two centimes, and Keawe is to pay the ultimate one. Back comes the drunkard to the tavern, with the devil's bottle buttoned in his coat, and drinking from another bottle in his hand. Keawe is lost beyond a peradventure. But wonder of wonders! The drunkard will not sell. Warned and warned of the condition of ownership, he will not part with a talisman of such sovereign virtue. He reckons he is going to hell anyway, and he thinks he has a bargain. "You thought I was a flat, now you see I'm not. If you won't have a swallow of the rum, I'll have one myself. Here's your health, and good night to you!" So off he went down the avenue towards town, and there goes the bottle out of the story.

This drunkard was very likely suggested by a character of the play in the same scene that suggested the reciprocal sacrifices of Keawe and Kokua. Albert, now a soldier in the Venetian service, has found a purcbaser for the bottle, a jolly fellow named Jomelli, who took it for a wine-flask. He guesses at its contents. "Is it scbnaps, or schiedam?" And later he is represented stealing off the stage in happy intoxication. So much for a hint of Stevenson's boatswain. But Jomelli is not the scapegoat of the play. And more important is the latter part of the scene.

<sup>15</sup> Thus reproducing an incident of the German tale not found by Stevenson in his play.

Jomelli and Albert have been gambling. Albert has pledged and lost even his canteen. And so he falls subject to an order that any soldier found on inspection without canteen shall suffer death. Sentence has passed when Albert's deserted mistress appears in camp and learns of her lover's plight from Jomelli. While the latter is speaking, the impish bottle undergoes a sudden transformation to a right eantene. Without more ado, Marcellia buys it and hastens to the place of execution. She is just in time to save her lover's life.<sup>16</sup> And thereupon he is able to return suit by saving her soul. As he turns to look at her, he sees the fiend materialized extending his arms over her head. "Ah, the fiend!" he exclaims, "Marcellia, my beloved, my prescriver, has purchased the fiend; never, never—it shall not remain one moment in her possession. And he quickly forces a coin into her hand, and takes back the fatal canteen." "Never shall thy generous soul be in danger; would I were free!"

The unexplained transformation of the bottle is absurd enough, and what follows of an orthodox style of melodrama. But the reciprocal rescue—though on Marcellia's side accomplished without any understanding of her risk—was the suggestion for the beautiful story of self-sacrifice in our Hawaiian family.

In all details of the narrative, Stevenson is his own inimitable self. The naiveté of the young Hawaiian is throughout delightful to an English reader; and the description of his Great House a copy-book model of American luxuries for the island natives. Nothing could be more stimulating to the imagination than the mysterious house in San Francisco, and the mysterious man "that looked forth upon him through a window so clear that Keawe could see him as you see a fish in a pool upon a reef." The treatment of the bottle is particularly good. We learn from the play that the bottle is transparent, and "a small black figure is moving about in it." Stevenson offers more for the imagination. It is a "round bellied bottle with a long neck; the glass of it was white like milk, with changing rainbow colours in the grain. Withinsides some-

thing obscurely moved, like a shadow and a fire." The German tale and the play offer us a materialized demon of grotesque antics and well defined figure. Stevenson contents himself with noting his effect on those who saw him, declining all the claptrap business of the play. Keawe and his friend propose to have a look at the imp. "Now as soon as that was said, the imp looked out of the bottle, and in again, swift as a lizard; and there sat Keawe and Lopaka turned to stone." The most dramatic moment in the story is where Keawe, in the midst of his happiness, suddenly discovers his leprosy.

"Ever the latter end of joy is woe."

Before you know what has happened, you shudder and your heart stops beating.

"So the Chinaman had word, and he must rise from sleep and light the furnaces; and as he walked below, beside the boilers, he heard his master singing and rejoicing above him in the lighted chambers. When the water began to be hot, the Chiuaman cried to his master: and Keawe went into the bathroom; and the Chinaman heard him sing as he filled the marble basin; and heard him sing, and the singing broken, as he undressed; until, of a sudden, the song ceased. The Chinaman listened, and listened; he called up the house to Keawe to ask if all were well, and Keawe answered him "Yes," and bade him go to bed; but there was no more singing in the Bright House; and all night long the Chinaman heard his master's feet go round and round the balconies without repose."

Morally the story is quite as completely transformed as in its outward appearance. Without any of the preacher's nasal tone, it must have served admirably, as Stevenson doubtless intended it, for the instruction of Samoan islanders in the art of living. The character of Keawe is a not less admirable model for being human. His honesty appears in his behaviour on the discovery of his disease, as the author thinks proper to point out. "Now you are to observe what sort of a man Keawe was, for he might have dwelt there in the Bright House for years, and no one been

<sup>16</sup> Act II, scene iv. This incident is based on a somewhat similar one in the earlier tale, in which, however, there appears neither woman nor drunkard.

the wiser of his sickness ; but he reckoned nothing of that if he must lose Kokua. And again he might have wed Kokua even as he was ; and so many would have done, because they have the souls of pigs ; but Keawe loved the maid manfully, and he would do her no hurt and bring her in no danger." But later, though Keawe shows himself a Christian in the end, he does not always prove as honest with himself as Kokua. When the old man has bought the bottle, presumably for his own use, Keawe declines to have any pity for him, not wishing to think he has saved his own soul by the eternal ruin of another. He grows angry with his wife for dwelling on this consideration, the more so because of its truth. "Then Keawe, because he felt the truth of what she said, grew the more angry." The situation is full of dramatic irony when we consider it is Kokua whose soul is lost ; and the psychology is admirable all through this part of the tale. The scapegoat boatswain, obstinate in his own damnation, is an embodied moral.

But after all, I fear it was not the moral aspects of the tale that appealed to the author's Samoan neighbours. It was rather the magic and the practical that touched their imaginations. There is something pathetic in the thought that these natives, after reading the story, could still suppose the gentle and virtuous Stevenson to be the owner of so baneful a talisman.

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#### THE ORIGIN OF THE SESTINA.

Tradition ascribes the invention of this elaborate verse-form to the troubadour Arnaut Daniel and tradition in this case seems to be based on a passage in Dante, *De Vulgari eloquentia*,<sup>1</sup> II, 13 : "Unum est stantia, sine rhythmo, in qua nulla rhythmorum habitudo attenditur ; et huiusmodi stantii usus est Arnaldus Danielis frequentissime, velut ibi : *Sem nos Amor de joi donar* ; et nos dicimus : *Al poco giorno*." A curious point in connection with this

passage, and one which appears to have been overlooked, is that while Dante's poem beginning *Al poco giorno* is undoubtedly a sestina, the one by Arnaut Daniel to which he refers is certainly not. It is a poem of six strophes of eight lines each (with an envoi of two lines) in which the same rhymes are used from stanza to stanza, but not the same rhyme-words, nor is there change of order. I shall attempt to explain this contradiction below. Diez, who mentions the passage,<sup>2</sup> says : "Dass nuser Troubadour wirklich, wie man vorgiebt, der Erfinder dieser wunderlicher Liederform sei, darüber haben wir kein Zengniss ; allein, da wir ebensowenig eine ältere Sextine aufweisen können, als die seinige, und alle Umstände für ihn sprechen, so müssen wir ihn forthin für den Erfinder gelten lassen." A. Stimming, in Gröber's *Grundriss*,<sup>3</sup> speaks of "der Sextine, die von Arnaut Daniel erfunden ist."

Other scholars, however, modify this impression that the invention of the sestina was due to a happy inspiration of the troubadour Daniel. Thus Bartsch<sup>4</sup> says : "Die Rundeanzone, *cansos redonda*, hat mit der Sextine die grösste Aehnlichkeit."

F. W. Mans<sup>5</sup> in speaking of the single poem extant from the pen of Guillem de Bearn and of his use of the same rhyme-words in all its stanzas (rhyming them, however, with each other also within the stanza), adds : "und betrachte die bekannten 3 Sextinen von Arn. Daniel, Bert. Zorgi und Guill. de S. Gregori [the latter two being imitations of the first] als eine weitere Ausbildung dieser Reimspielerei." Even Diez<sup>6</sup> had noted a poem of Guillem Peire de Cazals (to which I shall refer presently) as "ein Mitteldiug zwischen Sextine und Runde."

Now these statements are close to the truth, but they are mere opinions ; the facts are not marshalled, nor is any induction made.

<sup>2</sup> *Leben u. Werke der Troubadours*, ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1882, S. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Provenzalische Litteratur*, S. 27. For further reference to this tradition see *La Vita e le Opere del Trouvatore Arnaldo Daniello*, a cura di U. A. Canello, Halle, 1883.

<sup>4</sup> *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Litteratur*, Elberfeld, 1872, S. 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Peire Cardenal's Strophenbau*, Marburg, 1884, S. 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Poesie der Troubadours*, 2te Aufl., ed. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1884, S. 103.

I find the germ of the sestina in two characteristics of the Provençal lyrie :

1. The so-called *rimas dissolutas* or *Körner*, which find their correspondences in successive strophes.

2. The tendency to reverse rhyme-order (simplest form *abba*), which is very common in Provençal verse.

These Körner form a scale from one up until they occupy the rhyme-places of the whole strophe, as in A. Dauiel's poem referred to by Daute.

In the combination of these characteristics and their development into the sestina four principal stages may be noted, though it would not be difficult to distinguish other minor gradations.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Canso redonda*. This I regard as the primitive type, of obvious popular origin ; form and name indicate the accompaniment of a circular dance. It consists of an indefinite number of strophes, the last rhyme of each being repeated in the first line of the next, except, of course, the last rhyme of all, which corresponds to the first rhyme of the poem. Cf. the poem of Peire Raimon de Toulouse in Bartsch, *Lesebuch*, pp. 64–65. This at least is the simplest form of this type ; but within the type there is also a progressive development. First, the rhyme taken up is a simple rhyme, then *rime riche*, then the whole rhyme-word is repeated, and finally the whole line. It does not at all matter whether all these forms are called by the name *Canso redonda*. The principle is the same ; connection of each strophe with the foregoing by repetition from the final line.

2. The next stage is the *Canso redonda encadenada*, in which all the rhymes of the first strophe are repeated in inverse order in the second, those of the second repeated similarly in the third, and thus throughout the poem. Cf. Raimon de Miraval in Mahn, *Gedichte*, 197.<sup>8</sup> This form may also be regarded as belonging to the domain of popular poetry, or at least as representing the transition to *Kunstdichtung*.

3. With the poem of Guillem Peire de Cazals above referred to<sup>9</sup> we reach the effort of an indi-

vidual artist. This poem has five six-lined stanzas and an envoi of three lines. The second strophe repeats not only the rhymes but the rhyme-words of the first, and in inverse order, the third those of the second, and so throughout the poem. Thus, first strophe : *astruc, vol, amistat, grat, col, aluc* ; second : *aluc, col, grat, amistat, vol, astruc* ; third : like the first, etc., the envoi repeating the rhyme-words of the last three lines of the fifth stanza.

4. From this to the sestina is but a step, and the change a very slight one. Instead of repeating the rhyme-words of the first strophe from the bottom up, Arnaut Daniel<sup>10</sup> takes them alternately from bottom up and top down, thus :

1	6	3	5	4	2
2	1	6	3	5	4
3	5	4	2	1	6
4	2	1	6	3	5
5	4	2	1	6	3
6	3	5	4	2	1

This is the only innovation made by Daniel as compared with the form used by Peire de Cazals, except that the former brings into his envoi all six rhyme-words instead of only three.

There remains the question of dates. Of the four troubadours mentioned as illustrating the four stages in the development of the sestina, three were contemporary : Peire Raimon de Toulouse, fl. 1170–1200, Raimon de Miraval, fl. 1190–1220, Arnaut Daniel, fl. 1180–1200.<sup>11</sup> Of the fourth, Guillem Peire de Cazals, the dates are, I believe, unknown. In the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, tome xix, pp. 616–7, we read : “Rien n'indique l'époque à laquelle il appartient, à moins qu'on ne se fonde sur sa satire contre les seigneurs, genre de poésie devenu commun vers le milieu et la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.” But even if it were proven that he lived at a later period, the fact would be unimportant. Since we do not possess the complete body of Provençal poetry, there is nothing to show that Guillem Peire de Cazals was the first to use the form referred to, and in any case the evolution of Romance poetic forms proceeds from simple to complex, not in the reverse direction.

Before concluding, I wish to revert briefly to the apparent contradiction in the passage quoted

<sup>7</sup> See Bartsch, *Reimkunst der Troubadours in Jahrb. f. roman. u. engl. Litteratur*, I, S. 178 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Also see Bartsch, *Reimkunst*, p. 183.

<sup>9</sup> *Parnasse occitanien*, p. 237.

<sup>10</sup> Canello, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>11</sup> See Diez, *Leben u. Werke*.

at the beginning of the paper from the *De vulgari eloquentia*. I am unwilling to believe that Dante committed an error and wrote *Sem fos amor* when he meant *Lo ferm voler*. I prefer to think that he considered both poems as belonging to the same type, the distinguishing characteristic of which was, for him, rhyme-sequence from strophe to strophe but not within the strophe. A similar variant would be the poem of Guillem de Bearn also mentioned above, and still another a poem by Raimon de Miraval which runs: a b b c c d e, e b b c c d d a.<sup>12</sup>

Such collateral forms were doubtless of importance in the development of the sestina, but the four types which I have emphasized would seem to represent the direct line of growth. If my solution be correct, it simply affords another slight evidence of the gradual evolution of literary forms.

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### BROWNING.

*The Old Yellow Book: Source of Browning's The Ring and the Book*, in Complete Photo-reproduction, with Translation, Essay, and Notes, by Charles W. Hodell. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, July, 1908.

This is a solid quarto of over 600 pages, admirably printed on excellent paper. As a frontispiece, it has the splendid portrait of Browning done by his son in 1883, representing the poet as seated, with the Old Yellow Book in his hands and resting upon his knee. Other illustrations are the Franceschini coat of arms, a portrait of Guido Franceschini from a sketch made shortly before his execution, and the record of Pompilia's death from the register of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Still another, unnoticed in the Table of Contents, is the autograph of Browning, in a bold hand, with the Greek of Pindar's First Olympian, lines 111 (part) and 112, 'Her strongest-wingèd dart my Muse hath yet in store.'

<sup>12</sup> Herrigs Archiv, 33, S. 440.

The book contains in order: (1) The Old Yellow Book; (2) Translation of the Old Yellow Book; (3) Translation of the Secondary Source; (4) Translation of the Casanatense Version of the Franceschini Murder; (5) The Making of a Great Poem—an Essay on the Relationship of Book and Poem; (6) Corpus of Topical Notes; (7) Line-index to Notes; (8) Subject-index.

Apart from indexes, the work, it will be seen, falls into four parts—the photo-reproduction, a series of translations, that of the Old Yellow Book being much the longest, an essay of 65 pages, and 44 pages of notes.

The old print of the reproduction looks properly crabbed. We are told by the editor that the old leaf-numbering has been clipped away in photographing, and its place supplied by modern line-numbering; and also that certain words and letters have been supplied or made more legible in the reproduction, or, as the editor expresses it, 'Certain defects due to creases in the pages of the Book had to be cut in by hand.' There are, the editor tells us, numerous typographical faults in the original, and we are prepared to believe it.

The translations are, on the whole, sufficient for the general purpose of the book, to make clearer Browning's use of his material. Much, however, would remain to be done by a translator who should endeavor to render every line correctly and intelligibly. As Professor Hodell himself says, not only have intricate periods been broken up, but legal terminology has been Anglicized rather than translated, professional mannerisms have been rendered freely, and citations have been omitted. He complains that 'certain Italian colloquialisms are shrouded in obscurity,' that the love-letters are at times unintelligible, and that the syntax, idiom, and diction of the original are barbarous. He is thus, by his own confession, unequal to making a critical translation of the book, and this fact is brought into a clearer light by his statements on p. 4 of his preface: 'Nor is the purpose linguistic—to study the crabbed Latinity and the colloquial Italian of the volume. I have therefore felt that no glossary was needed, and have omitted etymological and philological [?] annotation.' This frank avowal renders it unnecessary for the reviewer to point out instances in

detail of renderings which could hardly be regarded as adequate save with reference to the purpose which the editor designates.

But even with this purpose in mind, one wishes now and again for somewhat greater technical scholarship on the part of the translator. Let one illustration suffice. In the powerful scene where the Pope decides the doom of the murderer, there is no question but that Browning conceives of the Pope as alone, and as signing the death-warrant with his own hand. This is evident from the description of the scene in the first canto, and from the lines near the end of the tenth :

'Who is upon the Lord's side?' asked the Count.  
I, who write—  
    'On receipt of this command,  
    Acquaint Count Guido and his fellows four  
    They die to-morrow.' . . .  
    . . .  
    . . .  
Carry this forthwith to the Governor!'

and again placed beyond question by the first canto :

So said, so done—  
Rather so writ, for the old Pope bade this,  
I find, with his particular chirograph,  
His own no such infirm hand, Friday night.

These assumptions of the poet rest on passages in the three letters here printed on pp. CCXXXV, CCXXXVII-VIII, and CCXXXIX-XL, and translated on pp. 190-191. The sentences which bear most directly on this point are, in Professor Hodell's translation, as follows :

#### [Letter I]

'But since the Sanctity of Our Lord [the Pope] did not deem it wise to postpone the execution of the sentence already decreed, he has seen best by special writ to make denial of any clerical privilege.'

#### [Letter II]

'But the Pope yesterday issued his warrant.'

#### [Letter III]

'Monsignor signed of his own accord the warrant.'

To these correspond, as nearly as I can decipher the handwriting, the following originals :

#### [Letter I]

'Ma giudicando expediente La Sta di N. S. [Santità di Nostro Signore] il non differire l'esecuzione della sentenza già destinatagli hebbé per bene con Chirografo particolare denegare ad ogni Priuilegio Clericale.'

#### [Letter II]

'Il Papa passò ieri il chirografo.'

#### [Letter III]

'Monsignore . . . motu proprio sottoscrisse il chirografo.'

It will be observed that the word *chirografo* is once translated 'writ,' and twice 'warrant,' and that the Pope seems clearly designated as the writer in the first two letters, whatever may be said of the last.

Commenting (p. 327) on Browning's words (l. 346),

I find, with his particular chirograph,

Professor Hodell says : 'Browning merely anglicizes the words of the first letter (B., ccxxxv): "*chirografo particolare*." This of course is utterly unintelligible as English idiom. The words seem to refer to the special writ of condemnation, the order for the execution. Spelled *cheirograph* [?] at RB., XII, 258.' This last reference is to Browning's translation, or paraphrase, of the relevant parts of Letter I :

But ere an answr from Arezzo came,  
The Holiness of our Lord the Pope (prepare !)  
Judging it inexpedient to postpone  
The execution of such sentence passed,  
Saw fit, by his particular chirograph,  
To derogate, dispense with privilege.

But who signed the chirograph, according to Letter III? Professor Hodell makes it clear that he thinks it was the Pope in Letter I, as well as in Letter II; but he leaves us in the dark with respect to the Monsignore of Letter III. Since the same act is referred to in all three letters, one would certainly suppose that 'Monsignore' designated the Pope. If this is not correct, should there not be some note to suggest who is meant by the word? And if correct, should not the translation be explicit on the point?

Now just here is a place where a little 'etymological and philological annotation' would be of service. If 'particular' be taken in the *New English Dictionary's* meaning 2, and 'chirograph' in the same dictionary's meaning 1. d ('One of the three forms in which the will of the Papal See is expressed in writing'), hardly any difficulty will remain.

To be sure, it would be better to have more exact information. If Professor Hodell had turned, for instance, to so accessible a book as Moroni's *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, under the word *Chirografo*, he would have found a reference to the work of a learned Papal jurist of the 17th century, Teodoro Amydenio, who thus defines the word: 'Nihil aliud est, quam cedula nostra propria manu subscripta, et semper solet concipi lingua vernacula, subscriptur tamen lingua latina, videlicet: *Urbanus Papa VIII*, quae subscriptio in Chirographo adjicitur in fine. In litteris in forma Brevis ponitur a principio, et non scripta de manu Papae.' From another part of the article he might have learned that a chirograph might be issued either in the interests of the Apostolic Camera, or in response to the request of an individual, or *motu proprio*. On consulting this expression in its appropriate place, he could have found that it, like Chirography, is a technical term; and, as we have seen, one that is used in Letter III.

It follows that 'writ' is too general a term, and 'warrant' too specific; and that Browning, in confining himself to 'chirograph,' did precisely the best thing possible. And it follows, moreover, that the 'Monsignore' of Letter III can be no other than the Pope himself. The moral of all which is obvious.

To Professor Hodell's Essay little exception can be taken, either as to substance or manner. It is the most original part of his book, and as good as any.

The notes are confined to adducing the correspondences between passages of the poem and those of the original on which they are based. They are adequately done, and will be useful to all who wish to study Browning's artistry in the poem with minute care.

The Carnegie Institution, which has sometimes

been criticized for bestowing a disproportionate share of its funds upon works in physical science, has a right to allege this exception with some complacency. The book will serve its purpose, will enhance the reputation of its editor, and will illustrate a munificence which, now that a beginning has been made, will more frequently, we may hope, be directed toward those enterprises which directly concern the spirit of man.

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LASSERRE, PIERRE: *Le Romantisme français; Essai sur la révolution dans les sentiments et dans les idées au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Nouvelle édition, avec une préface de l'auteur. One vol. in 12°. Paris, 1908. (Mercure de France.)

The vagaries of the Romantic generation have been a target of criticism ever since Nisard; but it was left to sum up the negative point of view, organize it under a general principle, and round it out into a sort of new *Entartung*. We lacked a philosophical generalization of the movement; we lacked a criticism keen enough to show us the evil that the Romantic spirit has left in the life of to-day.

This is what M. Lasserre has done, and he has done it well. He has given us, not a history of a literary school, but, as the subtitle of his volume indicates, a philosophical study: he has dissected the Romantic subjectivity and studied it, psychopathologically, "dans ses réalités essentielles et génératrices." Romanticism is Rousseauism; "Rien dans le Romantisme qui ne soit du Rousseau. Rien dans Rousseau qui ne soit romantique." The title of the first part, *La ruine de l'individu*, indicates the critic's attitude toward the arch-apostle of Romanticism. "Ne s'exhale-t-il pas de toutes ces fantaisies une odeur de cadavre?"—is the conclusion he draws from a study of Rousseau's ideas.

M. Lasserre then traces the development of the Romantic subjectivity in the pre-Romantic generation, following, as one might follow the history of a plague, the successive steps of the disease; noting everywhere the action of the 'virus'—

"cette corruption intégrale des hautes parties de la nature humaine qu'on appelle Romantisme." With Senancour and in the Faust-mood, the malady is a solitary one, corroding the intellect and the heart (*La Chimère*); with others, the disease cannot but translate itself in terms of action. Hence a new caption in our analysis, *La corruption des passions*. We begin the clinic with Benjamin Constant (*La manie des passions*); Chateaubriand follows under the rubric *Le faste des passions et le splendeur du faux*; then Mme. de Staël, as the archetype of George Sand, furnishes the material for a chapter on *Le Sacerdoce de la femme*, a cutting satire of feminine ideals in modern conceptions of life. All of these writers, together with Lamartine, to whom, as a 'demi-classique,' the critic is much more lenient, are *not* precursors of Romanticism; they are integral parts of the movement; and the only originality of '1830,' says M. Lasserre, was to carry this anarchy of the feelings into the domain of ideas.

The discussion of *Les Idées romantiques* occupies the last two-thirds of the book. We take up the literature of 1830; we study its types, its 'hommes fatals,' its déclassés, its monsters; then, with Chateaubriand as a text, we consider its artistic innovations (*La théorie de l'emphase romantique*). *L'emphase au théâtre* shows us the melodramatic nullity of Hugo's plays; *La Lyrisme romantique* discusses the lack of content in his verse. A chapter on Romantic love retraces the history of de Musset, and a discussion of Alfred de Vigny criticises the Romantic conception of genius and the mob.

Yet the true perspective, insists M. Lasserre, magnifies, not '1830,' but the sentimental revolution which preceded it; not the *Préface de Cromwell*, but the essential realities of the new spirit. "Ruine psychique de l'individu, eudémonisme lâche, chimérisme sentimental, maladie de la solitude, corruption des passions, idolâtrie des passions, empire de la femme, empire des éléments féminins de l'esprit sur ses éléments virils, asservissement au moi, déformation emphatique de la réalité, conception révolutionnaire et dévergondée de la nature humaine, abus des moyens matériels de l'art pour masquer la paresse et la misère de l'invention"—these are the real principles of the new school. "Far more important than the con-

fusion of 'genres' is the confusion of categories of thought and feeling; the confusion of love with religion, of passion with virtue (in *La nouvelle Héloïse* and *Corinne*), the confusion of poetry with theology (*Génie du Christianisme*), the confusion of religious eloquence with philosophic truth in Cousin; the confusion of reverie and history in Michelet, and generally speaking, the confusion of the 'Moi' with humanity itself, with the universe, or even with the Deity." And finally—"Le Romantisme est la décomposition de l'art, parce qu'il est la décomposition de l'homme."

We next take up the relation between Romanticism and the ideas put forward by the French Revolution. A 'contre-révolutionnaire,' an aristocratic liberal, M. Lasserre points out what 1793 really meant to France, a loss of intellectual solidarity and effective strength. He discusses Michelet as a type of the Romantic 'philosopher' and theorist, and shows us how the spirit of Michelet and 'Romantic Messianism' has invaded the century. A study of the doctrine of perfectibility and evolution enforces this point, and the book concludes with a discussion of the influence of German pantheism in forwarding the intellectual anarchy of contemporary France. Needless to add that M. Lasserre finds Romantic subjectivity everywhere, in the pessimism of the Naturalistic school, in the reaction of the eighties, in the manifold tendencies of the present day.

No bare analysis, of course, can show the logical weight, the force of personal conviction in the thesis sustained by M. Lasserre in five hundred and forty-three pages. Depicting as he does the ideal course of an epidemic, his picture is far more striking than any impartial portraiture of the actual victims could be. He studies his malady as though life were not one of the conditions of disease. Yet the Romantic school had life, and some of its work has life to-day. M. Lasserre says, for instance: "Ne cessons de rappeler que l'objet de notre investigation c'est le Romantisme, et que Vigny n'est intervenu que comme sujet éminent." And again, speaking of Hugo: "On a essayé en somme d'expliquer pourquoi on ne l'aime pas" (page 275). Even those of us who care least for Victor Hugo may well object to

such a manner of disposing of the great Romantic poet. The spirit of antithesis is fatal to impartiality and truth, but perhaps not less fatal than the spirit of a thesis.

As a thesis, however, a moral indictment of Romantic ideals, such a book was certainly needed. The average reader will find it an admirable supplement to Brandes, and a good antidote for his too fervent enthusiasm. It is too much to hope, perhaps, that the volume will reduce the disproportionate amount of nineteenth century literature in our curricula, or free our text-book biographies from their present excess of superlatives.

A recent English essayist has said : "To have sympathy with emotion is far easier than to have sympathy with thought"—an epigram which, after all, remains the best explanation of the strength of the Romantic tendency. The rise of Romanticism was inevitable ; the Revolution brought into the reading public a mass of untrained readers, readers that preferred Ducray-Duminil and Pixérécourt to Racine, and the older hierarchy of taste was thrust aside.

Indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum  
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto ?

The result of all this was the crudities of the popular school, the melodramas and the feuilleton-novels. No one will object to having M. Lasserre demolish these masterpieces—would that he could ! But the finer side of Romanticism, that renaissance of the imagination which revived the spirit of poetry and enriched the media of art, cannot be denied or set aside ; it remains as the permanent gift of the Romantic school.

And by a sarcasm of destiny, something of this Romanticism survives, alas, in M. Lasserre. Even he has not escaped the contagion of Rousseau and his crew. His chapter headings, his epithets, the lyric rush of his style, are at times little short of Hugo-esque. But it must be confessed that in dealing with that linguistic auarch, a more than Renanesque niceuess would have been needed to keep the hand of the dyer clean.

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*Chamisso's Werke*, herausgegeben von Dr. HERMANN TARDEL. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe in drei Bänden. Leipzig und Wien, Bibliographisches Institut, s. a. [1908-09].

Tardel's edition of Chamisso is confessedly neither definitive nor complete. The preface calls attention to the features that chiefly distinguish it from its most recent predecessors : following in general arrangement the fifth Weidmann edition of 1864, it presents the poems in a better order than Koch, and it offers a better text than Walzel ; it contains three poems as yet unprinted, and its *Nachlese zu den Gedichten*, gathering together from a great variety of sources all the poems printed subsequently to the edition of 1864, leaves little to be desired in the direction of completeness. Chamisso's prose is somewhat more fully reprinted in Koch's edition ; but Tardel, with a reprint of the *Tagebuch zur Reise um die Welt*, the more important passages of the *Bemerkungen und Ansichten*, the preface to the translations from Béranger, and half a dozen *Vermischte Aufsätze*, besides *Adelberts Fabel* and *Peter Schlemihl*, offers material enough to represent Chamisso as a prose writer in all but his works in natural science.

The apparatus of variant readings is fuller than has heretofore been available, the *Anmerkungen* appended to the second volume teem with useful information concerning sources and other literary relations ; there are explanatory foot-notes to all the volumes, a general introduction on Chamisso's life and works, and particular introductory to the main divisions of the edition.

Apart from the merits of an accurate text, the editor naturally attaches the greatest importance to his introductions and his notes. The general introduction lacks something of the literary charm of Walzel's—with which, however, it reveals a certain likeness—perhaps for the very reason that the writer is often too manifestly striving for literary effect. It is more biographical than Walzel's, and is more specific in the indication of influences, as might be expected after the studies in Chamisso that Tardel has published elsewhere. The French element in general, and the spirit of

Rousseau in particular are especially emphasized ; but full justice is also done to the effect upon Chamisso of his life in Germany and his association with Germans. The special introduction to the poems suffers from a certain suggestion of overestimate, and from a somewhat too schematic classification. The other introductions are brief and objective : Tardel waives a discussion of the meaning of Peter Schlemihl's shadow.

Explanatory foot-notes are supplied in less abundance and with less judgment to the first volume than to the other two. Volumes II and III contain more references to persons and events than volume I ; but the poems in volume I are those for which most readers will care. It is not easy to see for whom the explanations are necessary that *Rosskamm* is equivalent to *Rosstääuscher* (I, 137) and that *Kummet* is *eine Art Halsgeschirr für Zugpferde* (I, 152) ; nor how readers to whom Moses Mendelssohn is introduced as the author of *Phädon* (I, 232) can be expected to know who Adam Riese was (I, 85). To the history and the setting of the poems the editor obviously gave more attention than to the interpretation of details in them. But, after all, Chamisso is not obscure ; and Tardel's edition of his principal works is the handiest that we now have.

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*The Love-sick King* by ANTHONY BREWER, edited from the quarto of 1655 by A. E. H. SWAEN, in Materialien zur Kunde des aelteren englischen Dramas, 1907, XVIII.

Mr. A. E. H. Swaen's publication of *The Love-sick King* by Anthony Brewer is the first scholarly edition of this play. Excepting a few impossible details, the editor has reprinted the text as in the original. The title-page is a slightly enlarged facsimile.

The story of *The Love-sick King* tells of the infatuation of King Canutus for Cartesmunda, the fair nun of Winchester ; how the victorious Danes are stayed by its continuance ; and how the fair nun being slain, Canutus is defeated but gener-

ously permitted by his conqueror Alvred to return to Denmark.

Of the writer of this play virtually nothing more is known, says Mr. Swaen, than what is to be found in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. In this but one definite statement regarding the dramatist is made, and that is that *The Love-sick King* was, according to the title-page, "Written by Anth. Brewer, Gent." To the life of Brewer as found in *The Dictionary of National Biography* Mr. Swaen adds that he "must have been well acquainted with the local history of Newcastle" —the town in which much of the narrative of the play occurs ; that it is "very probable that he resided there for some time" ; and that we cannot help thinking the play "must have been written for a Newcastle audience." While Mr. Swaen has thus far induced us to give a great deal of credence to these remarks, he immediately dispels all belief in them by saying, "Unfortunately we are here transgressing on the domain of guesses" ; and we are left, as we began, with the sole fact of Brewer's life that *The Love-sick King* was "Written by Anth. Brewer, Gent."<sup>1</sup>

Although *The Love-sick King* was printed in 1655, Mr. Swaen assigns the drama to "1605, or at least to a not much later date." His reasons are, first, that there is perhaps a trace of the influence of *Macbeth* in *The Love-sick King* in the name of Malcolm, which occurs in both tragedies ; second, that there is perhaps an evidence of the influence of this same play in the parallelism of Shakespeare's "Come in, tailor ; here you may roast your goose" and Brewer's "they say a Taylor burnt his Goose" ; and, third, that there is "a certain amount of similarity" between the lives and the fortunes of Thornton in *The Love-sick King* and of Whittington in *The History of Richard Whittington*, which was entered in the *Register of the Stationers' Company* in 1605.<sup>2</sup>

The play Mr. Swaen classifies under Professor Schelling's headings of "pseudo-history and folklore" and "biographical chronicle play."<sup>3</sup> As regards the pseudo-historical part of the drama the editor says that nothing is known of any

<sup>1</sup> See for this paragraph *Introduction*, p. vi.

<sup>2</sup> See for this paragraph *Introduction*, p. ix.

<sup>3</sup> See Professor Felix E. Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play*.

amour between King Canutus and a nun Cartesmunda. Furthermore, there is no nun by the name of Cartesmunda known to have lived at Winchester. In the time of Cæsar there is mentioned a "Qneene of the Brigantes" by name of Cartismandua. She had illicit escapades. It is not known whether this personage became the prototype of Brewer's nun. Mr. Swaen says, "The name *Cartesmunda* Brewer may, however, have taken from J. Speed."<sup>4</sup> In the biographical chrouicle Thornton is the hero. He is an historical personage and was an influential citizen of Newcastle in the fourteenth century. Mr. Swaen thus puts the facts concerning these three important persons of the play : "Thus truth and untruth are mixed : Thornton who flourished under Henry IV is represented as living in the reign of Canute ; Canute who was victorious and reigned over England till his death in 1035 is represented as being defeated by Alfred, who died in 901 !"<sup>5</sup>

Although much of the play is verse, almost the entire original copy is printed as prose. Mr. Swaen makes no general attempt to correct the consequent disorder, but instead refers to "the book of Dr. van Dam and Dr. Stoffel."<sup>6</sup> The editor, though making several suggestions in the *Notes*, dismisses the whole subject with the perfunctory remark that "The metre reminds us of Fletcher's : we often find short and long lines varying the regular length of the pentameter."<sup>7</sup>

As to the play as literature this is all that Mr. Swaen has to say : "Little need be said with regard to the literary value of the play. It is interesting on account of its threefold plot : historical-biographical (Thornton) ; pseudo-historical (Canutus) ; legendary (Grim the Collier). Aesthetic value it has none."<sup>8</sup> With this last remark in mind, in fairness to Brewer, we should realize that in the play there is so felicitous a couplet as

"Canutus arms, a while shall be thy Tomb,  
Then gold inclose thee till the day of Doom."

In this a pleasing melody arises from the inter-

<sup>4</sup> See J. Speed, *The Historie of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Suxons, Danes and Normans*.

<sup>5</sup> See for this paragraph *Introduction*, pp. ix-xii.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. van Dam and Dr. Stoffel, *W. Shakespeare*, the chapters on prosody.

<sup>7</sup> See *Introduction*, p. xiii.

<sup>8</sup> See *Introduction*, p. xiv.

mingling of the assonance of *a*'s and of *o*'s, of the minor tones of *e*'s and of *i*'s, of *l*'s, and of the alliteration of *d*'s and of *t*'s. More than mere commonplace is this passage of Canutus on Cartesmunda :

"Here was it that I saw that blazing Star  
... Hofman, her looks are heaven ; her eyes  
are Cupids darts ; Go bring her to me : Art  
not gone yet slave ? It is an Embassie too  
good for Hermes, the Herald of the gods :  
Thou meet Lightning, yet on thou must, . . .  
Were Hellen now alive, this Maid alone  
would stain her beauty and new Troy should  
burn, Paris would dye again to live to see  
her : O bring me her, Dull slave with rever-  
eunce : Let not the Sun be more out-wor-  
shipp'd by the tann'd Barbarian."

Mr. Swaen in his *Misprints in the Original Text* is not complete and consistent. For example, the error of "repair'st for repair'd," l. 1586, is not mentioned under this heading. Some misprints occur in this list and again in the *Notes* as in l. 658 and l. 1339. Furthermore, an explanation of these mistakes seems only natural. "*Ethelred*" could be the name of another person introduced, as well as a misspelling of Etheldred. "*Manet*" for Manent may not be evident to every possible reader of *The Love-sick King*.

The *Notes* are in some respects a disappointment. If the number of notes was limited, then more important ones have been omitted than "The *s* of *us* is inverted," l. 53 ; or "The *C* of *Cartes*. and *Canut.* is bigger than elsewhere," ll. 222-3. Such a comment as "There is no period after *Ent* . . . *Edel* has only one *l* here," l. 83, seems useless, for we presume the reprint to be correct in every part ; if, perchance, typographical errors have occurred, they are supposed to be rectified in "Readers are requested to correct the following errors in the text." The mistakes of "*Randolfe*" in the text for "*Randal*" in the "Persons of the Play" and of "*Alablaster*," l. 842, for alabaster, are nowhere mentioned. It seems there should be a note on "*Poles*," l. 1567. Three possible meanings are suggested. Lines 1276-7 are too vague not to require comment. There is this trivial remark on a word in line 864 : "*Freezland*, no doubt so spelt to suggest

derivation from 'freeze.'" Is there any more justification for this than for the one that in those days of variable spelling "*Freezland*" was Friesland? Again, attention might have been called to the following metrical scheme of lines 435-6 :

Be gone, be gone,  
My Juggy, my Puggy,  
Be gone my Love, my Dear,  
    My Money is gone,  
    And ware I have none,  
But one poor Lamb-skin here.

In the original text Brewer designated only "Seen. i" of the first act. The twelve, that we have found, might have been indicated in the *Notes*. Lastly, although all the characters of the drama as "*Donald*," "*Nuns*," etc. are not mentioned in the "Persons of the Play," nothing is said of this.

In fine, adverse criticism aside, Mr. Swaen in his edition of *The Love-sick King* has furnished the student of our earlier literature an excellent text, he has appended valuable information, and he has put into our hands a most scrupulous reprint of one of the Elizabethan plays.

CHARLES K. MESCHTER.

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*Island in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* Von PAUL HERRMANN. Two vols. Leipzig, Engelmann, 1907.

The critic of Paul Herrmann's *Island*—unless indeed one of a band whose members may be reckoned on the fingers of one's hands—must perforce start out with the admission of partial incompetence to do justice to all its parts; especially if the opportunity has not been granted him to see far off Isaafold with his own eyes. The following remarks are written with this reservation.

Good books and articles on Iceland have been rapidly multiplying of late, thanks to the recent considerable improvements in communication, until, with the appearance of the sketch in Baedeker's *Scandinavia* (1909), the island, from being a terra incognita, has advanced to take its place with the regular 'civilized' tourist countries. Herrmann's book, containing

as it does the very best materials culled from the works of his numerous predecessors, marks this epoch in but another way. We hope and rather imagine that it will be the last of the kind, and that henceforth travel, descriptions, and impressions on the one hand, and scientific treatises on the other, will be more clearly separated than has been the case so far, in most books on Iceland.

Herrmann, who is a teacher at the gymnasium of Torgau, was enabled to undertake this expensive journey by the generosity of the Prussian Department of Education. Originally planned only as the record of his experiences in the rarely visited South and East, the book was made to include a general cultural and physical conspectus of the whole island, with especial attention to the localities of the Sagas.

The result has been, unavoidably perhaps, rather unfortunate. Many repetitions are necessitated, and e. g., the accompanying Saga accounts are pulled to pieces again and again to illustrate now this point now that. Moreover, though roughly divided into I) Land und Leute, and II) Reisebericht, and however reliably compiled, the book suffers by its twofold nature. The reader desiring exact information will prefer to get it from the respective authorities; whereas the reader desiring bright narrative and telling word pictures will fight shy of the frequent discussions of moot questions, and, we fear, skip also large portions of the very painstaking journal which—as the whole of the ca. 650 pages—is, to be sure, reasonably interesting and instructive, but also entirely devoid of humor. And that, we beg to submit, is a serious matter in a book attempting to give an exhaustive treatment of a people famed for their swift and fierce repartee and rich Celtic humor.

Best, perhaps is the treatment of recent developments in Icelandic art and literature, with the welcome translations, by the author, of nineteen new lyrics, and the appreciation of Indriði Einarsson's dramatic production. Valuable features are also the interspersed biographies of eminent men, and the chapter on the relations of Iceland with Germany (where he misses a trick, though, in failing to give an account of the picturesque personality of the skald Sighvatr Thorðarson and his wanderings).

Considering the multifarious information gathered in these volumes, there seem to be remark-

ably few errors of statement or fact. Only a few peccadilloes have been noted, such as when the author categorically refers to Eystein Ásgrimsson's 'Lilja' as "das innigste kunstvollste Gedicht des Mittelalters";<sup>1</sup> or asserts that the waterfalls of Iceland contain "a thousand million horsepower" which is more than doubtful, immense though their potential convertible energy unquestionably is. In this connection it is to be regretted that the author does not inform us of the probable attitude of the Icelandic legislature on the concession and acquisition (by foreign capital) of these sources of future wealth, in view of the fact that 'Vandfall-politik' has been, for some time already, an absolutely vital issue in the other Northern countries.

A more serious shortcoming is a certain lack of correlation, various customs and institutions being discussed as specifically Icelandic which really are pan-Scandinavian; e. g., the scheme of housing in separate buildings for the several purposes, the system of naming, features of pronunciation (cf. below), and the ancient sport of horse-fighting (*hestavíg*) put an end to in 1627 (which, by the way, was practiced in Telemarken down into the eighteenth century).

Most surprising is the author's exhibition of 'prejudiced phonetics.' He greatly dislikes the modern pronunciation of old *rn* (and *nn*) as *dn*, and of *rl* (and *ll*) as *dl* which, he opines, is neither beautiful nor historically justifiable (!). And yet a very closely allied sound<sup>2</sup> is daily produced by millions of E. Norwegians and Swedes, as well as Scandinavian *u*, of whose existence Herrmann seems entirely unaware. The pronunciation of *á* as *au* finds more favor in his eyes as "historisch eher berechtigt" (!).

The author's powers of original observation are not large. He definitely declines to venture an opinion on the characteristics of the people as a whole, yet fails to give any but idealized accounts of the individuals he meets—a slightly sentimental attitude, begotten in many, it seems, by the pathetic history and, after all, dubious outlook of that sympathetic little nation.

There are good indices; but it is to be regretted that a list of the numerous books used and mentioned was not added.

LEE M. HOLLANDER.

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<sup>1</sup> Uncritically quoted from Mogk, *Grundriss*, II, p. 714.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*, § 321.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ON "FEELDES" IN THE *Knight's Tale*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—To Mr. Gibbs's references in *Modern Language Notes* for November (xxiv, 197-8), may be added :

Eche man bare a sheeld  
So freshly depaynted that all the feld  
Enleymed was of this fresh aray.

—*Partonope*, vv. 6374 ff.

.I. escu d'or ot Caradox  
A oreuvre clere et fine,  
Tout le pais en enlumine.  
—*Perceval li Gallois*, vv. 13512-4 (Potvin, III, 154).

La dipintura è si ricca e polita,  
Che d'or tutto il giardino alluminava.

—Bojardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, I, 6, 53.

La veisseiz maint bon conrei,  
Maint buen cheval baudent et sor,  
Et maint chier garnement a or,  
De dras de soie et de cendé  
Maint chier blialz d'orfreis bendié,  
Tot li pais en reflanbeie.

—*Roman de Troie*, vv. 13000 ff. (ed. Joly, II, 184).

G. L. KITTREDGE.

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### "NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Here is an early use of the thought, sixty years at least before Prof. Cook's earliest reference. Henry, seventh baron Morley, was a semi-official translator of classics for Henry VIII. His daughter married Anne Boleyn's brother.

### HENRY LORD MORLEY TO HIS POSTERITYE.

Never was I lesse alone than being alone,  
Here in this chamber evill thought had I none  
But always I thought to bryng the mynd to rest,  
And yt thought off all thoughts I juge it the beste.  
For yf my coffers hade ben full of perl & golde,  
And Fortune hadde favorde me then as yt I wolde,  
The mynde out of quyat, so sage Senek sethe,  
It hade ben no felicitie, but a paynfull dethe.  
Love then whoo love wyll to stand in hyge degré,  
I blame hym not a whytte, so yt he follow me ;  
And take his losse as quietly as when yt he doth wynne,  
Then Fortune hath no maistre of that state he ys in.

But rulys and ys not rulyde, & takes the better part,  
O, that man is blesyd, y<sup>t</sup> lerns this gentle arte.  
Thys was my felieitie, my pastyme, & my game,  
I wisshe all my posterite they wolde ensew the same.

Written over a chambar Dore where he was wont to lye  
at Hollenbyrry.

This poem occurs ouly in Bodley ms. Ashmole 48, article 8. I copy it from the print in the *British Bibliographer*, vol. iv, p. 107. As the book is rare, the whole sixteen lines are perhaps worth reprinting.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* has an excellent account of Lord Morley (see under Parker, Henry).

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#### That AS A "PRO-CONJUNCTION."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Recently, while preparing a paper upon the "*That*-Clause in the Authorized Version of the Bible," I have found in this text nine examples wherein *that* supplants an adverbial conjunction—*because*, *if*, *except*, *when*, and *lest*—before the second of two clauses of like rank and function. This usage seems to be a compromise between the necessity for some conjunctival element before the second clause and a desire to avoid repetition. It is also interesting in connection with the formulae *when that*, *if that*, *lest that*, etc., which are so familiar to all readers of the older language, and which have fairly frequent exemplification even in this text, as well.

The nine examples follow, with parallels from the Septuagint, the Vulgate and the Greek original:

1. *That* supplants *because*: Jer. 20. 17, "let him hear . . . the shouting at noontide. Because he slew me not from the womb ; or that my mother might have been my grave" (*ἀκονάτω . . . ἀλαλαγμοῦ μεσημβρίας ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέκτενέ με ἐν μήτρᾳ καὶ ἐγένετό μοι ἡ μήτηρμον τάφος μου* : qui non . . . interfecit . . . ut fieret) : 1 John 2. 21, "I have not written unto you because ye know not the truth, but because ye know it, and that no lie is of the truth" (*οὐκ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν ἀληθείαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οἴδατε αὐτὴν, καὶ ὅτι*

*πᾶν ψεύδος ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἔστι* : non scripsi vobis quod non nostis veritatem, sed quod nostis eam, et quoniam omne mendacium ex veritate non est).

2. *That* supplants *if*: Lev. 13. 31, "if the priest look on the plague of the scall, and behold it be not iu sight deeper than the skin, and that there is no black hair in it, then the priest shall shut him up" (*ἐὰν ἵδῃ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἀφῆν . . . καὶ ἴδον οὐχ ἡ ὄψις . . . καὶ θρήξ . . . οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀφοριεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἀφῆν* : sin autem viderit locum maculae aequalē vicinæ carni, et capillum nigrum : recludet eum) : 1 Chron. 13. 2, "if it seem good unto you, and that it be of the Lord our God, let us send abroad" (*εἰ ἐφ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσοδωθῆ, ἀποστελλωμεν* : si placuit vobis : et a Domino Deo nostro egreditur sermo, quem loquor : mittamus) ; Job 31. 38, "if my land cry against me, or that the furrows likewise thereof complain" (*εἰ ἐπ' ἔσοι ποτε ἡ γῆ ἐστέναξεν, εἴ δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐλακες αὐτῆς ἔκλαυσαν* : si aduersum me terra mea claimat, et cum ipsa sulci ejus deflent) ; Jer. 33. 20, "if ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season : Then may also my covenant be brokeu with David" (Septuagint fails : si irritum potest fieri pactum meum cum die, et pactum meum cum nocte, ut non sit dies et nox in tempore suo : et pactum meum irritum esse poterit cum David).

3. *That* supplants *except*: Esther 2. 14, "she came in unto the king no more, except the king delighted in her, and that she were called by name" (*οὐκ ἔτι εἰσπορεύεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ἐὰν μὴ κληθῇ ὁνόματι* : nec habebat potestatem ad regem ultra redeundi, nisi prius voluisset rex, et eam venire jussisset ex nomine).

4. *That* supplants *when*: Num. 9. 21, "and so it was, when the cloud abode from evn unto the morning, and that the cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed" (*καὶ ἔσται ὅταν γένηται ἡ νεφέλη ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἕως πρωτ, καὶ ἀναβῆ ἡ νεφέλη τὸ πρωτ, καὶ ἀπαροῦσιν ἡμέρας ἡ νυκτός* : si fuissest nubes a vesperi usque mane, et statim diluculo tabernaculum reliquisset, profiscebantur).

5. *That* supplants *lest*: 2 Cor. 12. 20, "for I fear, lest, when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be found unto you

such as ye would not" (φοβοῦμαι γὰρ, μή πως ἐλθῶν οὐχ οἶος θέλω, εὑρώ ἵματι, καὶ γὰ εἰρεθῶ ἵματι οἷον οὐ θέλετε: timeo enim ne forte veniens non quales volo inveniam vos: et ego inveniar a vobis qualem non vultis).

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### CHAUCER AND *Sir Aldingar*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—To Mr. Lincoln R. Gibbs's interesting list of parallel passages supporting Professor Liddell's interpretation of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, vv. 975-977, printed in your November issue, may be added the following fairly close parallel from the ballad of *Sir Aldingar* (Child's Collection, no. 59, A, stanza 43).

"The litle one pulld forth a well good sword,  
I-wis itt was all of guilt;  
It cast light there over that feild,  
It shone soe all of guilt."

This appearance of the idea in popular poetry shows that to the mind of the people it did not seem too violent an exaggeration. But to Bishop Percy it evidently appeared strained, as the similar conception in Chaucer has seemed to his editors, for in polishing this ballad for his *Reliques*, the Bishop altered the passage to the following more colorless and commonplace form.

"The boye pulld forth a well good sworde,  
So gilt it dazzling the ee."  
(*Reliques*, ed. Wheatley, vol. II, p. 60.)

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### A NOTE ON SPEECH MELODY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I desire to call attention to the striking rhythmical quality to be observed in the prose of Wilhelm Hesse, the author of *Peter Camenzind*, and one of the leading novelists of Germany to-day. In trying, casually, to ascertain the personal rhythm of this author, with the much discussed theory of Eduard Sievers in mind, I caught myself in a hardly more than semi-conscious attempt to read as if I were scanning dactylic hexameter. After that, of course, the effort became fully conscious; curiously enough, I had little trouble in producing (by means of moderate slurring) the general effect of hexameters, nay sometimes of elegiac meter, as e. g., p. 205:

Leider hat sich gezeigt, dass der kleine Mattheo Spinelli wirklich, wie ich stets gesagt habe, ein Bösewicht ist.

I need hardly say that but few lines in the novel permit of absolute scansion. I am merely pointing out the odd phenomenon of a dactylic type of personal prose rhythm in a German writer, without drawing any of the self-suggesting inferences. Probably for the specimens of perfect distichs we should have to assume intentional versification, as when we come to lines like the following :

Feierlich schwiegen umher die silbrig umdünsten Bergs,  
der fast völlige Mond hing in der bläulichen Nacht.

In such cases we are merely left to wonder at the adoption, by a modern or modernus, of the old-fashioned Dickensian device.

OTTO HELLER.

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### THE METER OF COLLINS'S *Ode to Evening*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—It is commonly said that Collins derived the meter of his *Ode to Evening* from Milton's translation of the fifth ode of the first book of Horace. That there is some connection between the two poems seems almost certain since they are written in the same unrimed form which is not blank verse and is very rare in English. The only difference is that the later ode is divided into stanzas. Furthermore, Collins drew the structure, meter, and phrasing of other poems from Milton and borrowed expressions from him in this ode.<sup>1</sup> There is good reason, however, for thinking that the stanza of *The Ode to Evening* is derived, not directly from Milton, but thru some of the latter's imitators.

The first person after Milton to use this stanza seems to have been Thomas Warton, Senior. In a volume of his poems published in 1745, three years after his death, was included an *Ode to Taste* in the meter of Milton's translation. Like it, the ode was not divided into stanzas, Thomas Warton, Junior, the author of the *History of English Poetry*, also made two translations from Horace "After the Manner of Milton" the date of neither the composition nor the publication of which have I been able to discover. These two translations are divided into stanzas.

Between May, 1745 and June, 1746,<sup>2</sup> Joseph

<sup>1</sup> Or where the beetle winds  
His small but sullen horn. 11-12.  
What time the grey-fly winds her sultry horn.  
*Lycidas*, 28.

Or upland fallows grey. 31.  
Russet lawns, and fallows gray.

The upland hamlets will invite. *L'Allegro*, 71, 92.

<sup>2</sup> John Woll's *Biographical Memoirs of Joseph Warton*, L, 1806, p. 14, n. For the date cf. *Athenaeum Press*, Collins, p. xx, n.

Warton wrote to his brother Thomas, "Collins met me in Surrey, at Guildford races, when I wrote out for him my odes, and he like wise communicated some of his to me; and being both in very high spirits we took courage, resolved to join our forces and to publish them immediately." In December, 1746, at least six months after this meeting occurred, the two poets published their work separately. Warton's eighth poem is *To a Fountain. Imitated from Horace, Ode XIII, Book III.* The fact that this is in the meter of Milton's translation and that it is a paraphrase of an ode by the same Latin author, makes clear the debt to the Puritan poet.<sup>3</sup> Yet the idea of employing this form was in all probability suggested by the previous use of it by Warton's father. This is the more likely because the recent death of the latter and the possibility that the son was collecting his verses for publication at the time he made the paraphrase. Collins's volume contained the *Ode to Evening*. Collins must have known Milton's translation and was doubtless more or less influenced by it in his choice of the meter for his ode. Milton's poem is certainly much more likely to inspire imitation than those of the Wartons. Yet the idea of employing this meter was, in all probability, suggested to him thru the use of it by the Warton family. Collins was a schoolmate of Joseph's, and, from the letter quoted, it is apparent that the two remained good friends. It is quite likely that Collins came to know the *Ode to Taste* of his friend's father while he and Joseph were at Winchester or later when they were at Oxford. The *Ode to Taste*, which is somewhat similar to *The Ode to Evening* may well have suggested to Collins the idea of using Milton's unrimed stanza for his great lyric. The hint may have come, however, from hearing Joseph Warton read his poems at Guildford races, or from Thomas Warton Junior's translations—in which as in *The Ode to Evening* the stanzas are separated—or from all three.

The appearance of this very unusual meter in two volumes of verse published the same month by two friends can scarcely be a coincidence; Joseph Warton's use of it can easily be explained; it seems almost certain, therefore, that the idea of employing it came to Collins from some member of the Warton family.

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<sup>3</sup> To be sure, this is also the meter of the original and accordingly might seem to be the most natural one to employ, but an examination of other translations and of one's own experience in this line will, I think, make clear that a metrical translation of an ode is naturally rimed. It will be remembered that Marvell's *Horatian Ode on Cromwell's Return* is in this same meter and is rimed. Furthermore, in view of the use of the same very rare meter by his father and brother and their derivation of it from Milton, there is every reason for thinking that Joseph Warton got it from the same source.

#### LORD BYRON'S *STANZAS TO THE PO AGAIN*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Some days after reading the proofs of my communication to the last number of this journal (December, 1909), I observed in Richard Edgecumbe's recent book, *Byron: The Last Phase*, p. 299, the suggestion that the *Stanzas to the Po* "were adapted, from a fragment written in early life, to meet the conditions of 1819," and that Byron, in composing these lines, really had in mind not the Countess Guiccioli, but Mary Chaworth (with whom, as appears from Mr. Edgecumbe's work, the poet maintained a hitherto unsuspected intimacy in 1813), then (1819) residing at Colwick Hall on the Trent. This suggestion that the poem is an adaptation of an earlier one is rather striking, in view of the fact that Mr. Edgecumbe was writing without knowledge of the passage in Moore's *Journal* to which I have called attention, but it is left unsupported by proofs, for the detailed argument which follows is devoted to the second of the points just mentioned. If Mr. Edgecumbe, however, can establish this second point—namely, that the *Stanzas to the Po*, though ostensibly addressed to the Countess Guiccioli, were really meant to apply to Mary Chaworth—it would undoubtedly strengthen the probability, suggested by the passage in Moore's *Journal*, that the poem represents a recasting of an earlier piece (addressed to Mary Chaworth). It is accordingly worth while, perhaps, to examine his argument on this point.

It may be said at the outset that the theory is, in itself, not a very likely one. Byron had been on terms (it would seem) of the last intimacy with both of the women concerned—with Mary Chaworth in 1813 and with the Countess Guiccioli in 1819. In the latter year, according to the theory, he sits down and composes these fine lines to the Italian countess—Mr. Edgecumbe does not dispute that they are primarily addressed to her—but in composing them has his mind so full of his profounder love for Mary Chaworth that he slips in phrases that apply to the latter and not to the former—for it is to be noted that Mr. Edgecumbe does not assign these phrases (which we shall soon examine) to the hypothetical fragment, but takes them as a part of the poem as written in 1819. It is rather curious, one may remark in passing, that with his theory regarding the stanzas, Mr. Edgecumbe did not try to prove that the phrases in question belonged to the hypothetical fragment.

But let us examine the argument in detail. Mr. Edgecumbe's main point is that the italicized lines in the following (the first) stanza accord well with Byron's relations to Mary Chaworth in June, 1819, but do not accord with his relations

to the Countess Guiccioli at that time, inasmuch as he had parted with the Countess only two months before, was in constant correspondence with her, and expected to visit her at Ravenna very soon again. (For reasons which he does not state, Mr. Edgcumbe assumes throughout that the poem was written in June rather than April, 1819). This is the (first) stanza :

River that rollest by the ancient walls  
Where dwells the Lady of my love, when she  
Walks by thy brink, and there perchance recalls  
A faint and fleeting memory of me.

If we take the italicized words *au pied de lettre*, Mr. Edgcumbe's contention is doubtless true, but when all the rest of the poem fits perfectly well with the Guiccioli—notice especially the references to the fact that the poet and the lady were born in different climates—are we justified in drawing the inference that he does? There is surely nothing unnatural in a poet's expressing in a love-poem a greater fear as to the place he holds in the memory of his absent mistress than he really feels.

Again, Mr. Edgcumbe objects to the following stanza (the seventh in the poem but transposed by him so as to be the second), that "while there was nothing whatever to connect the River Po with tender recollections, there was Byron's association in childhood with the River Trent, a memory inseparable from his boyish love for Mary Chaworth":

She will look on thee—I have looked on thee  
Full of that thought : and from that moment ne'er  
Thy waters could I dream of, name, or see  
Without the inseparable sigh for her !

But there is no question of *old* associations here. Even if we hold him down to a rigid literalness of statement, it is sufficient that the poet should have looked on the river on some occasion, with thoughts of his mistress in his mind, and the lines would be justified.

Lastly, the line "The thousand thoughts *I now betray to thee*" (*i. e.*, the river), surely has no more significance as applied to Mary Chaworth than to the Guiccioli—for Byron had just as much reason to be reticent about his feelings in regard to the one as the other.

Most readers, I believe, will acknowledge that Mr. Edgcumbe's argument furnishes very slender support for his theory. Whether, however, Byron really wrote a similar poem at an earlier period does not, of course, stand or fall with this argument. Perhaps some day evidence may turn up to show that he did write such a poem. In the meanwhile I think that the explanation I have offered of the passage in Moore's *Journal* is the

most likely one. In any event, however, it is a striking coincidence that Mr. Edgcumbe and myself should have independently and about the same time raised the question (which has never been raised before) as to the existence of an earlier poem by Byron corresponding to his *Stanzas to the Po*—he on the basis of internal evidence, I on the basis of external. To be sure, our answers are different, his being in the affirmative, mine in the negative.

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#### ERNESTO GARCIA LADEVÈZE.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—On page 164 of Prof. E. C. Hills' excellent edition of *Spanish Tales for Beginners*, published by Holt and Co., the name of Ernesto García Ladevèze, author of the story *Pescador de Caña*, is followed by an interrogation mark, indicating that the editor was unable to find any biographical notes concerning him. A short account of his life and also his photograph are appended to an article on the Republican party in Spain which he contributed to *L'Espagne, politique, littérature, etc., numéro spécial encyclopédique de la Nouvelle Revue Internationale*, Paris, 1900, p. 56. The sketch of his life there given is as follows:—

Ernesto García Ladevèze est né près de Bilbao le 2 juin 1850. Presque adolescent, il publia divers recueils de poésies dont *Feu et Cendres*, *Les vagues*, et quelques romans. Lorsque la Révolution de 1868 éclata, il commençait ses études de droit à Madrid et fut élu président de l'Association d'étudiants démocrates. Lieutenant de Ruiz Zorrilla, il suivit ce dernier dans sa lutte révolutionnaire et dans son exil. Amnistié, en mars 1895, il fut salué par de grandes ovations populaires à Tolosa et à Bilbao. Au meeting du 29 septembre 1899 à Madrid, il prononça un discours retentissant.

Ladevèze est un habile avocat et un littérateur distingué. Son dernier roman, *L'Idole*, a eu un vif succès, et les contes qu'il publie dans *L'Illustration espagnole* et dans le *Liberal* sont très appréciés. Pendant son exil, Ladevèze a collaboré à plusieurs journaux français.

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## PARALLELS IN COLERIDGE, KEATS, AND ROSSETTI.

Everyone in reading Coleridge, Keats, and Rossetti must have noticed certain similarities between Coleridge and the other two. The phrasal echoes, and the repeated musical cadences sometimes lie plainly on the surface. Yet, surprisingly enough, only the most casual attention seems to have been given them. Mr. Buxton-Forman, in his—supposedly—definitive edition of Keats,<sup>1</sup> records in the footnotes the fact that Keats's words *honey-dew* and *ladye* are also used by Coleridge; but no more. Brandl<sup>2</sup> speaks of the *Eve of St. Agnes* as closely related to *Christabel*, points out that the part of Geraldine is taken by a lover; and lets it go at that. Mr. Traill<sup>3</sup> points out a general similarity between Christabel's chamber and that in the *Eve of Saint Agnes*. Mr. MacCracken in a recent article, *The Source of Keats's "Eve of St. Agnes,"*<sup>4</sup> does not mention Coleridge at all. Mr. Sidney Colvin in his excellent life of Keats, otherwise copious in parallels and sources, has only three vague references on the point. In connection with the songs in the fourth book of *Endymion*,<sup>5</sup> he remarks upon "a power like that of Coleridge, and perhaps partly caught from him, of evoking the remotest weird and beautiful associations almost with a word." Again,<sup>6</sup> he says that in the roundelay in *Endymion*, Keats equaled Coleridge in "touches of wild musical beauty and far-sought romance." Almost in the last sentence of the hook, he adds as an afterthought<sup>7</sup> "After or together with Coleridge, Keats has also contributed most, among English writers, to the poetic method and ideals of Rossetti and his group." Mr. Benson,<sup>8</sup> in

dealing with Rossetti's indebtedness, is more definite. Coleridge and Keats, he thinks, are the poets to whom Rossetti was nearest. From Coleridge came the modes of conception and execution, romantic isolation, and the scene "beyond the faery casement, on the perilous seas forlorn, and in the enchanted woodland of the land of dreams." The specific parallels, however, number exactly one. The germ of the *Blessed Damozel*, Mr. Benson thinks, lies in the *Ancient Mariner*,<sup>9</sup> and the first four lines of stanza ten he considers an echo. Albert Eichler,<sup>10</sup> in his recent edition of the *Ancient Mariner* and *Christabel*, cites Brandl, and notes a few general rhetorical similarities between *Christabel* and *The Eve of St. Agnes*. He also points out rather vaguely that the same material, through the medium of Coleridge's *Dark Ladie*, affected Keats's *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*. He cites, however, no specific instances.

If, before taking up the parallels themselves, we turn to the chronology of the matter, we shall find no little presumption in favor of a probable Coleridgean influence upon both Keats and Rossetti. In Keats the notable Coleridgean parallels occur in *Lamia* and the *Eve of St. Agnes*. The corresponding parallels in Coleridge are most numerous in the second part of *Christabel*. The second part of *Christabel* was published in 1816.<sup>11</sup> Coleridge was then one of the most respected and most discussed of men of letters. His addition to *Christabel* must therefore have created no slight stir. In 1818, scarcely two years later, Keats wrote *Lamia* and the *Eve of St. Agnes*. [They were published in 1820.]

In Rossetti the Coleridgean parallels occur in the *Blessed Damozel*, *The White Ship*, and *Rose Mary*. The *Blessed Damozel*, the first of these in point of date, was published in *The Germ* in 1850. It is safe therefore to assume that it was written

<sup>1</sup> New York: Crowell, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Coleridge*, Ch. iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Coleridge*. [Eng. Men of Letters Series], 1898.

<sup>4</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, Oct., 1907.

<sup>5</sup> P. 105.

<sup>6</sup> P. 170.

<sup>7</sup> P. 219.

<sup>8</sup> *Rossetti*. [Eng. Men of Letters], 1904, p. 141.

<sup>9</sup> Can he know of the parallels in Dante?

<sup>10</sup> *Wiener Beitr.*, xxvi, 1907, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> The First Part had been previously circulated and read in manuscript.

*circa* 1849. Now between the years 1845 and 1848 Rossetti was enthusiastically reading Coleridge and Keats.<sup>12</sup> *Rose Mary* and *The White Ship* were not published until long after this, in 1881, *The White Ship* having been written in 1880 for the children of William Rossetti.<sup>13</sup> During the lapse of thirty years it might be supposed that any youthful enthusiasm for Coleridge would have waned. But we have external evidence to the contrary. For William Michael Rossetti writes in 1870,<sup>14</sup> “*He* [Dante Gabriel], however, inclines to set Byron above him [Shelley]. Hitherto he has also preferred Coleridge, Keats, and others.” “Hitherto” could scarcely mean thirty years before. That this admiration of Coleridge was not only prolonged, but—at least at times—extravagant, is evidenced by Rossetti’s own words,<sup>15</sup> “I worship him on the right side of idolatry.”

Turning now to the parallels between Coleridge and Keats,<sup>16</sup> we find the most notable between *Christabel* and Keats’s *Lamia*. The parallelism inheres in the very plot. It will be recalled that in *Christabel* the Lady Geraldine is a supernatural being, who is found in distress by Christabel, who exercises an unholy fascination over Christabel, and who is plainly serpentine. The bard Tracy<sup>17</sup> describes her thus, allegorically, in his account of the dream, in which Christabel is a dove entwined by a serpent. A little farther on the serpentine quality comes out more strongly:<sup>18</sup>

A snake’s small eye blinks dull and shy,  
And the lady’s eyes they shrunk in her head,  
Each shrunk up to a serpent’s eye,  
And with somewhat of malice, and more of dread,  
At Christabel she looked askance!

Again, a little later,<sup>19</sup> comes the memory of

<sup>12</sup> See *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-letters, with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti*. London: Ellis & Elvey, 1895. Vol. I, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> Benson, p. 108.

<sup>14</sup> *Rossetti Papers* [1862–1870]. Compiled by William Michael Rossetti. London: Sands & Co., 1903, p. 498. Cf. also Rossetti’s sonnet on Coleridge, pub. 1881.

<sup>15</sup> Benson, p. 172.

<sup>16</sup> In pointing these out I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. E. R. Schlueter, who has pointed out several that had escaped my attention.

<sup>17</sup> Part II, II. 526–559.

<sup>18</sup> Part II, II. 583–587.

<sup>19</sup> L. 602.

“those shrunken serpent eyes.” The plot of the remaining unwritten part of the poem is told in Gillman’s life of Coleridge, presumably on the authority of Coleridge. As it affords an additional parallel to *Lamia*, it may be quoted in full.<sup>20</sup> The bard, at the end of the poem, is sent to tell Lord Roland that his—*soi disant*—daughter is safe. Then in the words of Gillman :

“Over the mountains the Bard, as directed by Sir Leoline, hastens with his disciple [the youth to bear his harp]; but, in consequence of one of those inundations supposed to be common to the country, the spot only where the castle once stood is discovered, the edifice itself being washed away. He determines to return. Geraldine, being acquainted with all that is passing, like the weird sisters in *Macbeth*, vanishes. Reappearing, however, she awaits the return of the Bard, exciting in the meantime by her wily arts all the anger she could rouse in the Baron’s breast, as well as that jealousy of which he is described to have been [*sic*] susceptible. The old bard and the youth at length arrive, and therefore she can no longer personate the character of Geraldine, the daughter of Lord Roland de Vaux, but changes her appearance to that of the accepted though absent lover of Christabel. Next ensues a courtship most distressing to Christabel, who feels—she knows not why—great disgust for her once favored knight. This coldness is very painful to the Baron, who has no more conception than herself of the supernatural transformation. She at last yields to her father’s entreaties, and consents to approach the altar with the hated suitor. The real lover returning, enters at this moment, and produces the ring which she had once given him in sign of her betrothal. Thus defated, the supernatural being Geraldine disappears. As predicted, the castle-bell tolls, the mother’s voice is heard, and, to the exceeding great joy of the parties, the rightful marriage takes place, after which follows a reconciliation and explanation between father and daughter.”

In *Lamia* the serpent-woman reappears—this time as a *bona fide* serpent,—is found in the forest of Crete by Hermes, precisely as Geraldine is found by Christabel, and is rescued from great grief—this time from her enchantment. She entrances Lycius; much as Geraldine entrances Christabel; but is detected by the sage, fixed by his eye, and vanishes; precisely as the detected impostor Geraldine vanishes.

<sup>20</sup> Traill.—*Coleridge*, p. 58, note.

So much for the plot. In detail the parallels are as close. The brilliant coloring of the serpent Lamia may be quoted, to recall it (ll. 47-58):

She was a gordian shape of dazzling hue,  
Vermilion-spotted, golden, green, and blue;  
Striped like a zebra, freckled like a pard,  
Eyed like a peacock, and all crimson barred;  
And full of silver moons, that, as she breathed,  
Dissolved, or brighter shone, or interwreathed  
Their lustres with the gloomier tapestries—  
So rainbow-sided, touched with miseries,  
She seemed, at once, some penanced lady elf,  
Some demon's mistress, or the demon's self.  
Upon her crest she wore a wannish fire  
Sprinkled with stars, like Ariadne's tiar.

It will be noted that "as she breathed" the colors "dissolved" and changed. In *Christabel* (line 499) the serpent of the bard's dream is "a bright green snake" encircling the dove;

And with the dove it heaves and stirs,  
Swelling its neck as she swell'd hers.

The fact that this snake is "coil'd" about the dove and "couch'd" upon the grass and that Lamia when first discovered is "cirque-couehant" may also be not without significance.

Serpents of similarly gorgeous colors also occur in the *Ancient Mariner* (ll. 272-281). Compare especially the "wannish fire" of Lamia with the "elfish light" and the "golden fire" of these serpents:

Beyond the shadow of the ship,  
I watched the water-snakes:  
They moved in tracks of shining white,  
And when they reared, the elfish light  
Fell off in hoary flakes.  
  
Within the shadow of the ship  
I watched their rich attire:  
Blue, glossy green, and velvet black,  
They coiled and swam; and every track  
Was a flash of golden fire.

Again, in *Christabel* as in *Lamia* occurs the horror caused by a charm akin to that of the evil eye; only in one case it is caused by the eye of Geraldine, in the other by that of the seer. Yet again, as Geraldine appeals to Christabel as in distress and far from home, so Lamia appears to Hermes in distress and later appears to Lycius as a stranger, before asking him what he can do

To dull the nice remembrance of my home.

Between *Christabel* and the *Eve of St. Agnes* also there are parallels. The similarity of the chambers has been pointed out by Traill, but not the additional fact that in the two undressing scenes are almost identical. Doubtless there is little possible variety in the act of removing a dress; but note the closeness of the details. Geraldine loosens her cincture; her silken robe and inner vest drop to her feet; and "her bosom and half her side" are disclosed; and so she stands a moment in reflection. Madeline

Unclasps her warmed jewels one by one;  
Loosens her fragrant hodice; hy degrees  
Her rich attire creeps rustling to her knees:  
Half-hidden, like a mermaid in seaweed  
Pensive awhile she dreams.

The fact that both poems introduce the owl, both a beadsman, both musical names of similar type, Geraldine, Leoline, Madeline, and both a watchdog—the last-mentioned in *Christabel* near the beginning, in the *Eve of St. Agnes* near the end,—this fact is possibly mere accident, but may be noted in passing. It is rather more significant that in each case the maiden's father is hostile to the family of the intruder, and that the action of each poem takes place in part at night, while the father is in ignorance of what is passing.

Turning now to Rossetti we find a very different sort of parallelism. That he was capable of exact phrasal borrowing has been shown in connection with his indebtedness to Dante. To Coleridge he owes little in this way. In fact there appears to be but one phrase that may be considered borrowed, and in that case the figure as well as the phrase is completely altered. *Ancient Mariner* (l. 222):

And every soul, it pass'd me by,  
Like the whiz of my cross-how.

Cf. *Blessed Damozel* (l. 41)<sup>21</sup>:

And the souls mounting up to God  
Went by her like thin flames.

But if this be the only semblance of a real echo, yet in *The White Ship* there are lines which inevitably set the *Ancient Mariner* ringing in the reader's memory. For example, these (stanzas 32 ff.):

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also the last stanza of *Sister Helen*.

But at midnight's stroke they cleared the bay,  
And the White Ship furrowed the water-way.  
The sails were set, and the oars kept tune  
To the double flight of the ship and the moon :  
Swifter and swifter the White Ship sped  
Till she flew as the spirit flies from the dead :  
As white as a lily glimmered she  
Like a ship's fair ghost upon the sea.

In general lines also the *Ancient Mariner* and *The White Ship* are similar. Both are tales told with a mingling of the mystic and the real, the one told by the mariner, who occasionally interrupts the story to remind the reader of the narrator, the other told by "the huter of Rouen, poor Berold," who similarly alludes here and there to himself, in order that the reader may not forget that it is all a monolog. In both we have a sort of artificialized ballad meter, and diction which simulates the simple and naïve diction of the true folk-ballad while avoiding its crudity. Again, in *The White Ship* (stanza 38) we have the "three hundred living that now must die." Cf. the "four times fifty" dead men in the *Ancient Mariner*. Again, we have in *The White Ship*, mariners riming with *spear*s (stanza 20), and *were* with *fair* and *there* (stanza 25). Cf. *Ancient Mariner*, in which *mariner* rimes with *hear*, and *were* with *bare*.<sup>22</sup>

In Rossetti's *Rose Mary* we find traces not only of the *Ancient Mariner*, but also of *Christabel*. In the first place we have the same simplicity of diction, and the same incongruous jumble of Christian sentiment with pagan supernaturalism and charms. More specifically, the *Ancient Mariner* and *Rose Mary* resemble one another strongly in the endings. For in each the charm is eventually broken, the chief character is blessed with forgiveness and rest—in the case of *Rose Mary* rest in another world, promised by a mysterious voice speaking over her body,—and simultaneously the scene of the spell is demolished with a supernatural and awful crash of the elements. With *Christabel* also, *Rose Mary* has a specific parallel. The use of highly romantic names, such as Lord Roland de Vaux of Tryermain in *Christabel* and

James of Heronhay in *Rose Mary* may be a characteristic of all nineteenth century romanticism. But the chorus-like ending of part one of *Christabel*, just before the "conclusion," bears to the Beryl-songs of *Rose Mary* a similarity of irregular meter, a similarity of dramatic irony in highly musical form—like that of a Greek chorus—and sometimes a similarity of phrase, which can scarcely be accidental.

In addition to these similarities between Coleridge and Rossetti, there is another, which has been brought to light by the recently published *Jan Van Hunks* of Rossetti. This poem is somewhat inferior, and in places tempts one to believe it spurious. The parallelism may, however, be noted for what it is worth. Every stanza of *Jan Van Hunks* ends with a sort of afterthought or addition of two lines, which, after the stanza is really finished in the fourth line, rings through the fifth and sixth like an echo. This same effect occurs in a number of six line stanzas in the *Ancient Mariner*.<sup>23</sup>

In view of all which one is tempted to call Coleridge not only one of the earliest nineteenth century romanticists, but also the earliest Pre-Raphaelite.

These seem to be about all the notable parallels. But, by way of corollary, it may be worth while to demolish a fallacy in closing. It has been sometimes stated<sup>24</sup> that Keats exerted an influence over Rossetti. And there is in the Rossettiana published by the poet's brother unusually strong presumption in favor of it.<sup>25</sup> In view of these facts, and in view of the difficulty of proving a general negative, one may hesitate to deny the statements. Yet the fact remains that I have been unable to find between Keats and Rossetti a single specific parallel, in rhythm, in subject-matter, or in sentiment. Moreover, there are marked dissimilarities just where one would expect the reverse. Whereas the scansion and the diction of Keats are about the richest of his century, the scansion of Rossetti—despite his refrains and irregular lines—is very simple, and his diction,

<sup>22</sup> Cf. l. 91 ff. and l. 97 ff., by way of example.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Colvin, l. c. Benson, l. c.; also p. 99, where he calls Keats a Pre-Raphaelite.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Family-letters and Memoir*, Vol. I, pp. 100, 120, 141, 420; and *Rossetti Papers*, p. 498. Also Benson, p. 76.

<sup>22</sup> L. 20. L. 63. This pronunciation of *were* is alive and may be heard in America, but with Rossetti it must have been merely an affectation,—as it doubtless was with Coleridge.

despite the splendor of the suggested images, is in itself notably bare.<sup>26</sup> Again, Rossetti's narratives all take the ballad form; Keats's never do. Keats's meter is usually regular in larger features, richly varied in details; Rossetti's is daringly irregular in larger features, but in detail uses only simple variations. Again, Keats, even in his most supernatural scenes, is concrete, realistic; Rossetti, usually mystic and unreal, sometimes vague. Again, Keats—even admitting his sensuality—is notably free from any suggestion of sin; Rossetti's favorite topic is damnation.<sup>27</sup> Evidently then, when Mr. Benson calls Keats a Pre-Raphaelite, and tells us that from him Rossetti derived his richness of fancy, voluptuousness of mood, and "deliberate intention of wringing beauty out of the moment and the scene," we must write at the bottom "Not proved."

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### "VITA NUOVA" AND "DOLCE STIL NUOVO."

In the *Modern Language Notes* for November last, F. J. A. Davidson proposes the adjective "mystic" as the proper translation for "nova" in the rubric *Incipit Vita Nova* of Dante's "libello," and suggests its application throughout the *Vita Nuova*. He also adds that, as far as he is aware, this interpretation has not been proposed before. In answer to this we may be permitted to indicate the following.

In the first place, although the Latin *novus* might have this meaning, Dante never uses it thus in his Latin works.<sup>1</sup> In the second place, it

<sup>26</sup> The only specific parallel pointed out between the poets is that of Mr. Benson, who notes the fact that both are addicted to compound words.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Rose Mary, Sister Helen, The Bride's Prelude.*

<sup>1</sup> For references for the use of *novus* in the Latin works, I am indebted to my friend, E. H. Wilkins of Harvard University, who gave me the following (taken from the Concordance to Dante's Latin works, now being prepared): *Epistole*, v, 3. 82. 134; vi, 51; vii, 20. 80; x, 320; *Elogue*, ii, 17. 34; *Monarchia*, ii, 1. 8; 5. 119; iii, 3. 76; *Vulg. Eloq.*, i, 13. 50; ii, 13. 90. *Novissimum* in

is hard to admit at least one, if not two, of the Italian examples cited by Prof. D.<sup>2</sup> And in yet a third place, this same interpretation has not merely been proposed before: it has been combatted and, we think, refuted.

In 1900, Federzoni<sup>3</sup> maintained that the title *Incipit Vita Nova* was given in Latin "per un doppio senso, del quale egli aveva bisogno, poichè incipit *vita nova* può esser inteso in due significazioni, 'Incomincia la vita nuovo' o 'Incomincia una vita nuova' e Dante volle dire che da un cierto momento della sua vita (dal nono anno) incomincia quella narrazione che egli intitola *Vita Nuova* e che dallo stesso momento ha principio quello che è veramente detto dalle parole *vita nova*, cioè *vita singolare, confortata da specialissima grazia divina*" such as it appeared to Dante at the time he was compiling the *V. N.* And F. derives his theory not only from the general tendency of the *V. N.*, but also from *Purgatory* xxx, 109-117:

Non pur per opre delle rote magne	· · · · ·
Ma per largezza di grazie divine	· · · · ·
Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova	· · · · ·
Virtualmente, ch'ogni abito destro	· · · · ·
Fatto avrebbe in lui mirabil prova.	· · · · ·

Barbi replied to this in *Bull. d. Soc. Dant.*, pointing out that if "sua vita nuova" be given the interpretation suggested by F., "s'introduce una brutta ripetizione nel contesto e si toglie senso al periodo."<sup>4</sup> And Melodia, too, has opposed Federzoni, arguing along lines better fitted to answer Prof. D.'s suggestions.<sup>5</sup> He gives the opinions of others and adds good arguments of his own. As those interested can find in his treatment the bibliography of this discussion, it is useless to repeat it here.

At the end of his communication, however,

*Monarchia*, iii, 14. 32 and 36; *Vulg. Eloq.*, i, 12. 36 and 14. 14.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Chapter xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> "Incipit Vita Nova": nota esegetica di Giovanni Federzoni, Bologna, 1900.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. d. Soc. Dantesca*, N. S., viii, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *La Vita Nuova di D. A. con introduzione etc.*, di Giovanni Melodia, Milano, 1906, p. 5, Appendice alla nota 5.

Prof. D. asks: "Was there any connection in Dante's mind between his use of *nova* in the title and the *dolce stil nuovo . . . ?*"

Now this implied argument deserves attention. It is new; and might be strong. Unfortunately it rests upon an understanding of the spirit of Dante's phrase which, common and wide-spread though it may be, is none the less erroneous in our eyes. When writing the word *novo*, Dante meant "new" *i. e.* unlike the work of his contemporaries (outside his own circle) and of their immediate predecessors. That this one word alone could have meant much more to him seems impossible, as we shall try to show.

The expression *dolce stil nuovo* occurs in the conversation between Dante and Bouagiunta in *Purgatory xxiv.* In this same conversation, and only a few lines earlier, Dante claims for his poetry the inspiration of Love. Various critics of the last few years have shown that this same claim was made by numerous well-known poets before Dante. These critics find the idea used both as a round-about method of praising the lady and as the essence of a standard by which the excellence of a poem should be judged. Borgognoni<sup>6</sup> quotes from Chiaro Davanzati and Camino Ghiberti, to which I. della Giovauna<sup>7</sup> adds among others, Odo delle Colonne's

Distress core e amoroso  
Gioioso mi fa cantar.

Before them, Arnaut Daniel, the much admired, and Peir d'Auvernha, "quel di Lemosí," both thank Love as the power that gives them the ability to sing. And Bernart de Ventadorn not only attributes his premiership of song to the unique degree in which Love holds him bound; but he makes also the didactic statement that

Chantars non pot gaires valer  
si d'inz del cor no mou lo chans.<sup>8</sup>

And there are many more parallels for the "*Amor mi spira.*"

<sup>6</sup> *Nuova Ant.*, Seria III, vol. v, Ott. 16, 1886.

<sup>7</sup> "Per il dolce stil nuovo" in Note letterarie, Palermo, 1888.

<sup>8</sup> The full quotations of these last four examples are given in Notes 5, 6 and 7 on p. 48 of Savj-Lopez's *Trovatori e Poeti*, Milano-Palermo-Napoli.

Now, very much the same thing may be proved for "dolce stil nuovo," as far as the "*novo*" is concerned.

Starting, it may be, as an attribute of the description of Spring, as in Guilhem de Peitieu's

Ab la dolchor del temps *novelh . . .*<sup>9</sup>

and passing perhaps through an intermediate application, as suggested by Marcabru's

A la fontana del vergier  
on l'erb'es vertz iostal gravier,  
a l'ombra d'un fust domesgier  
en aiziment de blancas flors  
e de *novelh* chant costumier,  
trobey sola ses companhier  
selha que no vol mon solatz.<sup>10</sup>

the words *nou* and *novel* became common in Provençal. Then, later, there were added these cases where the meaning is more restricted, signifying merely "new," "untried before," and their number grew tremendously, thanks to the rise among the troubadours of their well-known pride in the originality of their compositions. Accordingly we have a long list of utterances such as

Farai chansoneta *nueva*  
Ans que vent ni gel ni plueva . . .<sup>11</sup>

or Brunet's :

En est son fas chansoneta *novelha . . .*<sup>12</sup>

. . . or again Rambaut d'Anrenga's

Ab *nou* cor et ab *nou* talan  
Vuelh un bon *nou* vers comensar . . .<sup>13</sup>

Nor, of course, are examples lacking of the Italian form of the same words. Take, for instance, Bonaginuta's

". . . ond'io trovo *novi* canti  
per sollazzo degli amanti."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Mahn, *Gedichte*, 297; Appel, *Provenz. Chrest.*, number 10.

<sup>10</sup> Appel, *op. cit.*, number 61.

<sup>11</sup> Guilhem de Peitieu: Mahn, *Gedichte*, 174; Appel, number 12.

<sup>12</sup> Raynouard, *Lexique*, under "novel."

<sup>13</sup> We have not room to give more examples, but they are numerous. As being readily accessible we indicate in addition to the above Appel, numbers 71 and 79, and the pious "Mei amic . . ." Bartsch's *Chrest.*, 6, column 19.

<sup>14</sup> Quando veggio la ritira . . .

Indeed, so often were the words used that they did not necessarily designate the wide-reaching changes of a reformer, as in Montanhagol's now famous "noel dig de maestria";<sup>15</sup> at times they indicated merely innovations in one of the component parts of a song, its tune or its thought.<sup>16</sup>

If, then, we remember that by the very nature of their application these words must occur most frequently in the first lines of a composition, *i. e.*, in that part most quoted and most generally known, it would be preposterous to maintain that this use of *nou*, *novel*, and *nuovo* were unfamiliar to one as conversant as Dante with the work of former poets. Furthermore, it is highly probable—if not certain—that he had this use in mind when characterizing his own verse.

In this way, remembering what was shown a moment ago concerning *Amor mi spira*, not only are we justified in stating that Dante's definition of his school, as given in his conversation with Bonaginnta, is largely couched in terms already old; but in addition we may surmise that this was no oversight on his part.

And, true enough, this same division of the Divine Comedy, the *Purgatory*, gives us reason to think it intentional. Canto xxiv tells us that Bouagiunta, the Notary and Guittone are held "Di qua del dolce stil nuovo"; Canto xi, that Cavalcanti has robbed Guinizelli of the "gloria della lingua"; and Canto xxvi styles Guinizelli as "padre Mio e degli altri miei migliori"; but this same twenty-sixth canto goes on, nevertheless, to proclaim Arnaut Daniel "miglior fabbro del parlar materno." In other words, Dante felt that Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, himself and some others had accomplished something peculiar to themselves; he saw that his special circle was writing verses that differed from that of their contemporaries and immediate predecessors; but he also realized that, years before, there had written a poet deserving the greatest praise: and, immediately upon having honored the leader of his banded friends, he insisted that this leader should call that ancient poet a greater craftsman than he.

<sup>15</sup> V. Cesare de Lollis: *Studi Medievali*, I, p. 5 ff.

<sup>16</sup> As, for instance, is indicated in the line of Brunet quoted above, or in Bertran de Born's D'un sirventes nom chal . . . , with its "razo tan novelha", although consciously written to Guiraud de Bornelh's tune of Lady Alamanda. Appel, nos. 67 and 91.

Surely this precludes any ignoring of the old or attempt to disown its influence. Does it not, rather, suggest a feeling of kinship and affection for the Provençal singer? To us, at least, this honor done to Arnaut seems to form an arch. It is a connecting of the excellent old with the excellent new over a span of inferior and negligible work.

If this be true, if Dante took pleasure in associating himself and his set with the best poets that had come before, and if, as we have guessed above, he consciously and deliberately used their vocabulary in characterizing his own work,<sup>17</sup> then it is impossible for us to see in the *nuovo* of the expression *dolce stil nuovo*, the meaning which is so often given to it and of which Prof. Davidson, too, seems to approve.

Dante certainly appreciated the transcendental tendencies of his school and it is probable that he read into both *amor* and *nuovo*, as found in the poems of former writers, a fuller meaning than that intended by the authors. But between the sense "new," "young," or "different," which they all use, to the sense "mystic" which is now proposed, the distance is far too great. To cross it, we need at least one sure example of an intermediate step; and this is, as far as we know, lacking.

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#### "VENUS, DU UND DEIN KIND."

On page 184 of Prof. Hatfield's well-known edition of Freytag's *Der Rittmeister von Alt-Roscn*<sup>1</sup> I find a note which seems to call for

<sup>17</sup> Savj-Lopez having considered only the frequency with which former poets had claimed the inspiration of Love wrote: "Nelle parole di Dante, non è il creatore di un novello mondo lirico che oppone sè fieramente a tutto il passato: è un poeta di arte raffinata ed elevata che sa di ricongiungersi con la grande tradizione interrotta dei tempi migliori." (T. e. P., p. 23.) But this was too great a statement to derive from a consideration of *Amor mi Spira* alone. Reinforced by a consideration of *nuovo* and Dante's attitude towards Arnaut, it seems justified.

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Der Rittmeister von Alt-Roscn*. Edited by J. T. Hatfield. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1908.

comment, and the more so as the matter involved is of some literary interest.

As will be recalled, the scene of Freytag's novel, which belongs to his famous *Ahnen* series, is laid in the period of the Thirty Years' War. In the story an encounter takes place between the German soldiers and Marshall Turenne's men, and Bernhard König, the captain of the Old Rosen-Regiment, is wounded in the arm. He enters the tent where his sister is awaiting him, and she at once proceeds to dress the wound. The Freytag passage involved in my discussion begins at this point and, being brief, may as well be quoted. As found on p. 22 of Prof. Hatfield's edition the text reads as follows :

"Blitz!" sagte er heiter, mit ihrer Hilfe sein Wams ausziehend, "hier hängt auch die Laute, sie wird in den nächsten Tagen vor mir Ruhe haben"—er strich mit der heilen Hand über die Saiten und summte die beliebte Weise: "Venus, du und dein Kind seid allezwei blind."

Commenting on Freytag's reference to the "favorite melody" beginning "Venus, du und dein Kind," Prof. Hatfield in his note suggests that this is "perhaps a free working-over of the verse of a current song," and he then indicates that he has in mind as the probable original a selection from Moscherosch's *Gesichte*, part 2, "vision" 3. This song is included in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, from which I quote the particular stanza which here concerns us :

Venus selbst sampt ihrem Kind,  
wan sie Wilppret wolten fangen,  
sind nach schwartzten Haareu gangen;  
Cupido, wie wohl er blind,  
thut noch heut den Braunen stellen,  
Schwartzze vor den Weissen fallen.<sup>2</sup>

I believe the editor erred in assuming that Freytag had these lines of Moscherosch in mind when he wrote the passage under consideration. And I shall now proceed to prove my contention.

Jakob Ayrer, as will be recalled, was a contemporary of Hans Sachs. Indeed, for a time he was also a townsman of the famous bard of Nürnberg. He was the author of some thirty-three tragedies and comedies and thirty-six car-

<sup>2</sup> Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, 1883, vol. 32, p. 210.

nival plays and operettas (*Singspiele*). Prof. Thomas, in his "History of German Literature," aptly characterizes him as a "lesser Hans Sachs." In passing, I might say also, that it was in Ayrer's time that the name *Singespiele* first came into use. These interesting operatic productions go back to the English *jigs* which flourished at the court of Queen Elizabeth. In 1596 or thereabouts some of these English *jigs* were introduced into Germany where they met with great favor and were later much imitated.<sup>3</sup> Ayrer died in 1605. The date of his birth is not known. One of his operettas is entitled *Ein schönss Neues Singens Spill Von dem Knorrn Künzlein mit dem Vrlaub etc.* The Dresden MS. of this *Singspiel* bears the date Nov. 5, 1598.<sup>4</sup> Directly after the title of his operetta Ayrer adds the words :

"mit vier Personen, Im Thon :  
Venus, du vnnd dein Kind  
Seind alle beyde blind etc."

As Prof. Hatfield has already pointed out, there is, of course, a general correspondence between Freytag's version "Venus, du und dein Kind" and the lines from Moscherosch's song previously quoted. But on the other hand it will be noted at once that Freytag's phrasing and the Ayrer version just cited are practically identical, the only variant being *zwei* for *beyde*. It was this interesting fact which led me to question the correctness of Prof. Hatfield's conjecture and sent me at once to Erk and Böhme's monumental *Liederhort*, where I found both the text and the music of the song referred to. According to the compilers of the *Liederhort* the music of the song was composed by Jacob Regnart and together with the text was published in his collection of villanelles as early as 1574. The text seems to me certainly well worth quoting. In the somewhat modernized version it runs as follows :

Venus, du und dein Kind  
Seid alle beide blind,  
Und pflegt auch zu verblenden,  
Wer sich zu ench tut wenden,  
Wie ich wohl hab erfahren  
In meinen jungen Jahren.

<sup>3</sup> J. Bolte in *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*. Hamburg and Leipzig, 1893, part 7, page 2.

<sup>4</sup> A. von Keller in *Publikationen des Litterarischen Ver eins*, Stuttgart, 1865, vol. 80, p. 3424.

Amor, du Kindlein bloss,  
Wem dein vergiftes G'schoss  
Das Herz einmal berühret,  
Der wird alsbald verführt,  
Wie ich wohl hab erfahren  
In meinen jungen Jahren.

Für nur ein Freud allein  
Gibst du viel tausend Pein,  
Für nur ein freundlich Scherzen  
Gibst du viel tausend Schmerzen,  
Wie ich wohl hab erfahren  
In meinen jungen Jahren.

Drum rat ich jedermann  
Von Lieb bald abzustahn,  
Dann nichts ist zu erjagen  
In Lieb, dann Weh und Klagen,  
Das hab ich als erfahren  
In meinen jungen Jahren.<sup>5</sup>

From the compilers' note on the song I quote also the following interesting data: "Das Lied war am Ende des 16. und durchs 17. Jahrhundert sehr beliebt, denn es findet sich in vielen Liederbüchern und Quodlibets und wurde umgedichtet schon bei Demantius 1595. Seine Melodie wurde zu historischen Spottliedern benutzt. So schon 1583 zu einem Lied auf den Erzbischof und Truchsess Gebhard in Köln: 'Gebhard, mit Trug und List du churfürst worden bist.' Ferner im dreissigjährigen Kriege mehrfach, besonders auf den vertriebenen Böhmenkönig Friedrich: 'Fritz, du verwöhntes Kind' (1621).

Zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde die von Regnart erfundene Melodie in die protestantische Kirche aufgenommen und dem von Sigismund Weingärtner gedichteten Liede: 'Auf meinen lieben Gott' zugeeignet. Mit diesem geistlichen Texte finden wir es zuerst im Gesangbuche von Melchior Vulpius. Jehne 1609, Nr. 132; zugleich dort mit dem andern geistlichen Text: 'Man spricht, wen Gott erfreut,' der schon 1605 bei Gesius vorkommt. Bekannter und besser als die durch Chromata verdorbene Lesart des Gesius und Vulpius finden wir die Melodie in Schein's Cantional. Leipzig, 1627, Nr. 226. Aus letzterem ist die jetzt in Kirchen übliche Lesart hervorgegangen." In conclusion the compilers then give also the three oldest religious variations of the song. Ayrer, as I have already pointed out,

chose this same popular melody as the vehicle for his operetta. Since Erk and Böhme do not make mention of this important and significant fact, I assume that it may have been overlooked by them.

To sum up. In his editorial note Prof. Hatfield suggests that Freytag's version "Venus, du und dein Kind etc." may be a free working-over of lines occurring in a poem by Moschersch (1601-1669). In view of the facts now before us this theory seems no longer tenable. If, in this connection, we are to speak at all of a "working-over," we shall be forced to say that in his "Venus selbst sampt ihrem Kind etc." Moschersch gives us what might more properly be regarded as itself a working-over of a much earlier song beginning "Venus, du und dein Kind." This pretty selection as we have seen was set to music by Jacob Regnart and was included in his collection of villanelles which appeared as early as 1574. And Freytag's reference is, of course, reminiscent of this sixteenth century song, and is not a modern adaptation of the seventeenth century song of Moschersch.

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#### SHELLEY AND PEACOCK.

The announcement that Peacock's "Memoirs" about P. B. Shelley are soon to be republished by the Oxford University Press may serve as an excuse for treating the subject of their literary relations. The truth is that if we except (as well we may) a scanty article written a few years ago by Mr. H. B. Young, none of Shelley's critics has yet taken care to examine the extent of his debt to that enigmatic man of letters Thomas Love Peacock. Their acquaintance presented, we must concede, few of the symptoms that are generally supposed to reveal or constitute a "literary friendship": they had few ideas in common, and they issued no manifesto. And yet, to the careful student of Shelley's life, it must appear as if their companionship requires more than a passing mention.

Shelley does not seem to have become personally acquainted with Peacock before the winter of

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, 1894, vol. 3, p. 478.

1812. One is astonished at first at the sudden sympathy between two men apparently so different, between the wild, enthusiastic young poet, the author of "ill-digested" romances, and the more frigid Greek scholar, his elder by seven years. Peacock's weakness may have been a certain lack of reverence, a smiling mistrust of enthusiasm; Shelley ran to the other extreme. A curious thing it is that this lasting affection should have sprung up between two men neither of whom was ever blind to the other's imperfections; indeed a sort of "marriage de convenance," founded on a moderate but strong sympathy, and having no deception to fear, because it did not feed on illusions.

From their first meeting until Shelley's final departure to Italy (1817), they were very often together. They went on long rambles, and embarked in lengthy discussions; they quarrelled like good friends, and agreed only in their common love of Greek. It was there that "Greeky-Peaky's" aid would prove invaluable; and they vied in translating into English verse the finer passages of Euripides or Sophocles. Even Shelley's second marriage did not alter their friendship, though Peacock constantly defended Harriet against all calumnies, and was never on the best of terms with the second Mrs. Shelley. But just as he had accompanied Shelley and Harriet to Scotland a little before their separation, so we still find him one of a chosen company of two (the other was Charles Clairmont) who rowed up with Shelley and his wife Mary to the sources of the Thames. A whole winter, which they spent together, has been described by J. Hogg as a "mere Atticism." Of course there were occasions when Peacock's laughing manner and his refusal to believe in "blue-devils" would irritate his enthusiastic friend; but friendship prevailed on the whole. Did not Shelley, when circumstances were favorable, bestow a pension on Peacock? Was not Peacock, when circumstances were not favorable, constantly true to Shelley? There came a time when the mention "Shelley goes with Peacock to the lawyers" was written almost daily in Mary Shelley's diary. And later, when "the lawyers" sought him, the disheartened poet had nothing left but to hide himself, as best he could, in Peacock's lodgings in London. That he was grateful

to the scholarly friend who had not only thrown open to him "the classical adytum," but had also stood by him through his distress, need not be pointed out to readers of the delightful "Letters from Italy," or to Shelleyans who remember that Peacock was named as conjoint legatee with Byron.

This friendship of ten years would be interesting even if it had not produced any literary results more important than the suggestion by Peacock of the title "Alastor," or more tangible than Shelley's fine appreciation of the Hellenic attitude toward life. It is unnecessary to insist on these points, as they have been often mentioned; but there is another manifestation of this literary friendship which has not received due recognition at the hands of the critics, although it reveals more about the relations between Shelley and Peacock than many documents.

We fail to understand how all those who have spoken about *Nightmare Abbey* have misinterpreted its caricature of Shelley. Yet it is impossible, without such an appreciation, to form a right judgment about Shelley's moral and literary character.—Peacock published *Nightmare Abbey* in 1818, mainly, he wrote to Shelley, "to make a stand against the encroachments of black bile." The fourth canto of *Childe Harold*, he thought, was "really too bad," and he at least would protest against "the systematical poisoning of the mind of the reading public"! And this is the story he tells us:

Seythrop, the son of melancholy Mr. Glowry, first goes to a public school, where "a little learning" is "painfully beaten into him," and thence to the University, where it is "carefully taken out of him," and he is sent home "like a well-threshed ear of corn, with nothing in his head." Of course he at once falls in love, his first victim being Miss Emily Girouette. To use Peacock's words: "He fell in love, which is nothing new; he was favorably received, which is nothing strange. Mr. Glowry and Mr. Girouette had a meeting on the occasion, and quarrelled about the terms of the bargain; which is neither new nor strange. The lovers were tormented, weeping and vowed everlasting constancy; and, in three weeks after this tragical event, the lady was led a smiling bride to the altar, by the Hon. Mr. Lackwit; which is either strange nor new." Thus jilted, Seythrop broods over his despair in a se-

cluded room of his father's gloomy residence Nightmare Abbey, and comforts himself by reading German romances. Very soon, the nature of his disease changes, and it evolves into a "passion for reforming the world." To "the world" he gives a treatise; but the treatise falls dead from the press; what of that? "Seven is a mystical number," says Scythrop, "Let me find the seven purchasers of my seven copies, and they shall be the seven golden candlesticks with which I will illuminate the world." It happens, however, that a young cousin of his comes on a visit to Nightmare Abbey just at that time; by a natural consequence, Scythrop falls madly in love with her. All would be well with him and Marionetta, if Mr. Glowry had not arranged beforehand that Scythrop must marry his old friend's daughter, Celinda Flosky. And the secluded room with the secret panels again sees Scythrop, more desperate than ever; one day he finds there a beautiful dark-haired girl: and she explains to him that she has run away to avoid marriage with a stranger, whom her father was forcing upon her. Besides her looking very romantic, she has the great merit of being one of Scythrop's seven readers. He cannot resist so many charms united; he hides her behind one of the secret panels, and soon falls in love with her. But he does not cease to love Marionetta. True, his soul has spoken last and best; but his heart had spoken first. Indeed a most embarrassing situation. "He had," his historiographer says, "his esoterical and his exoterical love: the old proverb concerning two strings to a bow gave him some gleams of comfort; but that concerning two stools occurred to him more frequently." His double game is discovered at the end; the romance closes like a farce, and Scythrop is left in the lurch by both his friends.

The whole novel is incredibly light and amusing—Scythrop is, of course, Shelley. His passage through a public school (Eton), thence through a University (Oxford), and his first disappointment in love (Harriet Westgrove) are as many unmistakable traits of Shelley's early youth. So is the unsuccessful treatise, and so are also his revolutionary ideas and his love for horrible tales. Peacock, with characteristic discretion, simply writes in his *Memoirs* that "Shelley took to himself the character of Scythrop," without informing us whether Shelley was right or not; still it does not seem rash to identify the two characters. This granted, to what extent was the caricature true to life? If Shelley liked it, as we know he did, what

conclusions must we draw from this fact regarding his ideals, or his conception of his own character?

These questions have been generally answered in a very unsatisfactory way. The book having been written in 1817, the first mistake of the critics consisted in taking this as a caricature of Shelley as he was in 1817; and in the effort to explain the discrepancies between the portrait and the original, *Nightmare Abbey* has too often been considered, from the Shelleyan point of view, a joke rather overdone. Of the same order, though still graver, is the blunder that has led some interpreters to consider Scythrop's duplicity in love as an allusion to Shelley's double marriage. Now Shelley showed himself delighted with the caricature, the "chastity and strength" of which he was happy to praise. Inevitably some defenders of morality waxed indignant at the thought of Peacock turning such a tragic story into a joke, and of Shelley laughing at this joke: a fine theme indeed! As for those who let the thing pass without protesting or at least showing some astonishment, we shall content ourselves with admiring their equanimity. One regrets, however, that the most recent treatment of the subject, Mr. Young's *Dissertation on the life and novels of T. L. Peacock* (1904), should reiterate the ridiculous and calumniating statement.

If the dark-haired Stella is not a portrait of fair Mary Godwin, can she be any other than the romantic schoolmistress Elizabeth Hitchener, the passion of Shelley's youth? Nothing is more curious than to follow in their recently published Letters (1908) the growth of Shelley's infatuation for this mature spinster (she was 29 years old and he was still a boy), the black-eyed, black-haired, foreign-looking governess whom he had met in the country. The reader of such a correspondence cannot help feeling that, compared with their extravagance, all the fiery and blundering enthusiasm of Scythrop is but a pale copy. For Shelley had not so much as hesitated between two girls, as Scythrop does; he loved Harriet Westbrook for her bright cheerfulness, also for the "persecution" she endured for his sake from her father and her school friends; but at the same time did he not call Miss Hitchener "the friend of my soul," "the sister of my soul," "the half of my soul?" Did he not

name his spiritual sister "Portia," just like Scy-throp's "Stella?" Indeed, upon Shelley's informing Miss Hitchener one day that circum-stances had forced him to marry Harriet, she was all forgiveness and he soon made new proposals : "Nothing would be transgressed by your even living with us. . . . My wife will abstract from our intercourse the shadow of impropriety." . . . "Harriet is above the littleness of jealousy." Is it not curious that this attempt at a sort of spiritual bigamy should have been made? Miss Hitchener came to the Shelleys', but she had to leave them after a few months. Then the disillusioned Shelley fell suddenly from the sublime heights of sentiment, and was the more dismayed by the bare reality. His former goddess became the "Brown Demon," and "he could not speak of her afterwards," says Medwin, "without laughing till the tears ran down his cheeks." Hear him speak : "My astonishment at my own fatuity, inconsistency and bad taste was never so great as after living for four months with her as an inmate. What would Hell be, were such a woman in Heaven?" Remembering these words, we cannot wonder at his finding such treasures of fun in *Nightmare Abbey*. For the romantic lover of "Portia," for the writer of tales of horror, even for the author of that "villainous trash" of his early youth (*Queen Mab*), Shelley in his later years feels merely sympathetic contempt.

He helps Peacock to make fun of his former self. It is he who finds in Ben Jonson the most appropriate motto. He writes from Italy to his friend : "I hope you have given the enemy no quarter. . . . Remember, it is a sacred war . . ." Peacock had found *Childe Harold* "too bad"; Shelley answers : "I entirely agree with what you say about *Childe Harold*. The spirit in which it is written is, if insane, the most wicked and mischievous insanity . . ."

The sight of a man helping, so to speak, to make his own caricature, is not to be forgotten. But why did he do it? The reason may have been that the victory over the more unwholesome features of his past was not complete, and he realized it. I do not think that anybody has ever pointed out the attitude Peacock soon assumed toward his friend, that of a cold-blooded and reasonable man, moderating Shelley's wild enthu-

siasm with a touch of his practical common sense, and obstinately refusing to believe in his visions. "Semi-delusions" he calls them, and adds that "if they had always been received with similar scepticism, they would not have been often repeated; but they were encouraged by the ready credulity with which they were received by many who ought to have known better." Need we insist now on the intentions hidden in Chapter XII of *Nightmare Abbey*, where phantoms are laughed at, and the apparition of a would-be spectre is the cause of pushings and tumblings worthy of Scaron's pen?

Thus interpreted, does not this phase of Shelley's acquaintance with Peacock become singularly "piquante"? No longer a mockery or a caricature, in the ordinary sense of the word; but rather a piece of friendly advice, an allusion to a laughable story of the past, a picture of former and ridiculous sentiments, and finally,—for where would otherwise be the point of the joke?—a warning not to fall again into the same state of mind. In Italy Shelley had found Byron. Was Peacock far wrong in thinking that the contagion of his new friend's "black-bile" might prove dangerous for Shelley? Shelley himself, if we are to believe Leigh Hunt, "exhibited an uneasy suspicion that his (Byron's) intimacy had had an ill-effect on his kindlier view of things." Intimacy with Byron robbed him of faith in his own poetic powers. "I do not write; I have lived too long near Lord Byron, and the sun has extinguished the glow-worm."—Furthermore, Shelley needed protection from himself. His romanticism was not purely literary; it colored his whole life. One has only to read his first novels, mistakenly neglected by his biographers, in order to see what havoc can be wrought in the life of a man by romantic ideas. Shelley's sad story is explicit in *Saint-Irvyne*. Love is painted in it as a fatal, irresistible passion. Wolfstein, the hero, has run away with a girl who was his companion in captivity; but hardly are they married, when he finds her too frivolous: "The rapid days rolled on, and each one brought the conviction to Wolfstein more strongly that Megalena was not the celestial model of perfection which his warm imagination had portrayed; he began to find in her not the exhaustless mine of interesting con-

verse which he had once supposed. Possession, when unassisted by real, intellectual love, clogs man." This same Wolfstein soon begins to love another woman, in whom he finds or seems to find those "intellectual" qualities. What a prevision this is of Shelley's own story! Here we have a captivating psychological problem: May not Shelley, with his all-pervading imagination, have identified himself with those great characters of romance whose adventures he wrote? He speaks in one of his letters to Peacock of "a theory which I once imagined, that in everything a man ever wrote, acted, or imagined, is contained as it were an allegorical idea of his own future life, as the acorn contains the oak." Theories, as we know, were no joke for Shelley. It is probable that under the influence of his romantic ideas he exaggerated the differences which separated him from Harriet. He would not have been a romanticist, if he had not delighted in the belief that his was an exceptional case.

The very geniality and kindness of Peacock's caricature could have no other end than to propitiate Shelley. It was necessary to reawake his sense of humour, already blunted by romanticism; it was necessary to help him to laugh at himself. Peacock's success is attested by the comment Shelley made on the book: "I know not how to praise the lightness, chastity, and strength of the language of the whole. . . . The catastrophe is excellent. I suppose the moral is contained in what Falstaff says: 'For God's sake, talk like a man of this world!' . . . And yet, looking deep into it, is not the misdirected enthusiasm of Scythrop what J. C. calls 'The salt of the earth?'" I do not think Peacock would have denied it; but he would have insisted on the word "misdirected."

*Nightmare Abbey* is the greatest document for the history of the relations between Peacock and Shelley. It marks the end of their active friendship. While Shelley resided in Italy, their acquaintance was only maintained by an unfailing correspondence. Unfortunately, Peacock's letters have not been published, and the correspondence as it stands, although very interesting as an expression of Shelley's ideas, is altogether too one-sided to be of great moment for our present study.

We must say the same of Peacock's *Four Ages of Poetry*, and of Shelley's answer to it in his

*Defence*. We are told that as originally written, Shelley's article contained many personal allusions to his adversary. As it has been edited, the *Defence of Poetry* is too general to deserve more than mere mention here,

We spoke in the beginning of evaluating the extent of the debt of Shelley to T. L. Peacock, and now we feel we have not wholly kept our promise. But who could measure mathematically such delicate approximations? We shall be satisfied if we have suggested that Peacock's place in the life of Shelley is much greater than has been generally supposed.

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### THE BELLUNO FRAGMENT.

The Belluno fragment is as follows:—

"DE CASTEL DARD aui li nri bona part, J lo geta tutto jntro lo flumo d'Ard, e sex Caualer de Taruis li plui fer cō se duse li nostre Caualer."<sup>1</sup>

It appeared in a MS. or MSS. extant in the sixteenth century of a Latin chronicle composed about 1200, the vernacular sentence appearing, with no word of introduction or comment, in the body of the text. There are extant four apparently independent transcripts of the fragment, with preceding and following portions of the Latin text, made between 1530 and 1607.

It has been assumed, without dissent, that the words "DE . . . part" mean "Our men got possession of a good part of Casteldardo," the first "lo" and the "tutto" being regarded as neuter.<sup>2</sup> It seems to me more probable that they mean "Our men had the best of it, triumphed, at Casteldardo." The dictionaries of the Crusca and of Tommaseo contain no examples of the phrase "aver buona parte" used in just this sense. Compare,

<sup>1</sup>V. Crescini, *Dell' antico frammento epico bellunese*, in *Miscell. linguist. in onore di G. Ascoli*, Turin, 1901, pp. 541-542.

<sup>2</sup>C. Salvioni, *La cantilena bellunese del 1193*, in *Nozze Cian = Sappa-Flandinet*, Bergamo, 1894, p. 237; P. A. Becker, *Das Fragment von Belluno*, in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, xxx (1906), 577.

however, the use of "parte" by Petrarch in the following stanza :—

" Ma, lasso, or veggio che la carne sciolta  
Fia di quel nodo ond' è'l suo maggior pregio,  
Prima che medecine antiche o nove  
Saldin le piaghe ch' i' presi in quel bosco  
Folto di spine, ond' i' ho ben tal parte,  
Che zoppo n' esco e 'ntravì a sì gran corso."<sup>3</sup>

Compare also the following entries in the dictionary of Tommaseo :—

"Aver buono, o cattivo partito, per Aver buono o cattivo giuoco, detto in senso fig. Bern. Orl. Inn. 54. 36. (Gh.) Pure il gigante n'ha peggior partito, Che in più di quattro parti è già ferito.

*Aver buono o cattivo partito alle mani, vale Essere in buona o cattiva condizione a cagione d'alcuno.* Bocc. Nov. 1. g. 1. (Man.) Noi abbiamo de' fatti suoi pessimo partito alle mani."<sup>4</sup>

With this interpretation the first "lo" and the "tutto" may be regarded as masculine, referring to "CASTEL DARD."

It has been assumed, without dissent, that the fragment forms an integral part of the chronicle. It seems to me more probable that it was first associated with the chronicle as a gloss, and later incorporated in the text by a copyist. The Latin text makes no mention of the capture of Casteldardo; an early owner of a ms. of the chronicle might well have entered this record as an addendum. The only evidence as to the age of the ms. or mss. from which the transcripts of the fragment were made consists of the following statements of two of the transcribers :—

"Nota hauer scontrato la controscritta copia dall' autenticha i membrana";<sup>5</sup> "registrarò vua particola d'vna scrittura anticha nel modo che si vsaua in quelli tempi."<sup>6</sup>

These statements do not prove that the ms. in question was the original ms. of the chronicle. Whether the fragment is verse or prose, it seems improbable that it should have been included by the composer of the chronicle with no word of introduction or comment.

<sup>3</sup> *Rime*, ed. Carducci and Ferrari, Florence, 1899, no. 214, lines 19-24.

<sup>4</sup> Tommaseo and Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, s. v. *partito*.

<sup>5</sup> Crescini, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547.

It has been generally assumed that the fragment is a quatrain, "part" rhyming with "Ard" and "fer" with the final "Caualer."

Holders of this view have assumed, without dissent, that the quatrain formed part of a popular song. It is equally possible that it formed part of a semi-popular versified narrative.

Becker<sup>7</sup> maintains that the fragment is prose. His arguments are as follows: (1) if it were verse, the chronicler would not have included it without some introductory remark; (2) it is closely parallel in content to the Latin sentences in the adjacent portions of the chronicle, each of which tells of an attack upon a town, states how the town was destroyed, and gives some information as to the prisoners and plunder taken; (3) the recording of the fact that only a part of a town was captured is natural in prose, unnatural in verse; (4) specification of the exact number of prisoners is natural in prose, unnatural in verse; (5) specification of throwing into the river as the means of destruction is more natural in prose than in verse; (6) there is no example in early Italian historical poetry of long verses rhyming in pairs with internal rhyme in the first line of each couplet; (7) the rhymes *part* : *Ard* and *fer* : *Caualer* may well be accidental: the constant recurrence of the ending *-erunt* in the adjacent portions of the chronicle shows that the writer made no effort to avoid recurring sounds.

These arguments are not valid. (1) It is possible that the fragment was first associated with the chronicle as a gloss. Original inclusion of a sentence in vernacular prose, whether deliberate, or, as Becker thinks, unconscious, seems to me no less strange than original inclusion of a vernacular quatrain. (2), (3), (4), (5). A semi-popular versified narrative would necessarily be closely parallel in content, even in details, with a prose narrative. (2) A popular song celebrating a victory would very naturally include some reference to the method of destruction of the captured town, and some reference to the taking of prisoners. (3) It is possible that "aui bona part" means "had the best of it." (4) "sex" seems to me more poetic and more popular than "twice threc," "half a dozen," or "some." (5) "J

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*

lo geta tutto jntro lo flumo d'Ard" seems to me eminently picturesque. (6) The theory that the fragment is a quatrain does not involve the assumption that the internal rhymes are intentional. (7) Constant recurrence of the ending *-erunt* is not unnatural in a summary chrouicle of the ac-tivities of a third person plural subject.

The presence of the characterization "li plui fer" and the expression of "li nostre Caualer" as subject of "dusc," unneccssary in view of the presence of the words "li nri," favor the theory that the fragment is verse.

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## ZUR SPRACHE DES PETER VON SUCHENWIRT.

"*Der Widertail.*"

### BIBLIOGRAPHIE.

Für Peter Suchenwirt, im allgemeinen: Peter Suchenwirt's Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhunderte. Ein Beytrag zur Zeit- und Sittengeschichte. Zum ersten Mahle in der Ursprache aus Handschriften herausgegeben, und mit einer Einleitung, historischen Bemerkungen und einem Wörterbuche begleitet, von Alois Primisser. Wien. Juli den 25ten, 1827.—Pfeiffer's Germania. Bd. 34. (Wien, 1889). Franz Kratochwil, Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Suchenwirt-Handschriften.

Für die Sprache und Metrik Peter Suchenwirts im besondern: A. Koberstein, Über die Sprache des österreichischen Dichters Peter Suchenwirt: 1ste Abteilung, *Laullehre*; 2te Abteilung, *Quæstiones Suchenwirtianæ*; 3te Abteilung, über die *Betonung mehrsilbiger Wörter* in Suchenwirts Versen. Naumburg. MDCCXXXVIII.

### Einleitung.

Dieses Gedicht ist von Peter, dem sogenannten Suchenwirt, wahrscheinlich gegen das Ende des XIVten Jahrhunderts geschrieben. Peter von Suchenwirt war einer der berühmtesten österreichischen Dichter des XIVten Jahrhunderts und seine Gedichte sind für das Studium des Mittelhochdeutschen nicht nur von beträchtlichem sprachlichen Interesse, sondern gewähren auch einen tiefen Blick in die Kultur und Sitten einer Periode, welche an poetischen Ereignissen nicht besonders reich ist. Es sind von Peter Suchen-

wirt zweierlei Gattungen Gedichte überliefer-nämlich, a) die sogenannten *Ehrenreden* und b) die allegorischen Sittengemälde und Lehrgedichte. Die erste Gattung (a) ist wichtiger für die Ge-schichte, die zweite Gattung (b) für die Kultur und die sittlichen und moralischen Zustände seiner Zeit. In den *Ehrenreden* gibt er uns geschichtlich-biographische Darstellungen, worin er die gauze Zeitgeschichte behandelt, indem er die Be-gabenheiten und die Taten der Helden seiner Zeit erzählt. Es sind die Taten und Schicksale seiner eigenen österreichischen Edlen, die er mit Vor-liebe schildert. Zur zweiten Gattung (b) aber gehört *Der Widertail*. Bereits in dem vorherge-henden Jahrhundert waren die Spuren der didak-tisch moralischen Tendenz der M. H. D. Literatur wahrzunehmen. Von Walther von der Vogel-weide an sehen wir das Aufblühen der Lehrdich-tung (vergl. Der Winsbeke, Thomasin von Zir-claria, Freidank, etc.) und die Vorliebe für Alle-gorie. Allegorische Figuren vertreten die Sitzen und die moralischen Zustände der Zeit. Diese Gedichte sind also mit gutem Recht "Sittenge-mälde" genannt, denn sie malen uns die Sitzen der Zeit in poetischer Form. Als Gemälde dieses Zeitraums (des XIVten Jahrhunderts) ist unser Gedicht *Der Widertail* das schönste Beispiel von Suchenwirts poetischem Talent.

Dieses Gedicht ist nicht nur von grossem liter-arischen Werte, sondern bietet auch reichlichen Stoff zu sprachlicher Erforschung. Es ist interes-sant zu sehen, wie sich die Sprache nach dem Ver-fall der M. H. D. klassischen Literatur entwickelt hat. Als österreichischer Dichter hat sich Suchen-wirt natürlich des Oberdeutschen bedient. Es ist der Zweck dieser Abhandlung die Sprache des Widertail zu erforschen um zu zeigen, welche oberdeutschen Eigenheiten sich bei diesem Ge-dichte zeigen, welches Gepräge die Sprache im allgemeinen trägt und welcher Dialekt des Ober-deutschen darin überwiegt.

Ich behandle hier nur zwei Texte des *Widertail*: nämlich den einen in Lassberg's *Liedersaal* (Band III, Seite 57 ff. CLXXX) und den andern in Alois Primissers Ausgabe von Suchenwirts sämmtlichen Werken, (Seite 88, No. XXVIII. Wien, 1827). Diesem Texte liegt die sogenannte Sinzendorf-Thurnische Handschrift zu Grunde. Der Heraus-geber hat sic aber an einigen Stellen zurechtge-

stellt, wie sieh aus den "Verbesserungen und Lesarten" (S. 160–161) ersehen lässt. Im Jahre 1820 teilte dem Herausgeber der Hofrat von Hammer die wichtige Handsehrift mit, welehe unter den Büchern des Fürsten Prosper von Sindendorf gelegen hatte und die dieser sowie auch der spätere Besitzer der Handsehrift, Graf Georg von Thurn, dem Herausgeber zur literarischen Benützung überliessen. Diese Handsehrift halte ich für die ursprüngliche und echte oder wenigstens für die der ursprünglich echten näher liegende: nicht nur weil diese Handschrift nicht so vieles zu ergänzen lässt und deshalb auch der Zusammenhang des Textes an manchen Stellen viel deutlicher wird, sondern auch weil die Sprache Bairiseh, während sie im *Liedersaal* im Grunde Alemannisch ist. Suchenwirt hat sonst Bairiseh-Österreichisch gesehrieben und deshalb muss der Text im *Liedersaal* eine auf alemannischem Boden umgearbeitete Form der ursprünglichen Haudsehrift sein.

### DIE SPRACHE DES *Widertail*.

#### A. Vokale.

Die bairischen und alemannischen Eigenheiten sind namentlich bei den langen Vokalen und den Diphthongen zu unterscheiden. Folgende Unterschiede sind zu bemerken:—

(1) Der *Liedersaal* bewahrt die altgermanischen Monophthongen, *i* und *ü*, wo die Prim. Lesart dieselben diphthongisiert. Dieses ist der Hauptunterschied zwischen den alemannischen und bairischen Dialekten.

(2) Dabei weist der *Liedersaal* den alten A. H. D. Diphthong *iu* als Monophthong *ü* [wie das M. H. D. *iu* (*ü* ausgesprochen)] auf, während die Prim. Lesart den Diphthong *eu*, *ew* (vergl. das fröh-N. H. D. *eu*) vertritt. Das *eu*, *ew*, bei Prim. wurde wahrscheinlich noch wie *i+u* oder *e+u* ausgesprochen, obgleich das *ew* im Lehnworte "eratrewre" (Frz. *créature*, *u=ü*) einen französischen Monophthong vertritt. Ein soleher Monophthong war dem Schreiber fremd, daher musste er sich des Diphthonges bedienen, welche diesem Laut am genauesten entsprach.

(3) Wo das altgermanische *au* vor *h*, *r*, *w*, sowie vor Dentalen und im Auslaut im Westgermanischen zu *ö* verengt wurde, geht der *Lieder-*

*saal* weit über die gewöhnlichen Grenzen hinaus, was ein besonders deutlich alemannisches Kennzeichen ist.

(4) Bairische Eigenheiten dagegen zeigt der *Liedersaal* in einigen Flexionsendungen, wo die Prim. Lesart die regelmässigen aber meistens abgesehwälchten M. H. D. Endungen hat.

#### BEISPIELE.

Die Zeilen werden nur nach dem Texte im *Liedersaal* gegeben. Die bei Prim. sind leicht zu finden, denn sie sind ungefähr mit denselben Nummern wie im *Liedersaal* bezeichnet.

##### 1.

- (a) Urgerm. *i*, A. H. D. *i* = *Liedersaal i*,  
Prim. *ei*.  
3. *zit* = *zeit*.  
A. H. D. *gibit*— 4. *git* = *geit*.  
44. *minez* = *meins*.  
47. *Phil* = *Pheille*.  
51. *sin* = *sein*.  
52. *din* = *dein*, etc.

- (b) Urgerm. *ü*, A. H. D. *ü* = *Liedersaal ü*,  
Prim. *au*, *aw*.  
4. *krüt* = *chraut*.  
82, 87, 115, 169. *úff* = *auf*.  
8, 154. *úz* = *aus*.  
168. *trút* = *traut*.  
266. *hüffen* = *hauffen*, etc.

##### 2.

- Urgerm. *eu*, A. H. D. *iu* = *Liedersaal ü*,  
Prim. *eu*, *ew*.  
5. *stüre* = *stewre*.  
No. 6. *creatüre* = *createwre*.  
95. *verdrüssset* = *verdreussct*.  
96. *entslüssset* = *entslewsset*.  
181. *entzüchet* = *entzeuhet*.  
237. *fründen* = *vreunden*.

No. 6 *creatüre*, *createwre* aus dem Französischen *créature*.

##### 3.

Nicht nur vor folgendem *h*, *r*, *w*, und vor *Dentalen* wird im *Liedersaal* das urgermanische *au* zu *ö* verengt, sondern auch vor den Labialen *m*, *b*, *p*, und vor den Gutturalen *g* und dem aus urgermanischem *k* versohobenen *h*, vor dem sonst keine Verengung im M. H. D. stattfindet: [vergl. A. H. D. *rouh* (A. S. *rōk*), A. H. D. *ouh* (A.

S. ök)]. Bei Prim. dagegen bleibt unter diesen Umständen der Diphthong ohne Verengung, wird aber als *au* und nicht als *ou* geschrieben, was die bairische Neigung nach á hin beweist. Unser N. H. D. *au* verdankt dem Bairischen seine Schreibweise, wurde aber ursprünglich mehr nach ó (*ou*) als nach á (*au*) hin ausgesprochen.

Urgerm. *au*. A. H. D. *ou* = Liedersaal ö,  
Prim. *au*, *aw*.

a.) Vor *M*.

19. *bóm* = *pawm*.

20. *góm* = . . . fehlt (*savm*).

b.) Vor *B*.

10. *tób* = *laub*.

Dieses ö wurde in Auslaut als *p* ausgesprochen. Durch den Systemzwang ist das *b* aus den obliquen Kasus (vergl. *lóbes*, *lóbe*) in der Orthographie bewahrt.

c.) Vor *P*.

80. *hópt* = *haupt*.

d.) Vor *G*.

188. *ögen* = *augen*.

e.) Vor hochdeutschem *H*.

345. *öch* = . . . fehlt.

Dabei gibt's im Liedersaal auch wieder Schwankung nach *ou* hin, bei

135. *ouch* = *auch*,

aber es zeigt sich nicht wie bei Prim. die bairische Tendenz nach á hin.

Unter diesen drei Rubriken (1, 2, 3) sieht man also im Vokalsystem des *Liedersaal* eine starke Neigung nach dem Alemannischen hin, während die Prim. Lesart die bairischen Vokale vorzieht. Für diese ganze Frage vergleiche man Weinholds *Bairische Grammatik*, § 40, 54 und *Alemannische Grammatik*, § 42, 91, 124.

#### 4.

Beim starken Adjektivum aber bemerkt man in den Flexionsendungen im *Liedersaal* die Spuren bairischer Eigentümlichkeiten, wo die Prim. Lesart die regelmässigen aber meistens abgeschwächten M. II. D. Endungen hat. In dieser Beziehung nenne ich die folgenden Fälle :

##### A. Masc. Plur.:

a.) Masc. Plur. *Nom.*

Liedersaal ü (Bair.) = Prim. *e*.

Bei Prim. wird die Endung *e* des bestimmten Ar-

tikels in Nom. und Accus. aller Geschlechter oft geschwächt : (*die* = *di*).

220 *dü vient sint* = (222) *die vient*.

244 *dü sínen hant* = . . . fehlt.

Für dieses unechte Neutrum im Masculinum vergleiche man

Joseph 817, *elleu síneu frunt*.

b.) Masc. Plur. *Acc.*

Liedersaal ü (Bair.) = Prim. *e*.

Dieses ü ist im *Liedersaal* ziemlich regelmässig.

39 *andrü man* = *andre man*.

209 *dü vient* = (211) *die veint*.

210 *dü häffen* = (212) *di hauffen*, etc.

Auch für dieses unechte Neutrum im Masculinum vergleiche man *Denkm. xc*, 98. *heithäftiu liuta*.

##### B. Fem. Plur. *Nom.*

Liedersaal ü (Bair.) = Prim. *e*.

Nur ein Fall ist hier belegt :—

87 *alle dü* = *alle die*,

wo *alle* sich auf das vorhergehende *frowen* bezieht.

##### C. Fem. Sing.

a.) Fem Sing. *Nom.*

Liedersaal ü (Bair.) = Prim. *iū*.

316 *edli minn* = *edliu minn*.

333 *edli minn* = *edliu minn*.

Hier vertritt der Nominativ den Vocativ. Diese aus *iu* geschwächte Endung ü kommt sehr oft im Bairischen vor : (vergl. *Rom.* 2, 26, 50, 54—*heiligi*, *érsti*, *elli*, *grózzi*).

b.) Fem. Sing. *Accus.*

Liedersaal ü (Bair.) = Prim. *e*.

197 *dü ér* = (199) *di ér*.

287 *dü mär* (289) = *die maer*.

305 *allü stunt* = (309) *alle stunt*.

Dieses unechte *iu* (ü) im Accus. des Fem. Sing. für *e* ist recht bairisch : (vergl. *Vor.* 269, 22, *heilgiu*; *Kaiserkr.* 7, 5, *alliu*, etc.).

Für die ganze Frage dieser in die verschiedenen Kasus eingedrungenen, unechten Endungen vergleiche man Weinholds *Bairische Grammatik*, § 368, 369.

#### B.

#### KONSONANTEN.

In bezug auf das Konsonantensystem kann man im grossen ganzen sagen, dass die Lautverschiebung im *Liedersaal* nicht so weit fortgeschritten

ist als bei Prim. Das oberdeutsche Gepräge tritt bei Prim. sehr stark hervor, besonders bei germanischem 1) *b* und 2) *k* und bei der westgermanischen Gemination 3) *ck*, welche alle im *Liedersaal* gewöhnlich unverschoben bleiben.

#### BEISPIELE.

##### 1.

Urgerm. *b*, Westgerm. *b* = Liedersaal *b* (*p*); Prim. *p.* 17 *blicket* = *plikhet*. 19 *bóm* = *pawm*. 22 *ungebetten* = *ungereten*. 25 *blau* = *plá*. 31 *plaw* = *plá*. 151 *ban* = *pan*. 169 *pan* = *pan*. 154 *balt* = *palde*. 163 *bý* = *pei*. 198 *pringt* = *pringt*. 301 *brüfft* = *prueft*. 303 *bíten* = *peiten*, etc.

##### 2.

Urgerm. *k*, Westgerm. *k* = Liedersaal *k*, *c(ch)*; Prim. *ch.* 11 *krúter* = *chrauter*. 14 *kérct* = *chèret*. 35 *claider* = *chlaider*. 54 *erchenn* = *derchenne*. 65 *schalkez* = *schalches*. 71 *kint* = *chint*. 104 *clóster* = *chlóster*. 112 *könnent* = *chunnen*. 137 *kam* = *chom*. 151 *chranke* = *chrancé*. 303 *kain* = *chain*, etc.

Nur bei dem Lehnwort Lat. *creatura*, Frz. *créature*, bewahrt Prim. die unverschobene Form. 6 *creatüre* = *createwre*.

##### 3.

Urgerm. *k + j*, Westgerm. Gemination *kk*, *ck*, etc. = Liedersaal *ck*; Prim. *kch*, *kh*, *ch*.

Bei Prim. wird die oberdeutsche Affrikata bewahrt: d. h. *k + j* gutturale stimmlose Spirans *h*: *k + x*. Im A. H. D. wurde diese geminierte Form gewöhnlich durch *cch* bezeichnet, während das einfache verschobene *k* mit *ch* (auch zuweilen *cch*) geschrieben wurde. Bei Prim. müssen wir, glaube ich, das *ch* gerade wie das *kh* als Affrikata und nicht als die einfache Spirans *ch* auffassen. Die drei Schreibweisen *kch*, *kh* und *ch* vertreten die Affrikata *k + x*.

{ 17 <i>blicket</i> = <i>plikhet</i> ,	<i>kch.</i>
{ 209 <i>erblicket</i> = <i>erplikhet</i> ,	<i>kch.</i>
{ 18 <i>geschicket</i> = <i>geschichet</i> ,	<i>ch.</i>
{ 176 <i>geschicket</i> = (178) <i>geschikhet</i> ,	<i>kch.</i>
{ 210 <i>schicket</i> = <i>schikhet</i> ,	<i>kch.</i>
81 <i>erwecken</i> = <i>erwekchen</i> ,	<i>kch.</i>
183 <i>erschrocken</i> = <i>unerschrochenleich</i> ,	<i>ch.</i>
	etc.

Hie und da bewahrt Prim. die besonders ober-

deutsche Schreibweise des Prefixes *ge* (*g'*) im Particium der Vergangenheit, was im *Liedersaal* gar nicht vorkommt: (vergl. Weinholds *Bairische Grammatik*, § 14 und *Alemannische Grammatik*, § 17).

Prim. 48 <i>die gmengt</i> ,	Liedersaal <i>GEMENGt</i> .
" 61 " "	" "
" 150 " "	" "
" 203 <i>in der gmentigen waete</i> , "	"

etc.

Merkwürdig ist es, dass im *Liedersaal* der Schreiber einen Unterschied in der Orthographie zwischen der Konjunktion *das* und der Demonstrativ-relativ-pronominalform *daz* sorgfältig beobachtet; was bei Prim. gar nicht vorkommt. Im *Liedersaal* wird nämlich die Konjunktion überall als *das* mit *s*, die Pronominalform aber überall als *daz* mit *z* geschrieben. Dies ist besonders wichtig für die Interpretation des Textes in Fällen, wo die Konjunktion und die Pronominalformen zu unterscheiden sind. Bei Prim. werden beide Redeteile mit *z* (*daz*) geschrieben.

#### LIEDERSAAL.

Pron. Form *daz*.

17 *daz hag*; 40 *daz soltu*; 61 *daz sag ich*; 67 *daz nimmt er*; 160 *daz han ich*; 203 *sag mir d·z*; 207 *daz sag ich*; 219 *daz sullen wir*; 256 *nimpst du dir DAZ*; 259 *wie wenig dir DAZ-frumbt*; 282 *rosz DAZ e was tot*; 335 *daz schafft gestalt*; 350 *daz wirt got-schin*.

Konj. *das*.

1 *so das ich*; 54 *das ich*; 115 *das er hab*; 132 *das er an kain*; 196 *das ich bin wol*; 236 & 300 *das da muoz-ligen*; 243 *das man den vienden obgeliget*; 246 *das vint-müzzint iecken*; 281 *das er sin swert macht*; 340 *das ich mir-erzell*; 349 *das ez im volget*, etc.

Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, dass irgend ein Unterschied zwischen der Aussprache der Pronominalform und der der Konjunktion bestand. Vielmehr wird der Unterschied ein rein orthographischer sein, da die Pronominalform und die Konjunktion beide lautgesetzlich dasselbe Wort sind. Offenbar war zu dieser Zeit (dem XIV Jhrhdt.) der Unterschied in der Aussprache zwischen *z*, welches nach Vokalen aus germanischem *t* verschoben war, und *s* (germanischem *s*) schon

verloren gegangen. Deshalb durfte man sie in der Orthographie mit einander vertauschen. In dem Worte *daz* wurde das *z* zu dieser Zeit wahrscheinlich wie germanisches *s* ausgesprochen und wenn der Schreiber im *Liedersaal* die Konjunktion sorgfältig mit *s*, die Pronominalform dagegen mit *z* schreibt, ist das nur ein willkürlicher Versuch den syntaktischen Unterschied der beiden Redeteile in der Orthographie zu bezeichnen. Früher freilich, zur Blütezeit der M. H. D. Dichtung, reimte kein sorgfältiger Dichter ein nach Vokalen aus germanischem *t* verschobenes *z* mit einem rein germanischen *s*, was einen Unterschied in der Aussprache beweist. Später aber verschwand allmählich dieser Unterschied und die beiden Laute gingen in einander über. Dieses *z* und *s* bezeichneten nunmehr einfach denselben Laut und deshalb durften sie in der Orthographie einander vertreten. Dieser orthographische Unterschied beim Schreiber des *Widertail* im *Liedersaal* ist eine Feinheit, die ihre Parallele in der N. H. D. Orthographie findet, wo die Konjunktion mit *ss*, die Pronominalform aber mit einfacherem *s* geschrieben wird, während doch kein Unterschied in der Aussprache besteht.

Aus dieser Übersicht des Konsonantensystems bei Lassberg und bei Primisser ersieht man, dass das oberdeutsche Gepräge bei Primisser stärker bewahrt ist als bei Lassberg. Wenn man sowohl dies in Betracht zieht als dass das Vokalsystem bei Primisser bairisch ist, so darf man annehmen, dass die Sinzendorf-Thurn'sche Handschrift der ursprünglichen Fassung des *Widertail* näher gelegen hat als die des *Liedersaal*, während die Lesart bei Lassberg im *Liedersaal* eine auf alemannischem Boden umgearbeitete Form der ursprünglichen Handschrift gewesen sein muss.<sup>1</sup> Spuren des Bairischen sind noch in den Flexionsendungen zu bemerken, was meine Theorie bestätigt, dass die ursprüngliche Form des Gedichtes bairisch sei. Dialektische Unterschiede in den Flexionsendungen sind bei weitem nicht so auffallend, wie

Unterschiede in den Stammsilben, daher mache der Schreiber im *Liedersaal* in erster Linie die Stammsilben alemannisch, vernachlässigte aber gewissermassen die Flexionsendungen. Merkwürdig ist es jedoch, dass die Lesart bei Prim., welche sonst ganz bairisch ist, die bairischen Eigentümlichkeiten in den Flexionsendungen nicht so ausgeprägt aufweist, wie die alemannische Lesart bei Lassberg; aber das kann man schon der Abschwächung der Endungen zuschreiben.

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#### "THE HISTORY OF CARDENIO BY MR. FLETCHER AND SHAKESPEARE."

In 1653 there was entered on the Stationers' Register for Humphrey Moseley a play described as "The History of Cardeuio by Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare." We learn from the accounts of Lord Stanhope of Harrington that on May 20th, 1613, John Hemings (Heming), one of the leading actors among the King's men (Shakespeare's company), was paid for presenting six several plays (some of them Shakespeare's best), among which was one called "Cardano" or "Cardenno"; and later he was paid for presenting, on June 8th of the same year, before the Duke of Savoy's ambassador, a play called "Cardema" or "Cardenna." I find also, what seems to have been hitherto overlooked, that Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, on June 10th, 1613, of the gay doings of this same Savoy ambassador, says: "On Tuesday [June 8th] he was at the Lord Mayor's, where, besides all other cheer, they had a play." In all probability this play was the one for which Hemings was paid and the one which Moseley in 1653 attributed to Fletcher and Shakespeare. Other traces of it there have seemed to be none. Fleay attempted to identify it with *Love's Pilgrimage*, but by a process of reasoning with which no one but Fleay could have been satisfied.

In 1727 Lewis Theobald, hero of the *Dunciad* and one of the ablest of the early editors of Shakespeare, produced a play both on the stage

<sup>1</sup> In seinem vortrefflichen Aufsatz über die Suchenwirt-Handschriften (vgl. oben die Bibliographie) bemerkt Herr Kratochwil (S. 223), dass der Schreiber von A (d. h. der Sinzendorf-Thurn'schen Handschrift) dem bairisch-österreichischen Sprachgebiete gehöre und weiter (S. 402) dass die Sprache, des *Widertail* im *Liedersaal* alemannisch sei. Er führt aber keinen Beweis dafür.

and in print, which he called *Double Falsehood*, or *The Distressed Lovers*, and professed to have revised from old manuscripts of a play of Shakespeare. *Double Falsehood* is founded on the story of Cardenio in *Don Quixote*. It was very successful as an acting piece and was revived frequently during the eighteenth century. In its printed form it went almost immediately into a second edition and was again reprinted in 1767. The copyright of the play was secured to Theobald by royal license on the ground "that he had, at a considerable expense, purchased the ms. copy of an original play of William Shakespeare, called 'Double Falsehood, or The Distressed Lovers'; and had, with great labour and pains, revised and adapted the same for the stage."

In the preface to the first edition Theobald says: "It has been alledg'd as incredible, that such a Curiosity should he stifled and lost to the World for above a Century. To This my Answer is short; that tho' it never till now made its Appearance on the Stage, yet one of the Manuscript Copies, which I have, is of above Sixty Years Standing, in the Handwriting of Mr. Downes, the famous Old Prompter; and, as I am credibly inform'd, was early in the Possession of the celebrated Mr. Betterton, and by Him design'd to have been usher'd into the World. What Accident prevented This Purpose of his, I do not pretend to know: Or thro' what hands it had successively pass'd before that Period of Time. There is a Tradition (which I have from the Nohle Person, who supply'd me with One of my Copies) that it was given by our Author, as a Present of Value, to a Natural Daughter of his, for whose Sake he wrote it, in the Time of his Retirement from the Stage. Two other Copies I have (one of which I was glad to purchase at a very good Rate), which may not, perhaps, be quite so Old as the Former; but One of Them is much more perfect, and has fewer Flaws and Interruptions in the Sense. . . . .

"Others again, to deprecate the Affair, as they thought, have been pleased to urge, that tho' the Play may have some Resemblances of Shakespeare; yet the Colouring, Diction, and Characters, come nearer to the Style and Manner of Fletcher. This, I think, is far from deserving any Answer; I submit it to the Determination of better Judgments; tho' my Partiality for Shakespeare makes me wish, that Every Thing which is good, or pleasing, in our Tongue, had been owing to his Pen."

The question then arises: was *Double Falsehood*

founded on the old *Cardenio*? That is, was Theobald really in possession of manuscripts of that play or did he invent the whole story? We first ask, naturally, what became of the manuscripts? There is no answer. We learn from the *Variorum Shakespeare* (I, 178) that Theobald's library, containing a large number of old plays, was sold in 1744, shortly after his death. About 1750 Warburton's cook destroyed, among other treasures, "a play by Will. Shakespeare." Fleay, without any thought of "Double Falsehood," seems to have been inclined to identify this lost play with "Cardenio." It is at least possible that Warburton may have come into possession of one or more of Theobald's copies. Theobald's edition of Shakespeare was published after *Double Falsehood* and we may wonder why he did not include the *Cardenio* play. He may, however, not have cared to disturb his own copyright, or he may have wished to avoid unpleasant comparisons, or he may have himself felt some doubt as to his traditional settlement of the authorship. As Professor Lounsbury points out, Theobald refers at least once in the Shakespeare to *Double Falsehood* (Vol. IV, page 287, note), which seems to imply that he himself continued to take the play seriously.

Dispute about the authorship began with the first production and has not ceased. Some contemporaries treated the play as pure forgery of Theobald and he did not show much tact in defending himself; for when certain lines were picked out as especially fine, he insisted that those were precisely the ones he had written. Pope attacked the play for the sake of attacking Theobald, but afterwards admitted that he regarded it as a genuine product of Shakespeare's age. Dr. Farmer maintained that it could not be Shakespeare's, because "aspect" was accented on the first syllable, forgetting that Theobald confessed to having revised the original with "great labour and pains." Farmer thought the play Shirley's, because Langhaine tells us that author left several plays in ms. and "from every mark of style and manner I make no doubt of ascribing it to Shirley." I have myself studied Shirley's plays carefully and I detect none of these "marks of style and manner" in *Double Falsehood*. Dyce followed Farmer, adding the purely gratuitous hypothesis, since sometimes ac-

cepted as fact, that Theobald was misled by the letters "Sh." on the title-page. Malone is said to have attributed the play to Massinger, which would require confirmation. Professor Ward is inclined to accept Farmer's and Dyce's suggestion of Shirley. Mr. Oliphant thinks *Double Falsehood* contains "nothing that could have been written by Fletcher or Shakespeare." Mr. Sidney Lee says, "there is nothing in the play as published by Theobald to suggest Shakespeare's hand, but Theobald doubtless took advantage of a tradition that Shakespeare and Fletcher had combined to dramatise the Cervantic theme"; and Professor Schelling agrees with Mr. Lee. Churton Collins, who probably knew Theobald's work better than anyone else, believed that *Double Falsehood* "was founded on some old play" but that it was, for the most part, "from Theobald's own pen." I find no indication that Collins was aware of the facts in regard to the original *Cardenio*, and there is apparently no mention of them in Professor Lounsbury's otherwise most careful and thorough discussion of *Double Falsehood* and its author. Professor Lounsbury concludes: "We can consequently feel safe in dismissing the supposition that the piece was the composition of Theobald himself." And I think we may say decidedly that this conclusion has the great body of critical authority behind it.

Now let us turn to the play. The action follows closely the story of Cervantes, but with interesting divergences. The most notable of these is the introduction of Roderick, the elder brother of Henriquez (the Don Fernando of Cervantes), who plays the part of Don Quixote in the original, so far as to be the main agent in solving difficulties and finally bringing the right lovers together. The scene of Leonora's (originally Lueinda's) marriage (III, 2) is skilfully made the climax of the play and is handled with excellent effect for dramatic purposes by letting Julio (Cardenio) actually take part, as he does not in the original. Act V is also largely varied from the Cardenio story and is developed in a series of telling climaxes, exactly such as were always dear to Fletcher's heart. This is most notable when taken in connection with Professor Thorndike's analysis and comparison of Beaumont and Fletcher's and Shakespeare's romances and especially with what he says of the dénouements of those

romances. It is worth remarking that betrayal of friendship forms the subject of *Double Falsehood*, as of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which probably contains work of both Shakespeare and Fletcher, and that the madness of the jailor's daughter in that play has its counterpart in the madness of Julio (*Double Falsehood*, IV). Let me also note here that Miss Hatcher, in her excellent monograph on Fletcher, points out how fond he was of going to Cervantes for his plots (probably in ten plays) and how closely he follows his original.

There are some interesting points in characterization. Violante (Cervantes's Dorothea), in her boy disguise, is exactly the familiar figure of the Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher romances. And if any one cries out against naming her with Elizabethan heroines, I can only say that such a critic can have reflected little on the all-importance of style in creating and distinguishing dramatic characters. Let Emily and Arcite, or even Imogen and Posthumous, be revised "with great pains and labour" by a Theobald, and they would soon sink to the level of Violante and Henriquez. The most curious elements in this character study, however, are the two old fathers, Camillo and Don Bernard. There is no hint of either in the original and they are exactly the types of garrulous, waspish, fretful, pompous old men, which Fletcher so greatly loved (*Elder Brother*, *Love's Pilgrimage*, *Pilgrim*, *Maid in the Mill*, etc.).

But the question of style in *Double Falsehood* is more important than that of character. In the first two acts and III, 1 and 2, we find everywhere the predominance of Theobald. It is clear that, especially in II, he has conscientiously and minutely revised and altered, levelling and flattening everything to the eighteenth century commonplace which rules unbroken in his own acknowledged dramas. Yet through this obscuring haze no one who reads carefully can fail to distinguish another touch, firm, vivid, masculine, high-wrought, imaginative, all the more marked for standing out so strongly against the emptiness that surrounds it. This touch is either that of an Elizabethan or a most skilful imitation, and surely anyone who could have imitated so successfully, would have made his imitation more sustained. What Elizabethan, however, it is not possible to say with positiveness.

The case is altogether different when we come to III, 3. Here, although it has so far escaped the notice of editors and critics, it seems to me that we at once detect another hand which has not appeared before in the play, the most individual of all Elizabethan hands, the hand which no one at all familiar with it should mistake, the hand of Fletcher. Fletcher's manner is, indeed, easily imitable; but, as I shall show later, it is almost impossible to suppose that Theobald imitated it; and if he did not, I cannot see how we can avoid the conclusion that, still under Theobald's revision, we have much of Fletcher in *Double Falschood*.

I do not lay great stress on the mere fact of feminine endings, although an examination of the different scenes which I had attributed, on independent grounds, to Fletcher and to his fellow author, shows 47% of double endings in Fletcher's portion and only 32% in the remainder. Of course, owing to Theobald's revision, this is much less than Fletcher's usual percentage. Nevertheless the difference is significant. Double endings are common enough, however, in Theobald's plays and in eighteenth century tragedy generally. We come nearer to Fletcher when we have frequent double endings formed of two words,—

"Yes, I am that Lord Roderick, and I lie not."—III, 3;  
"She's stol'n away; and whither gone, I know not."—  
III, 3;

much nearer, when the last word is a "now," or a "too," or a "yet,"—

"Make up your Malice, and dispatch his Life too."—  
III, 3;

"I hope to see that Day before I dye yet."—III, 3.

nearest of all in the peculiarly Fletcherian trick of ending a line with a word which should be emphasized and rhythmically cannot be,—

"Pr'thee, be gone, and bid the Bell knoll for me;"—  
III, 3.

And there is more in it than mere metre. Everyone who knows Fletcher knows his passion for alliteration and his extraordinary gift in the use of it. It is abundant in his portion of this play. Note it in the lines quoted above for another purpose. Note it, with other peculiarities, for example, the parentheses, in this charming and most Fletcherian passage, which I cannot but think that Theobald has altogether spared:—

"Julio. Since she is not Leonora, she is heav'nly.  
When she speaks next, listen as seriously,  
As Women do that have their Loves at Sea,  
What Wind blows ev'ry Morning—

*Violante.* I cannot get this false Man's Memory  
Out of my Mind. You Maidens, that shall live  
To hear my mournful Tale, when I am Ashes,  
Be wise: and to an Oath no more give Credit,  
To Tears, to Vows, (false Both!) or any Thing  
A Man shall promise, than to Clouds, that now  
Bear such a pleasing Shape, and now are  
nothing.

For they will cozen, (if They may be cozen'd,)  
The very Gods they worship."—IV, 2.

Further, one of Fletcher's most marked mannerisms is his habit of repeating words, sometimes again and again, leaving them and going back to them. Where in *The Humorous Lieutenant* or *The Chances* will you find a better example of this than the following, which in other respects also is perfect Fletcher:—

"Violante. How his Eyes shake Fire,  
And measure ev'ry Piece of Youth about me!  
The Ewes want water, Sir: Shall I go drive 'em  
Down to the Cisterns? Shall I make haste, Sir?  
'Would I were five Miles from him—How he  
gripes me!

*Master.* Come, Come, all this is not sufficient, Child,  
To make a Fool of me.—*This is a fine Hand,*  
*A delicate fine Hand*,—Never change Colour:  
You understand me,—and *A Woman's Hand.*"  
—IV, 1.

Parallel passages are misleading. Fletcher, however, was fond of repeating his fine things and it is quite striking that the cloud line in the last quotation but one should so closely resemble that in Ordella's noble speech (*Thierry and Theodore*, IV, 1)—

"And fly, like shapes of clouds we form, to nothing."

Other cloud figures, less conspicuously similar, might be produced.

More general coincidences of diction are also noticeable. For instance, the advcrb "extremely," occurring twice in this play, is a favorite with Fletcher. It occurs only five times in all Shakespeare, two of those being in the Fletcherian *Henry VIII*. It is found at least twenty-eight times in Fletcher, and in two plays, *The Humorous Lieutenant* and *Monsieur Thomas*, five times each. Another favorite word is "now," in an almost redundant use, often vexatiously frequent in Fletcher's acknowledged plays, and very com-

mon in *Double Falsehood*. See, for example, page 35 of that play.

These marked Fletcher peculiarities, then, do not appear at all before III, 3. In that scene they are abundant. Fletcher's also is the speech of the shepherds at the beginning of IV, but the business of Julio's madness takes us back to the firmer, stronger hand :—

"It puzzles my Philosophy, to think  
That the rude Blast, hot Sun, and dashing Rains  
Have made no fierer War upon thy Youth."

—IV, 1.

No Fletcher there. With the entrance of Violante, however, Fletcher comes again and has the remainder of scene 1, the whole of 2, and probably the first scene of V—that is, so far as Theobald will permit. V, 2, the long and skilful dénouement, has indubitable traces of the more masculine author and of Fletcher also. It is worth noting that the comic business of the two old men appears in the earlier acts in prose, then is transformed into Fletcher's comic verse, and in V returns partially to prose again.

We have, then, in *Double Falsehood* a play on a subject supposed to have been treated by Shakespeare and Fletcher, containing in one portion many Elizabethan touches quite different from Fletcher, in another distinct portion many more touches so Fletcherian that it is difficult to believe them not Fletcher's, unless we suspect deliberate and most skilful imitation. Now either Theobald did really revise the play from old manuscripts or he forged it. Let us assume the forgery. That he should have forged such a play as I have described above, with no knowledge of the Shakespeare-Fletcher-Cardenio tradition, presupposes coincidences which are manifestly impossible. But did he know of the Cardenio tradition? It seems to me in the highest degree unlikely. Our sole knowledge of that tradition rests on two facts: Lord Harrington's record as to the acting in 1613 and the Stationers' entry in 1653. Now Theobald declares in his preface that the play had never been acted, which seems to dispose of Lord Harrington. As to the Stationers' entry, Mr. Arber tells us that the registers were not extensively consulted until well into the eighteenth century and it appears hardly likely that even Malone, fifty years later than Theobald, knew of the Cardenio entry, since he quotes the Lord Harrington

passage and speaks of *Cardenio* as acted in 1613, but does not show the most distant sign of associating that play with either Shakespeare or Fletcher. There is still stronger evidence, however. If Theobald knew of the tradition, and deliberately set out to forge a Shakespeare-Fletcher play, how could he possibly have neglected to bring forward such an argument? Instead of doing so, he writes the paragraph, quoted at the beginning of this paper, in which he deprecates the suggestion of Fletcher authorship which had been brought forward by his critics (a suggestion of extreme interest, by the way, as showing the early detection of Fletcher in the play by persons who had no reason whatever to look for him there). This paragraph seems to me absolutely incompatible with any possibility of Theobald's having set himself deliberately to imitate Fletcher. I do not see, then, how we can avoid the conclusion that Theobald was really in possession of an old play, and that, in view of its subject and of Fletcher's part authorship, that play was "*The History of Cardenio*."

Now is there reason to believe that "*The History of Cardenio*" had any connection with Shakespeare? For external evidence we have Moseley's attribution to "Mr. Fletcher and Shakespeare" in 1653; but Moseley was far from reliable. We have Theobald's tradition, which is worth little, but something. And we have the fact that the play, "*Cardenno*" or "*Cardenna*" (if identical with "*The History of Cardenio*") was acted by the King's men in 1613 with other of Shakespeare's and Fletcher's greatest plays about the precise time when, if ever, Shakespeare and Fletcher would have been in close connection. This seems to suggest the possibility that *The History of Cardenio* might come into the same class with *King Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

The internal evidence is certainly not of great importance. Numerous passages resembling Shakespeare's acknowledged work of the period to which *The History of Cardenio* would belong, can be produced; but none is close enough to have much weight.

Many lines and phrases in the non-Fletcherian portion of the play have, to my ear something of a Shakespearean turn or resonance, as distinguished from either Beaumont or Massinger, the

writers who would have been most likely to have collaborated with Fletcher :—

" You deal unkindly ; misbecomingly,  
I'm loth to say : For All that waits on you,  
Is graced and graces." —I, 2;

" Such a Villany  
A Writer could not put down in his Scene,  
Without Taxation of his Auditory  
For Fiction most enormous." —III, 1.

Again, we have examples of that use of strange words, or words in strange connections, which is so characteristic of the later Shakespeare :—

" Young Lords, like you,  
Have thus *besung* mean Windows, rhymed their Sufferings  
Even to the Abuse of Things Divine." —I, 3;

" Home, my Lord,  
What you can say, is most unseasonable, what sing  
Most *absont* and harsh." —I, 3.

And if anyone urges that not even the greatest labor and pains of a Theobald could have obliterated Shakespeare so successfully, we can only point to the extraordinary habits of revisers generally which could make even so true a poet and so genuine a Shakespearean as D'Avenant write, apparently with the idea that he was improving his model,—

" Duncan is dead.  
He, after life's short fever now sleeps well.  
Treason has done its worst ; nor steel nor poison,  
Nor foreign force, nor yet domestic malice  
Can touch him further."

The fact that Theobald's revision is much less evident in Fletcher's part of the play than in the other, would be easily accounted for if he had in one case to deal with the rugged, vigorous, difficult thought of Shakespeare's later period, in the other with Fletcher's fluent theatrical rhetoric, and if we remember that the revision was intended for the stage.

As regards dramatic handling, two points are worth noting. First, in *King Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* Shakespeare—if it was Shakespeare—hegan the play and Fletcher, perhaps working out Shakespeare's sketches, appears mainly in the latter part. The same is true of the relation of the two authors in *Double Falsehood*. Second, in the three romances of Shakespeare's last period, *A Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Cymbeline*, as well as in *Pericles*, an important element of the dénouement is the common romantic theme of the restoration of lost

children to their parents, and in *Cymbeline* this forms the main part of the series of most telling climaxes, piled one upon another, which constitutes act v, scene 5. Now in the last act of *Double Falsehood* we have this same motive developed also in a series of most telling climaxes ; and curiously enough this is accomplished by departing entirely from the original story in " *Don Quixote*," which is otherwise followed with considerable minuteness.

All these arguments are certainly far from sufficient to associate Shakespeare's name in any positive fashion with *The History of Cardenio*, not to speak of *Double Falsehood* as it stands. But it seems to me that there is a certain interest in discovering the remains of a play which was almost indisputably Fletcher's, which had at least some claim to be classed among Fletcher's collaborations with his greatest predecessor, and which would in that case form a most important link in the masterly chain of argument by which Professor Thorndike has connected Shakespeare's work with that of his younger friends and rivals.

I hope before long to reprint *Double Falsehood* with an introduction and notes which will give my argument fuller and more substantial development.

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*Pepita Jiménez*, by JUAN VALERA, edited with notes and vocabulary by G. L. LINCOLN. Boston : D. C. Heath & Co., 1908. xii + 245 pp.

A school edition of Valera's great novel has long been a desideratum, and while the present edition abounds in faults of detail, it may be profitably used in college classes near the end of the second year. In the reviewer's opinion, this story should not be read earlier, since a class-room test shows it to be, both in vocabulary and thought, decidedly more difficult than José, *El Sombrero de tres Picos*, or Becquer's *Legends*. Then, too, the action is so slow that it is better to read it when the class can prepare an assignment of ten pages or more.

The Introduction is adequate, and assigns Valera his proper place among the Spanish novelists. The sketch of his life might properly have contained the interesting item that he was blind

during the last years of his life. To the list of his works should have been added : *El superhombre y otras novedades* (1903), and *Terapéutica social* (1905). As to the Bibliography, several articles not included by Mr. Lincoln are mentioned in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, III, 438. To these add : F. Blumentritt, *Einiges über Juan Valera*, Leitmeritz, 1894, and E. Mérimée, article in *Bulletin Hispanique*, VII, 197 ff.

The text has been very judiciously cut down about one-fifth. The cuts consist, for the most part, of those passages of minute analysis which would prove least interesting to the average student. The *Epílogo*, whose superfluous character Valera himself was the first to recognize, has been omitted, and the story is artistically more satisfactory.

The notes are intended for the teacher as well as for the student, and are often suggestive. If, however, as Mr. Lincoln intends, the book is to be used in the first year, more grammatical notes are necessary. For instance, to 3. 4 *fria y razo-nadamenta*; 35. 12 *lo que es*; 53. 32 *se los río*, where *se* is not reflexive as the vocabulary assumes; 113. 31 *habían de ver*, equal to conditional; 50. 15 use of present in conditions contrary to fact; 19. 30 *tanto compatriota*; 89. 9 *reían al conde la gracia*.

So difficult a passage as the following should be translated in full in the notes (15. 9-13): "Por esto mismo deseo conocer á Pepita y ver si ella puede ser esta mujer, pesándome ya algo, y tal vez entre en esto cierto orgullo de familia, que si es malo quisiera desechar, los desdenes, aunque melifluos y afectuosos, de la mencionada joven viuda."

The editor has run down successfully the many biblical sources of the text. I note only two oversights : For *Nembrot* (38. 10) a note would refer to *Gen. x*, 9 ; in 58. 32 and 61. 5 we have a clear reminiscence of Solomon's Song, IV, 10-12.

The choice of passages to annotate is largely a personal matter, but notes are really necessary for 39. 6 *Tebaida*; 51. 1 *día de la Cruz*. Throughout the Catholic world the third of May is venerated as the day of the finding of the Cross. 82. 24-29 : This passage is hardly intelligible without a knowledge of the peculiar force of the exclamation ; *Jesús, María y José!* 127. 10 : Protestant readers will not understand the allusion without a note on the symbolism of the seven swords.

Note further in this section : P. 8, n. 2, the date of Tirso's death is 1648, not 1658. The modern poet is named Zorrilla, not Zorilla. P. 2, n. 1, and p. 79, n. 1, the title of Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo's work is *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*. P. 16, n. 1, *y salva la delicadeza del pudor* is incorrectly translated. The meaning is 'putting aside all sense of shame.' P. 27, n. 1, the part of the notes in quotation marks should be credited to Fitzmaurice-Kelly. P. 28, note, *Joham* or *Joao de Lobeira*, rather than *Johan*. P. 44, note 1, the reference should be to Migne, *Patrologia Latina*. P. 69, l. 3, the *Calcografía* in question is not, as Mr. Lincoln supposes, an art, but the national engraving establishment in the Academia de San Fernando. P. 79, note, that part of the note beginning "The veneration for the stigmata and yearning for its (*sic!*) possession," is of interest for its bearing on Spanish mysticism, but has no relation whatever to the passage to which it refers. P. 87, n. 4, a note here should explain primarily the meaning of the phrase *vestir de majo*, which describes merely the outing or riding garb affected by an Andalusian country gentleman. If it seems desirable to mention Goya's *Maja*, why not also Blasco Ibáñez's *La Maja Desnuda*. P. 102, note, refers to Murray's *Handbook for Spain*, whose title is more correctly given on p. 165 as Ford's *Handbook for Spain*.

Mr. Lincoln's vocabulary is the least satisfactory part of his edition. In the preface we read : "The vocabulary does not aim at completeness, but is an attempt to supply a sufficient number of words for the understanding of this story to any student who has had a little Latin and even less Spanish." If this means that words that are similar in form and meaning in Spanish and Latin, or Spanish and English, are not included, one can understand the omission of *cristiandad*, *horrible*, *evocación*, *valiente*, *homilia*. But then why include *abandonar*, *acusación*, *adiós*, *adoración*, *afabilidad*, *agitación*, *apetito*, *apóstol*, *argumento*, *aroma*, *atención*, etc., etc.? If a vocabulary is to be incomplete, the omissions should be systematic, and their character indicated.

A parallel meaning in English and Spanish was evidently assumed for *aficiones* (64. 31), here 'emotions'; *consistente* (78. 12), here 'substantial'; *celestiales* (93. 28), here an euphemism for *tontos*; *doctor* (90. 18), here 'teacher.'

In the following cases the vocabulary does not include the word or phrase, or gives an incorrect meaning, or fails to give one applicable to the passage. 8. 18 *tarro de almíbar*, 'jar of preserve'; 10. 12 *se le conocía la misma capa*, 'he had been known to wear the same cape'; 10. 23 *cuando no eran á escote*, 'when each guest did not have to pay his share'; 19. 27 *de mí para usted*, 'between you and me'; 26. 32 *rubio* 'fair, blond'; 26. 22 *caracol*, 'ringlet'; 26. 23 *castaña* 'coil'; 43. 23 *cimbel* is better understood as the 'rope' by which a decoy is attached; 43. 29 *silvestres*, 'wild'; 48. 17 *algodones*, 'cotton goods'; 49. 32 *linternazos*, 'blows' of any sort; 50. 9 *razones*, 'arguments'; 53. 15 *no bien*, 'as soon as'; 54. 14 *apostarse*, 'to be ready to, to be in a position to'; 55. 3 *no hay que*, 'it is needless to'; 55. 12 *como extrañase las mías*, 'since mine were unfamiliar'; 55. 31 *solemne*, used with special force, as in Italian; 57. 24 *hasta*, 'even'; 69. 14 *geranio-hedra*, 'geranium-ivy'; 72. 16 *subir de punto*, 'to increase.' *De punto* is given in the voc. as 'at once, decidedly'; 74. 24 *galas*, 'ornaments'; 75. 30 *partir*, 'to break'; 75. 32 *unos*, 'a pair of'; 76. 8 *marca*, 'brand'; 77. 12 *usura*, 'interest,' not 'usury'; 78. 31 *ayer estuvo*, 'he was here yesterday'; 80. 25 *largar* (like *soltar*) is vulgar for *deir* in certain constructions; 80. 26 *barbaridad*, here 'cruel speech'; also *par de coches*: does Mr. Lincoln take this literally? According to the *Diccionario de la Academia*, '*soltar una coz*' means '*contestar importuna y desabridamente*.' 81. 12 *destrozar*, 'to break'; 81. 32 *soñar*, 'to imagine, dream of'; 83. 14 *recia* here refers to *Antoñona's* moral nature, not to her physique, *Dicc. Acad.*, '*duro de genio*.' 84. 19 *profundizar en* not *profundizar*; 84. 25 *depurados quilates*, 'refined quality, lofty character'; 87. 13 *vestirse con*, 'to have one's clothes made by'; 87. 19 and 101. 11 *buen mozo*, 'handsome fellow, fine-looking man,' hardly 'pretty fellow'; 89. 24 *blandengue*. The meaning given for this word is unsatisfactory here, though found in the *Dicc. Acad.* Whatever its origin, it is felt here to mean '*persona de genio y trato apacible*,' 'easy-going person, softy.' It is akin to other popular formations in *-engue*. 89. 9 *profano*, 'layman'; 91. 32 *si bien*, 'though'; 92. 3 *bregar*, 'to be active, keep busy'; 92. 29 *á punto fijo*, 'exactly, precisely'; 93. 6 and 113. 10 *lo que*, 'how much'; 94. 21 *metafisicas*, 'dis-

cussion'; 95. 8 *ajada*, 'humbled'; 96. 1 *no faltes*, 'don't fail'; 96. 3 *de dos en dos*, 'two at a time'; 97. 5 *pensar*, 'to intend, plan'; 97. 8 *por lo mismo*, 'consequently'; 98. 12 *valer*, 'worth, importance'; 99. 14 *plática*, 'conversation'; 100. 20 *sentirse con*, 'to feel that one has'; 102. 27 *arropía*, 'honey-candy'; 103. 23 *cancela* is not quite 'a front door grating.' It is the ironwork door which separates the *zaguán* or outer hall from the *patio* in Andalusian houses. 109. 5 *otro*, 'different'; 109. 20 *respetos*, 'considerations, motives'; 111. 16 *en esta suposición*, 'in view of this'; 115. 2 *que valgan lo que valen*, 'who are equal to'; 116. 32 *fácil*, 'easy to lead astray'; 117. 22 *estaba escrito* is better explained in the note than in the vocab.; 119. 12 *hábil*, 'able'; 120. 4 *por donde quiera*, 'through and through'; 125. 12 *no cabía*, 'could not be expressed in'; 127. 10 *sutil*, 'delicate, fine'; 132. 7 *sufrirse*, 'to tolerate oneself'; 132. 16 *vicioso*, 'hard, heavy' used with *jugador*; 135. 6 *cómo?* not in vocab. as interrogative; 141. 18 *lance*, 'quarrel'; 143. 17 *reactivo*, 'reagent'; 143. 21 *su pretendida*, 'the object of your affection'; *enamorada*, 'sweetheart'; 144. 17 and 147. 17 *sacar*, 'to make, manufacture, turn out'; 145. 11 *llevarle á uno*, 'to be older than'; 133. 6 *con aire de taco*, 'with a swagger'; 148. 6 *miel de prima*, 'finest cane-syrup'; 146. 26 *en babia*, 'unsuspicious,' not 'absent-minded.'

In several cases a glance at the *Dicc. de la Acad.* would have prevented particularly unfortunate blunders; *regular* (9. 14), 'methodical,' not 'regular, ordinary'; *vidrioso* (17. 15), 'fragile,' not 'glassy, slippery'; *reticencias* (38. 24), 'implication, insinuation,' not 'reticence'; *genialidades* (53. 27), 'characteristics, idiosyncrasies,' not 'jocular remarks'; *plausible* (54. 1), 'praiseworthy,' not 'plausible, specious.'

Of printer's errors over forty were noted, most of them in the vocabulary. It is to be hoped that the publishers will soon bring out a carefully corrected second edition of this important work. This done, Mr. Lincoln's book should find a place in every course in the Spanish novel.

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## THACKARAY.

*Entstehungsgeschichte von Thackaray's Vanity Fair*  
by ERWIN WALTER. Palaestra 79. Berlin :  
Mayer & Müller, 1908.

In this work Dr. Walter has made a valuable contribution to Thackaray lore. His investigations have been made with true German thoroughness. He has read the previously published works of Thackaray, the novels of writers contemporary to and immediately preceding Thackaray in England and France, and finally Thackaray's criticisms of these writers. The results of this investigation are rather disappointing to the lover of Thackaray, as almost every vestige of originality seems to be taken from him, and he stands in the peculiar position of a man who is indebted not only to his predecessors, but to himself. This conclusion of Walter's may be best summed up in his own words :

"Thackaray has so often altered and utilized earlier works, that we might say that practically everything that he wrote before *Vanity Fair* was a preliminary study for this romance ; and in fact we have studies not only for the work as a whole,—for the *Pencil Sketches*, as well as for *A Novel Without a Hero*,—but also for especial chapters and incidents."

Thackaray's way of binding his novels loosely together, by introducing the same characters or their relations into different books, is familiar to us ; but here we find him making use of the same characters under different names, and the same incidents in different connection. For example in several of his earlier works: *Barber Cox*, *The Fatal Boots*, *The Orphan of Pimlico*, *Raven's Wing*, occurs a character which may be looked upon as a study for Becky Sharp; e. g., one is an adventurer, one a governess, one a ballet dancer's daughter, one an intriguing Jewess ; so that the sum total of these characters might almost make up a Becky Sharp.

We find individual incidents, such as Jos.' holding Becky's skein of silk, Dobbin's school boy fight, Becky's boarding school experience, which have been taken almost bodily from other works. Also many of the sketches used for illustrations have been used before.

Dr. Walter next examines Thackaray's criticisms of the English and French prose writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and finds that he expresses especially a great admiration for Fielding and acknowledges the latter's influence over him. Fielding's choice of characters and plot, his delineation of character, his so-called "mixed characters," that is people who are neither all good nor all bad, his tendency to sermonize ; all these have influenced Thackaray in the development of his book. The real origin of *Vanity Fair*, however, Dr. Walter finds in Thackaray's attempt to express his disapproval of Scott, in *Rebecca and Rowena*, a parody on *Ivanhoe*, in which Scott's romantic and ideal delineations are caricatured and held up to ridicule. *Vanity Fair* is to be looked upon as a development of *Rebecca and Rowena*, and thus may be considered as a protest against Scott. In *Vanity Fair* the high-minded and self-sacrificing Rebecca is contrasted with the intriguing and selfish Becky, the too faultless Rowena becomes the insipidly sweet Amelia "who couldn't say boo to a goose," and so the contrast proceeds through most of the important characters of the book. To quote again from Dr. Walter, "The influence which Thackaray's relation to Scott had on the development of 'Vanity Fair' must not be underestimated. In 'Rebecca and Rowena' he tried to show how according to his opinion the characters and events in 'Ivanhoe' would seem, when one looks at the bottom of things ; in the same year, 1846, he tried to create in the novel of the present, 'Vanity Fair,' a work of his own from the same point of view, which had been his guide in his criticism of 'Ivanhoe,' and went to work by using characters exactly opposite to those in the latter novel."

The French writers by whom Thackaray was influenced are Balzac, whom he greatly admired, and one of his school, Charles de Bernard.

To prove these conclusions Dr. Walter now takes up one by one the characters and incidents in the novel in the most detailed way. He investigates the question first as to how many authors had previously made their characters move in the circles of polite society in which most of the scenes in *Vanity Fair* are laid, and finds that in this respect Thackaray has merely followed the lead of

many other writers. He takes up the character of the Jewess—for Dr. Walter thinks that in Thackaray's original conception of Becky's character she was a Jewess,—and finds her very rarely used as playing the principal rôle in a novel. The governess occurs oftener, especially in the novels by women, Edgeworth, Austen, etc. Becky has many predecessors who married above their station, but is original in that she is continually referring to it herself. In Puritanic England the sinner Becky is rather an unusual type, and one would look for her prototype in Balzac rather than in English fiction. The good but weak Amelia we meet with occasionally, though Dr. Walter rather maliciously suggests that in prudish England we might expect to find her more often than we do. But the characters of the rich aunt and the spinster, as typified by Lady Crawley, and that of the ungainly suitor—Dobbin, seem to have been original creations of Thackaray's own. These few instances will be sufficient to show the pains-taking thoroughness with which the investigation has been carried on.

If, however, Thackaray in *Vanity Fair* used over again characters and incidents which he had used before, and was strongly influenced by Fielding, Balzac and other writers in the development of his novel, yet this work stands far above those preceding works, in fact, in a class of his own; and this victory Dr. Walter thinks is due to Thackaray's "eye for a snob."

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*Bataille de Dames ou un Duel en Amour*, par Scribe et Legouvé, ed. by CHARLES A. EGGERT, Ph. D., Professor of French in Illinois Wesleyan University. American Book Company.

If, in a body of teachers of Modern Languages, the question were raised, what constitutes an ideal edition of a text-book to be read in the class-room, undoubtedly the opinions expressed would be widely divergent. On the following points, however, a consensus of opinion would probably be quickly reached: whatever the notes may give or omit, they must be absolutely accurate with regard to

the linguistic facts stated, and they should, moreover, be lucidly clear in their mode of presenting these facts.

This requisite accuracy and clearness are lacking to a remarkable degree in the otherwise careful and attractive edition of the *Bataille des Dames* before us. Some of the most obvious inaccuracies and misleading statements are the following:

Page 13, note 20. *l'on* for *on* when either the preceding word (*ET*) or the next word (*ASSURE*) begins with a vowel.

This statement, however, is contradicted by the text itself on page 16, where we find (l. 6) à la maison *l'on* and *on a raison* (l. 8). Note 6, page 16, tries to account for the first by saying "*l'on* for *on* because of *on* in *maison*. The repetition would be inelegant." But the last syllable of *maison* is -son not *on*, and there is little to choose between *l'on : son* on one side and *on : son* on the other. The usual explanation given (e. g., Fraser and Squair, 403) though possibly incomplete, comes undoubtedly nearer the truth.

P. 16, l. 1. "il me semblait que. . . j'allais devenir parfaite," Note 1 "*j'allais* here = *j'irais*. This substitution of an imperfect indicative for a conditional is idiomatic." But a little careful consideration shows that no such substitution takes place in this case. The equation should read *j'allais devenir* = *je deviendrais*. In English, as well as in French, the verb "to go," "aller," is used with *anticipatory* force: I am going to become = I shall become; *je vais devenir* = *je deviendrai*. Just so, in the past, I was going to become = I would become; and *j'allais devenir* = *je deviendrais*, but by no means *j'irais devenir*.

P. 16, l. 9. *la robe que je vous vois*, Note 9. "Notice the peculiar substitution of *que* for *dans laquelle*, very common in conversational language." Again, this substitution is non-existent. *Que* is here a "complément direct" of *vois*, while "*vous*" is a "complément indirect" (perhaps best designated by the borrowed term "dative of reference"), and the equivalent of the sentence is, *la robe que je vois à vous*, not, certainly, *la robe dans laquelle je vous vois*. This is easily proved by a change of person, *la robe que je lui vois*, and not *la robe que je LA vois* (which would be required as an equivalent of *la robe dans laquelle je la vois*). Parallel constructions are

plentiful in French, *je lui trouve bonne mine, le médecin lui a trouvé la fièvre, etc.*

P. 32, l. 22. N. "Qu'est-ce que; compare this form with *est-ce que*; both are emphatic." This sweeping statement is misleading. Whatever they may have been at their origin, nowadays their use has become obligatory and not at all emphatic with certain verbs (for example, most monosyllabic first persons sing.), and common with all. *Est-ce que je pars?* *Qu'est-ce que je sens?* are the habitual, by no means emphatic, forms. In other cases, indeed, some degree of emphasis may still persist.

P. 54, l. 10. "Qui te retient?" This *qui* is in common use though *que* is grammatically correct." What student could be blamed who, on the strength of this statement, should frame the sentence *Que te retient?* But the interrogative *que* is not used in French as subject (except with a few intransitive verbs), and the grammatically correct form is *qu'est-ce qui te retient?*

P. 96, l. 20. *je vous en supplie.* N. "en in such connections anticipates an objective clause beginning with *de*." Not exactly a "clause," since *de* would be followed by an infinitive and not by a finite verb. A following clause would be properly introduced by *que*. *Je vous en supplie = Je vous supplie de le faire = Je vous supplie que vous le fassiez.*

P. 112, line 14. *C'est du génie.* N. "Observe that the partitive article so frequent in French has often no equivalent in English because the mere absence of the article indicates the partitive idea." True enough, so far as English is concerned, but does not this statement convey the erroneous idea that in French the *article* itself indicates the partitive idea? This is obviously not so. The partitive idea is conveyed in French as little as in English by the article, it is the preposition *de* which is essential in French to partitive expressions. In *j'ai du vin* and *je n'ai pas de vin*, we have partitive expressions one with the article, one without it. The term "partitive article" should be abandoned since it completely obscures the real question, and this has been done, in fact, by some of the latest grammars.

The annotations in a text-book dealing directly with the language as it is actually written, can become an invaluable aid to the scholarly teaching of living languages, if they keep abreast of

the progress which is being made in the field of linguistic research. They should never lag behind even the best modern grammars, which by their very nature cannot help remaining somewhat conservative.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### TRANSLATION OF OLD ENGLISH VERSE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the December issue of the *Notes*, Professor C. G. Child attacks a statement of mine to the effect that "no greater mistake exists than to suppose that the rhythm and style" of oldest English poetry "cannot be rendered adequately in modern English speech." He gives two serious reasons for a contrary assertion. "Modern 'Old English' verse," he says, "does not sound in the least like real Old English verse. It is a bastard archeological fabrication, or an atavistic degenerate, or—something else; and it never will be anything else unless" a real poet takes hold of it. The italics are mine, and are intended to express an emotion roused indeed to highest pitch by the Ernulphian sweep of this denunciation, but tempered by awe at the thought of degeneracy which is atavistic, and of something else which never will be anything else, and of my own criminal folly in doing a deed which bears such names. Professor Child's second reason, however, is less overwhelming. The constraints of the Sievers types and of initial rime, he says, keep a translator from "precision of meaning" and from "poetic inspiration." I venture to answer this objection out of hand. Its particular terms really belong with my critic's first and sweeping reason for rejecting the translation in verse, but its general scope of complaint seems to me thoroughly and permanently defeated by a single line from Goethe's great gospel of the poetic art,—

In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister,—

a line that may be applied even to the humble function of the translator, and also by Kant's pretty figure of the dove and its vain wish for

flight through unresisting and airless space. But Goethe and Kant are Germans; and Professor Child,—who makes an error in assuming that the exception which I had noted among the German alliterative verse-translations must have been in prose, whereas it was really in blank verse,—waxes very playful about the Teutonic habit of mind. I shall not quote his vivacious satire; it may be sport, but it seems to me hardly sportsmanlike; and I shall demand more solid reasons for rejecting my argument from example than mere scoffing at men whose labors have made it possible for Professor Child to ride at all on his gay quests in English philology. Nor can he ask me to discuss his jest at my own expense in regard to a theory of communal verse which has nothing to do with this matter of translation, which I never propounded or defended, and which has been fastened on me for reasons—to quote a friendly reviewer—that “tax one’s powers of divination.” But, then, it makes close upon a column of merriment!

For my own part, I think the question of verse-translation a very important matter, and I regard as well worth a reasoned and deliberate answer the four or five lines where your correspondent states his actual objection to a form of poetry which “does not sound at all like real Old English verse.”

Precisely what does Professor Child mean by this assertion? That the strict metrical scheme, as shown more or less accurately by the “types” of Sievers, cannot now be followed? Everybody will assent. Or does he mean that the old movement in its essentials, the old scheme of rime in its essentials, and the old repetition in forward-and-back, so characteristic of style as well as of rhythm, cannot be revived? Does he mean that oldest English verse as a distinct rhythmical-system is a lost and buried art, and that it failed to cross the chasm in speech and song made by the Norman conquest? This I deny. It did cross that chasm, not as an “atavistic degenerate,” although it appeared in Chaucer’s own time as a very vigorous and thoroughly popular case of real atavism. To take only one of its incarnations, the *Piers the Plowman* poems “are written throughout,” says Professor Manly, “in alliterative verse of the same general type as that of *Beowulf*; while Luick, treating the whole range

of this revival of older rhythm, speaks of its “lebendiger entwickelung bei treuem festhalten an alten grundformen.” Six centuries fall between the two periods, involving radical changes in speech, habit, thought; and yet the old verse still voices deep emotion of the fourteenth century Englishman. Much has been written upon this theme; and the upshot of considerable investigation is that the ancient rhythm, though necessarily altered in some details, and often very carelessly observed, is essentially unimpaired, and even adheres with reasonable fidelity to the old “types.” No one should say that it “does not sound in the least like Old English verse.” More to the point, the modern man reads it with pleasure and profit. It is not his own preference, not his own way of voicing emotion; but he hears its sturdy quadruple beat, the stretched metre of its antique song, by no means as an alien verse. The final and crucial question thus arises: Can the modern translator use this verse, perfectly audible, intelligible and enjoyable as it is, and “of the same general type as that of *Beowulf*,” in our modern speech? What must be lost in this transfer over five centuries, and what can be kept fairly intact? Evidently we are to lose about the same elements of speech and song that we lose in the case of Chaucer’s versification. The silencing of the final *e* gives a different sound to the verse in both cases, unless we choose to restore the effect by the use of words which still have a feminine ending. Luick in his clear summary, *Anglia*, xi, 613 f., actually attributes the “end of an auld sang,” the final disappearance of the ancient metre, to the fact that first *ē* and then *ēd* and *ēs* ceased to be sounded. I should rather say that the new verse was so overwhelmingly better suited to English poetic art, that it forced its ancient competitor fairly out of existence. The last stage-coach had run, not because the horses could no longer pull it, but because nobody would choose it in preference to its rival of steam and rail. Let that be as it may, the concrete facts are here. A verse of *Piers the Plowman*, say—

I was very forwardred, and went me to reste—

sounds, by consent of scholars, very like “real Old English verse.” It is of the “same general type as the verse of *Beowulf*.” Evidently if I can successfully imitate it in modern speech I ought

to use it in translating *Beowulf*; for the objection raised by Professor Child has no longer the slightest weight. What, then, prevents this imitation? What is lost? Not the initial rime, not the sturdy beat of the four stresses, not that insistent appeal of the forward-aud-back of the style due to repetition and parallelism,—all these important elements can be kept, if the translator have sufficient skill. Besides certain collocations of heavy and light syllables, now impossible, one will lose the effect of feminine endings as a persistent fact, feeling not only the loss of the individual endings themselves, but the effect of that loss upon the general movement of the verse. Part of this loss the translator or imitator can prevent; but part of it is irreparable.

Concede this loss; it does not begin to counterbalance the gain, for purposes of translation, in retaining the essential values of the old rhythm. Moreover, it is a mere bagatelle compared with the discords and disturbances which attend a translation of old English verse in new English prose. The prose translation not only fails utterly to keep the essentials of the old rhythm and style, but it thrusts between the reader and the original a mass of misleading suggestions. Every one knows the biblical manner, with hints now of Malory and now of Bunyan and now of Scott, dished up as "exquisite and lucid prose" by panting followers of Mr. Andrew Lang's *Theocritus*; and whoso translates *Beowulf* in this lingo kills *Beowulf*, let us say with Miltou, "in the eye." Indeed, the better his prose, the worse his translation in the present case. I do not mean merely "Wardour-Street English," which Professor Child very justly condemns in the preface to his own translation of the epic, the *twy-handled* and *her seemed* industry; but I mean also that really lucid and really exquisite prose which does such wonderful work for a master like Mr. Macaulay in rendering an exquisite and lucid Greek original. The virtue of oldest English verse was not artistic smoothness and lucidity, but artistic roughness, a kind of ordered violence. Mirauda should not be set to work lifting and hauling the huge Saxon logs. There are surer ways of proving *traduttore, traditore*, than by attempting verse translation of Old English, even with the aid of a "pedestrian muse."

If space allowed, I should like to discuss one

other matter with Professor Child. He yearns for the real, the great poet, who shall translate *Beowulf* in adequately great verse. But is *Beowulf* the work of a really great poet? Is it what we now call a really great poem? Is it not rather a precious specimen of a mass of amazingly average and uniform poetry which is great only so far as it is national, racial, epic in the large sense, thinking the thoughts of a new, half-formed civilization, reflecting the life of a keen and conquering folk, and echoing to the clash of battle down long years of warfare on land and sea?

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#### SATIRE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Satire against Pope and Church played a large part in the literature of the Middle Ages. After Walther von der Vogelweide, who was one of the first to raise his voice against the church ("Ich sach mit mînen ougen," etc.), there was scarcely a writer who would not give expression to like sentiments.

In this general denunciation we find in *Vriedankes Bescheidenheit*, 1229 (publ. by Wilh. Grimm, Goettingen, 1834), on page 154, lines 6 and 7,

"Zu Rôme ist manec valscher list  
dar an der bâbst unschuldic ist"

which shows an insight or partiality to some pope as Grimm suggests, which we do not find in any other work, until we come in *Reineke De Vos*. 1498, II. 4215–16 (Buch II. Cap. 9), upon these lines :

"alsus is dar mannige list,  
dar an de pawes unschuldich ist."

It is evident that these lines are copies of the earlier work, since Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* was very popular throughout the Middle Ages, and only ten years after the appearance of *Reineke De Vos* in 1508 Sebastian Brant compiled and published Freidank's *Bescheidenheit* anew, and in this work we read :—

"Man hielt etwan uff kein Spruch nicht,  
Den nit Herr Frydank hat gedicht."

BABETTA STADLER.

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TUDOR PRONUNCIATION OF OE. *ū* AND OE. *ā*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In *M. L. N.*, xxii, 28, Mr. J. M. Hart gives an apposite explanation of an apparent crux in Wyatt. In *Tottel's Miscellany*, p. 39, the line “And every *houre*, a thought in *readinesse*,” is a translation of Petrarcha’s “A ciascun *remo* un pen-sier pronto e *rio*.” H. states that the ms. has *owre* instead of *houre*, and he identifies *owre* with Modern English *oar* = Italian *remo*! There can be no doubt that Hart’s suggestion solves the difficulty: *owre*, *ower* occur elsewhere in the sixteenth century, cf. the *Oxford Dictionary*. But his phonological explanation of this peculiar spelling cannot be right. H. thinks that ME. *ōre* = ‘*oar*’ and *ūre* = ‘*hour*’ “must have sounded so much alike in Wyatt’s day that one might easily be written for the other.” ME. *ū* seems to have been *ou* in the sixteenth century (cf. my *Historische Neuenglische Grammatik*, r, Strassburg, 1908, § 106), and ME. *ō* had not yet changed. In sixteenth century orthography we find not only *owre* for *oar*, *bouth* for *both*, but also *kno* for *know*, *boe* for *bow* (OE. *boga*). These spellings seem to prove that the ME. diphthong *o + u* (*ou*, *ow*) had already begun to be monophthongized, cf. *Hist. Ne. Gr.*, § 137. *owre* = *ōre* is a so-called ‘reversed spelling.’

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## CELTIC LORE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—The two following bits of Celtic legend are of interest, the first as a faint reflex of the Narcissus story, the second as a modified anticipation of a Shakespearian incident. In the *Rennes Dindsenchas*,<sup>1</sup> a series of Irish topographical legends, the name *Eas Ruaid* (now Assaroe, on the river Shannon) is thus explained: “Eas Ruaid, whence its name: It was Aed Ruad, son of Badurn, King of Ireland, that was drowned there while gazing at his image and swimming the rapid. From him *Eas Ruaid*.”

If, in place of Prince Hal’s vaunt to his father that Percy “shall render every glory up,” Percy had made a verbal surrender of all his honors on the battle-field, we should then have a repetition of a scene from the career of Mesgegra, a king of Leinster. This ill-fated warrior, fleeing in rout before the victorious Ulstermen, was at-

<sup>1</sup> Edit. and trans. by Wh. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv, from a codex of the 14th or 15th century.

tacked by Conall Cernach, an Ulster champion. After a fierce, one-armed fight, Mesgegra, realizing he was being worsted, submitted to the inevitable, saying: “I wot thou wilt not go till thou takest my head with thee. Take thou my head on thy head, and my glory on thy glory,”<sup>2</sup> — injunctions which Conall fulfills literally.

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## BRIEF MENTION.

The editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes* are glad to petition for the heartiest support of the Malone Society, by reproducing the following “Notice of closing the roll of members,” recently sent out by the Hon. Secretary of the Society :

The Malone Society was founded in 1906 with the object of printing, for the use of members, texts of early English plays and documents and notes illustrative of the history of the English stage and drama. As the outcome of the first two years of its activity the Society has issued twelve volumes, ten plays and two parts of Collections, and a further set of six volumes is in course of preparation for the current year.

By a resolution passed at the Annual General Meeting in March last the Council was empowered to close the Roll of the Society whenever it should deem it expedient during the current year, not from any desire to make it a close corporation in the interest of existing Members, but in order that, with a definite income and a definite number of helpers, it may proceed with the work it has undertaken, with the knowledge of how much it is possible to do in each year. The Society has now 215 members.

Notice is accordingly now given that the Roll of the Society will be closed on 20 March, 1910, after which candidates will only be admitted as vacancies occur, and on payment of an Entrance Fee. Any one interested in the objects of the Society, and who wishes to join it before the Roll is closed, is invited to communicate with the Hon. Secretary (Arundell Esdaile, British Museum, W. C.), who will also be pleased to furnish any further information. Public Libraries and Institutions are admitted to Membership, and may be represented by their Chief Officer. The Annual Subscription is One Guinea. Candidates’ names are submitted to the Council for election.

<sup>2</sup> *The Siege of Howth*, edit. and trans. by Wh. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. viii, from the *Book of Leinster* (12th century).

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## AN EARLY ITALIAN EDITION OF ÆSOP'S FABLES.

The library of Harvard University contains a mediæval collection of Æsop's fables<sup>1</sup> in an edition that seems to be one of a definite group to which attention has not yet been called. The distinguishing characteristic of the members of this group is the fact that the Latin text of each fable is explained by a prose commentary in Italian, as if these books were meant for Italian school-boys. The following is a brief account of the Harvard Æsop with a mention of various similar editions.

The label title of the Harvard collection reads : "Esopi Fabule cum interpretatione vulgari 7 figuris aeri eura emendate." This is found on the first right-hand page above a combination wood-cut. The cut represents five men seated about a central figure, who is in a raised chair and seems to be giving them instruction. On the reverse page is a dedication in Roman type beginning : "Vinecentius Metallus Ciratae Adolescentiae." It is explained in this dedication that the grammatical mistakes sometimes found in an Æsop collection have been carefully rectified by Bartholomeo Maschara, so that this edition is well fitted for the edification of the young. The frequently occurring introduction to an Æsop collection : "Ut iuvet et prospicit conatur pagina presens," etc., occurs on the upper part of the second right-hand page. After each of the six distichs which make up this introduction the Latin words are put into Italian prose order and then translated into Italian.

On the same page, directly following the introduction, begin the fables. All the fables except the last two are accompanied by crude wood-cuts 57 mm. high and 75 mm. wide. The fables are numbered from I to LXVI, but fable LVI is unfinished, fables LVII and LVIII are lacking, fable

LIX is without the first few lines, and finally fable LXVI is unfinished. The colophon which is usual in such an edition is also missing. The book now has thirty-eight leaves. It seems likely that a folded sheet, which would have made the thirty-third and fortieth leaves, has been lost. The two missing fables, as well as parts of two of the incomplete fables, must have been on the original thirty-third leaf, and the last fable must have been completed on the fortieth leaf, on which was probably a colophon. This supposition is borne out by the evidence of the collation, which runs as follows : [A] Aij Aijj Aiji (4 unmarked) B Bij Biij Biiji (4 un.) C Cij Ciij Ciiji (4 un.) D Dij Diij Diiji (4 un.) Eij Eijj Eijiij (3 un.). The book is 212 mm. high and 155 mm. wide. It has an old binding in thick paper with remnants of a strip of parchment sewed on around the edges. The binding is very dilapidated and covered with almost illegible handwriting. The work at present contains no date, and neither the name of the printer nor place of publication are given. This copy was formerly the property of Professor Charles Eliot Norton.

The general character of the Harvard collection is of unusual interest, for it was evidently prepared with the double purpose of teaching Latin to Italian schoolboys and of bringing before them worthy moral instruction. These features may be illustrated by considering a typical fable, number XLVI, which is entitled "De Philomena et Accipitre." It begins : "Hie ponitur alia fabula cuius documentum est," then comes a brief declaration of the moral: "homines p[er]uerse viventes sepe mala morte moriunt ut plurimum," and then the story of the hawk and nightingale told in Latin prose. The prose narrative closes with another moralising : "Moraliter per philomenam possunt intelligi boni; per accipitrem vero mali," etc. After this there comes a series of nine distichs giving the story of the fable in Latin elegiac verse ; the last of the distichs again presents a moral. The distichs are printed in a Gothic type

<sup>1</sup>\*Nor. 2480.

about twice the size of that used for the remainder of the text. After each distich the Latin is arranged in the word order of an Italian sentence and after each Latin phrase is given a translation in Italian. Thus :

"Dum philomena sedet : studium movet oris ameni.  
Sic sibi : sic nido visa placere suo

Philomeua movet studiu oris ameni : la rosignola si move lo cato de la bocca delettevola : dū sedet in arbore : domente che lazase su larbore : 7 est visa placere sic sibi : 7 cosi parse piaserti a se : 7 visa sic placere suo nido : 7 parsa cosi di piасer al nido suo."

The ultimate source of this *Aesop* is the Latin fable collection written probably by Gualterus Anglicus towards the year 1175 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The Latin distichs of the Harvard *Aesop* correspond exactly, or almost so, to the distichs which are found in the original Gualterus Anglicus text.<sup>3</sup> There are only occasional variations and these as to a single word, a form or a spelling. The order of the first sixty-one fables of the Harvard *Aesop* is identical with that of the sixty-one which make up the total number in the Gualterus Anglicus. The Harvard text has five more fables at the end, which of course have no equivalent in the remote original. But the first two of these fables correspond to the two additional fables in the enlarged Gualterus of about the year 1250.<sup>4</sup> At some later date probably this collection had added to it the Latin prose accounts and the interlinear explanations in Italian.

There is an *Aesop* collection published at Brescia by Louis Breton in 1542 which undoubtedly represents a different edition of the Harvard *Aesop*. The text has been examined through the courtesy of Dr. K. McKenzie of Yale University who now owns a copy of this edition. Dedication and title are almost identical. The first sixty-six fables in each correspond except for unimportant variations. There is a slight difference at the end :

<sup>2</sup> Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Paris, 1893. 2nd. ed., Vol. I, p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> Wendelin Foerster, "Lyoner Yzopet : Altfraenzösische Übersetzung des XIII. Jahrhunderts in der Mundart der Franche-Comté, mit dem kritischen Text des Lateinischen Originals." Heilbronn, 1882.

<sup>4</sup> Hervieux, Vol. II, pp. 350-351; *ZRPh.*, xxxii, p. 94.

the sixty-fifth and sixty-sixth fables of the 1542 edition are not numbered and there is added a sixty-seventh fable, "De Avibus et Pavone," not found in the Harvard *Aesop*. As in the Harvard *Aesop* wood-cuts accompany each fable up to and including the sixty-fourth, and the remainder are not illustrated. The wood-cuts of the two collections are much the same in general conception.

The Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris also contains an edition which belongs to this group.<sup>5</sup> The main text is the same as that of the other collections. The title is different, and reads : "Esopus Constructus moralizatus et historiatus et optime emendatus ad utilitatem Discipulorum." Below the title is printed : "Apud Antonium Mondellā et Fratres. M. D. L." This title, however, and this name and date, seem to have been added on the first blank page some time after the rest of the book was printed. The number of fables is sixty-eight; the first sixty-five are accompanied by wood-cuts. The general dedication of the fables is not like that in the collections already spoken of, and the last four of the sixty-eight fables differ somewhat in character from those preceding. Otherwise the edition is like the others that have been mentioned.

A fourth collection—also now owned by Dr. K. McKeuzie and examined through his kindness—varies only slightly from those described. The dedication is lacking and the Latin prose argument of each fable has been changed and reduced, sometimes to only a line or two. The interlinear explanations are in Roman type instead of Gothic. The last three of the sixty-seven fables are illustrated as well as the others, but the three wood-cuts used for this purpose have already been employed to accompany other fables of the collection. The book is dated 1587; it was published at Brescia by Polycretus Turlinus. The wood-cuts are much like those in the 1542 edition.

The above comparisons are based on a direct examination of the editions themselves. There are several other similar collections which have been compared by the aid of data found in various catalogues.

<sup>5</sup> Shelf number : Inc. 255. 3. The data about this edition have been furnished by the kindness of Dr. G. C. Keidel and Mr. J. N. Ware of the Johns Hopkins University.

The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books<sup>6</sup> mentions an "Aesopus Moralizatus—with an interlinear Italiau gloss" published at Brescia in 1497 by Bernadinus de misintis de Papia. It has sixty-three fables. The same catalogue<sup>7</sup> describes the following edition, which is to be especially noted as having a title identical with that of the Harvard *Aesop*: "Aesopi Fabulae cum interpretatione vulgari (i. e., an interlinear Italian gloss): et figuris aeri cura emendatae. Ludovicus Brittanicus et Fratres; Brixiae, 1522." The edition has sixty-seven fables. Obviously this *Aesop* collection is very similar to the one at Harvard. The British Museum Catalogue also mentions<sup>8</sup> a collection entitled "Aesopi Fabulae . . . cum vulgari interpretatione [i. e., an interlinear Italian gloss together with a commentary] et figuris . . . emendatae," printed at Parma by S. de Viottis in 1547.

Brunet<sup>9</sup> mentions what seems to be another edition of the *Aesop* at Harvard. The dedication bears the same title and conveys the same information, namely that the collection was prepared by Bartholomeo Maschara. The label-titles are identical. The Brunet *Aesop* has sixty-three fables, each illustrated by a wood-cut. The text is in Latin distichs accompanied by the familiar Italian gloss. This edition was published at Brescia in 1532 by Louis Breton.

An "Esopus Constructus et moralizatus ad utilitatem discipulorum" is mentioned in a catalogue of incunabula in the library of Henry Walters of Baltimore.<sup>10</sup> The book was printed by Bernadinus de misintis de Papia at Brescia in 1495. There are two different sizes of type used, both Gothic. Lechi,<sup>11</sup> speaking of the same edition, adds that the interlinear Italian occurs in smaller type. The number of fables is not mentioned by either. It is to be noted that the title of this incunabulum suggests that of the collection

<sup>6</sup> William Clowes and Sons, London, 1883. *Aesop*, col. 14, shelf no. 12304. e. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Col. 16, shelf no. G. 7751.

<sup>8</sup> Col. 16, shelf no. G. 7757.

<sup>9</sup> *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th ed., Vol. 1, col. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Incunabula Typographica . . .* in the library of Henry Walters, Baltimore, 1906. Pp. 4-5. This incunabulum has been inaccessible.

<sup>11</sup> Lechi, Luigi, "Della Tipografia Bresciana nel secolo decimoquinto"; Brescia, 1854, p. 55, no. 8.

of 1497,<sup>12</sup> which was also published at Brescia, and that the same name, Bernadinus de misintis de Papia, occurs in both. The title of the Walters incunabulum is also like that of the edition in the Bibliothèque Mazarine.<sup>13</sup>

Eight editions besides the one at Harvard have been described with more or less detail. In closing, it may be worth while to give a brief summary of the facts collected about the editions, mentioning those features which are most characteristic. The dates of these editions range from 1495 to 1587. There is not enough evidence to date the Harvard collection, but since it most closely resembles the Brescia edition of 1542 its time of publication may be placed near that year. Seven of the collections were published at Brescia, and one at Parma. The two earliest editions recorded, those of 1495 and 1497, have the name of Bernadinus de misintis de Papia. The next three, the editions of 1522, 1532 and 1542, were published by Louis Breton. The number of fables varies from sixty-three to sixty-eight. The increase in number is not regular, according to successive dates of publication; a collection of sixty-three fables is found following one of sixty-seven.<sup>14</sup> In every case there is an interlinear Italian gloss adapted apparently to the use of Italian schoolboys. This is the most interesting feature of all. These collections represent a definite group of mediaeval editions of *Aesop's* fables, with dates that cover nearly a century, published with a definite purpose: the edification and instruction of Italian youth.

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#### EDGAR ALLAN POE AND FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN. THEIR THEORY OF THE SHORT STORY.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Edgar Allan Poe in January of last year was made the occasion of a widespread recognition of

<sup>12</sup> Cf. above British Museum Catalogue, 12304. e. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Though the authenticity of this last title, it will be remembered, is doubtful.

<sup>14</sup> Editions of 1522 and 1532.

the genius of the man whose work was for so long neglected by his countrymen. The event called forth a number of celebrations throughout the country and inspired a rather voluminous output of memorial literature.

One phase of Poe's work which this latter day criticism particularly stresses is the influence which he exerted abroad, and one name which has been associated with his is that of Friedrich Spielhagen, the German novelist who from about the middle of the century, for a period of about thirty years, was the acknowledged master of the German novel until his fame was eclipsed by the "moderns." Spielhagen's eightieth birthday occurred in February of last year and it is interesting to note that it called forth only a few sketches, inspired for the most part by that sense of charitable respect which a new generation, controlled by new masters and new ideas, offers to the dethroned magnate of a previous one. Doubtless it is a fact not now generally known that the once famous *Altmeister* of the German novel is still living in Berlin to-day. Spielhagen in his old age has suffered the same fate which was Poe's for many years after the latter's death. One wonders involuntarily if history will extend the analogy further and rescue Spielhagen's name from the oblivion with which the new Gods have for the time invested it.

But this analogy in external circumstances is not the point of primary importance suggested by the almost co-incident birth anniversaries of these two men. Of more significant interest is the fact that Spielhagen, as a student of Poe and in the valuation of a certain phase of Poe's work, anticipated the American and English critics and absorbed himself certain ideas from the American poet, which ideas he transplanted to German soil. Their fruition is just now becoming apparent.

Spielhagen's interest in Poe dates from an early period, as he himself states in his autobiography.<sup>1</sup> His first acquaintance with Poe was gathered from Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*. Spielhagen discusses Poe's analysis of the *Raven* in *The Philosophy of Composition*.<sup>2</sup> In the collec-

tion of essays entitled *Aus meiner Studienmappe*,<sup>3</sup> Spielhagen has an extended essay on the Poe-Longfellow controversy. While the essay bears the title *Edgar Poe gegen Henry Longfellow*, it is largely a discussion of Poe's theory of lyric poetry. Spielhagen is ostensibly investigating the justice of Poe's charges of plagiarism against Longfellow. He asks himself two questions by way of solving his problem. "Wie weit ist Poe's Theorie der lyrischen Dichtkunst richtig? an die sich dann die der zweiten knüpfen wird; oder wie weit ist demnach seine Anklage gegen Longfellow gerechtfertigt?"

The question of primary interest in this investigation is just how Spielhagen formulates Poe's theory of lyric poetry. The discussion as to whether this theory is the correct one or not is of less significance. Spielhagen begins and ends his formulation of Poe's theory of lyric poetry by quoting a sentence from the latter's *Poetic Principle*.<sup>4</sup> "I need scarcely say that a poem deserves its title only inasmuch as it excites by elevating the soul. The value of the poem is in the ratio of this elevating excitement." This exciting moment constitutes, according to Spielhagen, the criterion by which Poe measures the value of a lyrical production. Numerous other excerpts are made from the *Poetic Principle* in which Poe deals with the legitimacy of the didactic and the moral element in lyric poetry. Spielhagen then goes from the theory of the *Poetic Principle* to its practical application in the essay of Poe's entitled *Longfellow's Ballads*.<sup>5</sup> Poe exploits in this production the same theory, many of the paragraphs agreeing literally with portions of the text of the *Poetic Principle*. But Spielhagen reverts constantly to this idea of the exalting effect of a poem as Poe's criterion of its excellence. The processes of technique which contribute to this result are also discussed. Such as brevity, elimination of details, climactic effect, etc. But it is always the capacity for inducing this excitement by "elevating the soul" which is the measure of the value of a lyric poem as Spielhagen interprets Poe.

<sup>1</sup> *Finder und Erfinder. Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben.* Fr. Spielhagen, Leipzig, 1890, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans.* Friedrich Spielhagen, Leipzig, 1883, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin, 1891, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* Edited by James A. Harrison, N. Y., 1902, Vol. 14, p. 266.

<sup>5</sup> Harrison, Vol. II, p. 68 ff.

After having asked himself how far Poe's theory is correct, Spielhagen adds this striking observation : "Denn unzweifelhaft hat der Lyriker Poe, wenn er auch von aller Poesie zu sprechen scheint, auch vielfach wirklich spricht, oder doch sprechen will, bei Aufstellung seiner Sätze immerdar seine spezielle Kunst (lyric poetry) vor Augen gehabt ; ebenso wie er das Material zu diesen Sätzen und die Beweisführung derselben unmittelbar aus seinen individuellen dichterischen Erfahrungen schöpfte."<sup>6</sup>

When Spielhagen speaks of Poe's "spezielle Kunst," he means thereby lyric poetry. He is therefore saying in the above that Poe's *Poetic Principle* is, strictly speaking, a principle of lyric poetry. And further that the author of the *Raven* being essentially a lyratist, deduced for himself a theory of lyric poetry by which he proceeded to measure all other poetic *genres*. And finally, that Poe applies his standard for lyric poetry alike to the epic, the drama, and the short story.

Poe's discussions of this matter in his essays are too well known to require quotation here. Spielhagen arrays together all those passages in the *Poetic Principle* and in the essay *Longfellow's Ballads* which deal with the subject. His conclusions are obvious and convincing. Poe's theory of the drama, the epic, and the short story, when reduced to its last analysis, is but his theory of lyric verse. The value of all literary types is to be measured by their capacity to "excite, by elevating the soul." Let us look for a moment at Poe's theory of the tale and observe how closely it echoes his idea of lyric poetry. There is perhaps no better statement of it than in the essay on Hawthorne.<sup>7</sup>

In this essay Poe in two consecutive paragraphs outlines his theory of a poem and a short story. In thus collocating his ideas he himself furnishes the demonstration of the correctness of Spielhagen's contention of the identity of his theory of the poem and the tale. Let us bear the first of these paragraphs :

"Were I bidden to say how the highest genius could be most advantageously employed for the best display of its own powers, I should answer

without hesitation—in the composition of a rhymed poem, not to exceed in length what might be perused in an hour. Within this limit alone can the highest order of true poetry exist. I need only here say, upon this topic, that, in almost all classes of composition, the unity of effect or impression is a point of the greatest importance. It is clear, moreover, that this unity cannot be thoroughly preserved in productions whose perusals cannot be completed at one sitting. We may continue the reading of a prose composition, from the very nature of prose itself, much longer than we can persevere, to any good purpose, in the perusal of a poem. This latter, if truly fulfilling the demands of the poetic sentiment, induces an exaltation of the soul which cannot be long sustained. All high excitements are necessarily transient. Thus a long poem is a paradox. And, without unity of impression, the deepest effects cannot be brought about. Epics were the offsprings of an imperfect sense of Art, and their reign is no more. A poem *too* brief may produce a vivid, but never an intense or enduring impression. Without a certain continuity of effect—without a certain duration or repetition of purpose—the soul is never deeply moved."

The next paragraph outlines his theory of the tale :

"Were I called upon to designate that class of composition which, next to such a poem as I have suggested should best fulfill the demands of high genius—should offer it the most advantageous field of exertion—I should unabashedly speak of the prose tale, as Mr. Hawthorne has here exemplified it. I allude to the short prose narrative, requiring from a half hour to one or two hours in its perusal. The ordinary novel is objectionable, from its length, for reasons already stated in substance. As it cannot be read at one sitting, it deprives itself, of course, of the immense force derivable from *totality*. Worldly interests intervening during the pauses of the perusal, modify, annul, or counteract, in greater or less degree, the impressions of the book. But simple cessation in reading, would of itself, be sufficient to destroy the true unity. In the brief tale, however, the author is enabled to carry out the fulness of his intention, be it what it may. During the hour of perusal the soul of the reader is at the writer's control. There are no external or intrinsic influences—resulting from weariness or interruption."

"A skilful literary artist has constructed a tale. If wise, he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents ; but having conceived with deliberate care a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such

<sup>6</sup>Aus meiner Studienmappe, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup>Harrison, Vol. II, p. 106 ff.

incidents—he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the outbringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design. And by such means, with such care and skill, a picture is at length painted which leaves in the mind of him who contemplates it with a kindred art, a sense of the fullest satisfaction. The idea of the tale has been presented unblemished, because undisturbed; and this is an end unattainable by the novel. Undue brevity is just as exceptional here as in the poem; but undue length is yet more to be avoided."

Exactly the same idea is elaborated in each of the two paragraphs above. "Totality of effect" is the very basic stone in the structure of Poe's theory. The phrase recurs repeatedly in all of his essays. The poem and the tale must produce a single effect, an effect of "totality," and "during the hour of perusal the soul of the reader is at the writer's control," which is exactly that excitement "which elevates the soul" which is Poe's measure of the lyric poem.

In an address delivered at the Poe centennial at the University of Virginia January 19, 1909, Prof. C. Alphonso Smith says: "The central question with Poe was not 'How may I write a beautiful poem or tell an interesting story,' but 'How may I produce the maximum of effect with the minimum of means?' This practical, scientific strain in his work becomes more dominating during all his short working period. His poems, his stories, and his criticisms cannot be understood without constant reference to this criterion of craftsmanship." It is this structural side of Poe's genius which Prof. Smith regards as distinctively American and it is this phase of his work which, for future generations, will stand out more prominently against the background of the sum of his poetic achievement. Prof. Smith prophesies for Poe the literary craftsman, the inventor of the modern short story, an ever increasing renown.

It is a singular fact that Spielhagen's interest in Poe was centered largely in this one side of his work. Brief mention is made of Poe's verse, but Spielhagen's discussions of and references to Poe have to do, for the most part, with the latter's theory of lyric verse. More singular still is the

fact that it was reserved for this German to call attention for the first time to the fact that Poe's theory of poetry was likewise his theory of the short story. That the production of an effect—an effect of totality—by means of an exalted or excited state of mind, is the aim of both the poem and the tale. In short, that the laws of structure which underlie the *Raven* and *William Wilson* are the same.

Poe himself regarded his criticism as his most serious work. Posterity is just now beginning to confirm his judgment. American and English critics are beginning to credit him with the founding of the short story as a new literary type. Prof. Brander Matthews says<sup>8</sup>: "Poe first laid down the principles which governed his own construction and which have been quoted very often, because they have been accepted by the masters of the short story in every modern language." He might have added that the "principles which governed his own construction" were the same whether applied to the construction of a poem or a short story. But he did not make that observation. The credit for this is due to Spielhagen. It is in this sense that the German anticipated by several decades the most recent recognition of a new side of Poe's work; namely, his constructive genius, that phase of his production which was for so long neglected.

But Spielhagen's service as an interpreter of Poe is not bounded by the primacy of his recognition of the identity of those structural principles which Poe applied alike to the lyric poem and to the short story. The German novelist was also a theorist. Like Poe he endeavored to define for himself the principles which governed his own art. And his theory of the *novelle* is practically a restatement of Poe's theory of lyric poetry and the short story. It echoes Poe's views to such an extent that the conclusion that Spielhagen imbibed it from Poe is hardly to be avoided. The former thus becomes the first exponent in Germany of the Poe doctrine of the tale, and likewise the medium of transmission of this doctrine to German soil.

The following citations from Spielhagen's critical writings are characteristic. "Der Roman

<sup>8</sup> *The Short Story: Specimens Illustrating its Development*, 1907, p. 25.

hat es weniger auf eine möglichst interessante Handlung abgeseheu, als auf eine möglichst vollkommene Uebersicht der Breite und Weite des Menschenlebens. Er braucht deshalb—and gerade zu seinen Hauptpersonen—nicht Menschen, die schon fertig sind, und, weil sie es sind, wo immer sie eingreifen, die Situation zu einem raschen Abschluss bringen, sondern solche Individuen, die noch in der Entwicklung stehn, infolgedessen eine bestimmende Wirkung nicht wohl ausüben können, vielmehr selbst durch die Verhältnisse, durch die Menschen ihrer Umgebung, in ihrer Bildung, Entwicklung bestimmt werden, und so dem Dichter Gelegenheit gebeu, ja ihn nötigen, den Leser auf grossen, weiten (allerdings möglichst blumenreichen) Umrissen zu seinem Ziele zu führen.”<sup>9</sup>

Spielhagen here arrives at his characterization of the *novelle* negatively. But his theory is clear.

“ Nun aber mögen wir die Goethesche Definition in den Gesprächen mit Eckermann ‘ Was ist die Novelle anders als eine sich ereignete unerhörte Begebenheit ? ’ einfach acceptiren, oder an die erweiterte Form und psychologische Vertiefung denken, welche diese Dichtungsart in der neuern Literatur gefunden hat, immer wird ihr Charakter bleiben, dass sie—zum Unterschiede vom Röman, in welchem eine Entwicklung der Charaktere, mindestens des Helden stattfindet—fertige Charaktere aufeinander treffen lässt, die sich in dem Kontakt nur zu entfalten, gewissermassen auseinanderzuwickeln haben. Weiter: dass, damit die Wirkung des Kontaktes sich nicht zersplittere, nur wenige Personen in Mitteidenschaft gezogen werden dürfen, und so das Resultat bald hervorspringen, d. h., die dargestellte Handlung kurzlebig sein wird.”<sup>10</sup>

“ Mit der Novelle steht es anders und besser. Zwar schwankt auch ihre Definition in der Aesthetik ; aber man glaubt doch zu wissen, dass sie die Erzählung einer merkwürdigen Begebenheit sein soll. Das ist sie denn auch bei den alten Meistern, denen sich noch unser Kleist ruhmreich anreihete. Dann haben früher und später grosse Künstler wie Goethe, Tieck, Bren-

<sup>9</sup> *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 245.

<sup>10</sup> *Neue Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik der Epik und Dramatik*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 74.

tano, Storm, Keller, Heyse—and wer wäre da nicht zu nennen !—das alte etwas enge und trockne Schema erweitert und bereichert, bis das Gebilde schliesslich eine frappante Ähnlichkeit mit den letzten Akten oder mit dem letzten Akte eines Dramas hatte, von denen oder dem es sich fast nur noch durch das Wegbleiben der dialogischen Form unterschied.<sup>11</sup>

Spielhagen is interested in drawing a line of demarkation between the novel and the short story. The peculiar nature of the latter he finds in the fact that the short story deals with ready made characters in contradistinction to those in process of development. The action is simple, the number of characters restricted to a few and the action concentrated into one definite effect. It is exactly Poe’s theory of the tale. It is that same “ totality of effect ” born of brevity and the nice choice of the component parts which Poe urges so persistently for the lyric poem and the short story. In thus defining the theory of the *novelle* Spielhagen becomes the intermediary between Poe and those “ masters of the short story ” in Germany to whom Prof. Matthews refers.

In this connection an interesting suggestion is offered in a critique of Spielhagen by one of the “ moderns,” no very sympathetic critic therefore.

“ Nun frage ich im Hinblick auf die Ausführungen, welche ich bisher gegeben, was sind denn alle Erzählungen Spielhagens von den problematischen NATUREN bis zu *Hammer und Amboss*, bis zu *Plattland* anders als Darstellungen eines kleinen scharf begrenzten Ausschnittes des grossen Weltgetriebes, was anders also, denn nach der Meinung des Verfassers, Novellen ! Und in der That, Spielhagen ist mehr Novellist, als Romanerzähler, seine Romane sind dramatisch concentrirt, nicht episch breit, sie bieten nicht eine Welt von Bildern wie der *Don Quijote*, sondern drehen sich festgefügzt, um ein oder zwei Probleme.”<sup>12</sup>

The statement is that Spielhagen is nominally a novelist, but that in the architecture of his novels he employs the technique of the short story writer.

<sup>11</sup> *Neue Beiträge*, p. 162.

<sup>12</sup> *Kritische Waffengänge. Friedrich Spielhagen und der deutsche Roman der Gegenwart*. Heinrich and Julius Hart, Leipzig, 1884, p. 70 ff.

That his narratives do not gradually unfold like a series of pictures, but that they are dramatically concentrated around one point.

Hart's criticism of Spielhagen's novels, taken in connection with the foregoing discussion, suggests easily that Spielhagen was not content with the acceptance and exploitation in Germany of Poe's theory of the short story, but that he also made practical application of it in the construction of his own novels. This question, however, would furnish the subject for a more extended investigation.

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### GOTHIC ETYMOLOGY.

*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluss des sog. Krimgotischen bearbeitet von Sigmund Feist.* Halle a. S., 1909.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Af-dauījs* 'abgehetzt' from an inf. *\*dōjan* is referred to a root *dhōu-* 'töten.' I refer the word to the root *dhē-*, *dhō-* in Ir. *dedaim* 'tabesco, fatico,' *dīth* 'Tod, Ende,' Lat. *fatico*, ON. *das* 'Ermüdung,' *dasa dōsa* 'ermüden,' etc. (cf. *MLN.*, xxi, 226).

2. *Afdōbnan* 'verstummen': aisl. *dofna* 'seine Kraft verlieren' is an impossible combination. The former belongs to Gk. *τέθητα* 'am astonisht, dazed,' *τάφος, θάμβος* 'astonishment, stupor,' *θαυμάζειν* 'be astonisht, obstupeo,' Norw. *dapa* 'dovne' (*MLN.*, xxi, 227); the latter to ON. *dofenn* 'erschlafft, träge,' Goth. *daufs* 'taub, verstockt,' etc. (cf. Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* i, 108).

3. With *af-ētja* 'Fresser' are closely related in form ON. *étr* 'essbar,' Skt. *ādyā-* 'geniessbar,' Lat. *in-ēdia* 'fasting.'

4. Under *af-hlaþan* 'beladen' is said: "Das Germ. setzt eine idg. Wzl. *\*klāt-* voraus; es findet sich indes nur die Wzl. *klād-* in abulg. *klada* 'lege, stelle.'" In the first place *hlaþan* does not presuppose an IE. root *klāt-*, but only a pre-Germ. root of that form. In the second place the root

<sup>1</sup> In the following I give notes on Feist's book rather than a review.

*klā* does occur outside of Germ. with a *t-formans*; Lith. *klotā* 'Pflaster im Hause.'

5. If *af-slaubjan* 'in Angst versetzen' is related to Du. *sloddern*, MHG. *sloten*, *slotern* 'schlottern,' then there are certainly "weitere Beziehungen." For these are related to MHG. *slüder* 'Schleuder,' *slüdern* 'schlendern, schlennen,' *slüder-affe* 'Müssiggänger,' NHG. *schleudern*, Dan. *sludre* 'schwatzten' (cf. author *AJP.*, xxiv, 49; Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* ii, 228). Compare also MHG. *slür* 'Schleudern, Stoss; Herumstreifen, Faulenzen,' Du. *sleuren* 'an der Erde fortschleifen, -schleppen, schlendern,' NE. *slur* 'slide over'; OE. *sliefan* 'slip over,' NE. *sloven* 'ein schlotteriger, schlumpiger Mensch,' and many other derivativs of a base *sleu-*, *slū-* (cf. *AJP.*, xxiv, 47 ff.).

6. With *af-swaggujan* 'schwankend machen': OHG. *swingan* 'schwingen,' *swenken* 'schwingen,' etc. compare also Skt. *svāñc(as)* 'sich leicht wendend, gewandt,' *svājatē* 'umschlingt, umarmt,' *svajá-s* 'eine Art Schlange' (*MLN.*, xvi, 24).

7. On *aiza-smiþa* 'Erzschmied' see *MLN.*, xxii, 236.

8. *Aljan* 'Eifer': ON. *eld*, OE. *æled* (from *\*ailida-*) is not only "ganz unsicher" but impossible.

9. On the relation between *baidjan* and *beidan* see *Mod. Philology*, iv, 489f.

10. *Bidagwa* 'Bettler' for *\*bidaga* should not be compared with OE. *bedecian* 'betteln.' It is the substantivized weak form of an adj. *\*bidags*. Compare OHG. *wizago* 'Wahrsager': *wizag* 'sehend, ahnend' (cf. *MLN.*, xxi, 227).

11. On the connection between *bigitan* 'finden,' Lat. *prehendo*, etc. and Lith. *gōdas, gūdas* 'Habgier,' i. e. 'a grasping,' and *gōdas* 'Klette,' i. e. 'grasper' see *MLN.*, xv (1900), 96. There can be no objection to this combination either in form or meaning. Cf. also Berneker, *Slav. Et. Wb.* 289.

12. Under *bi-leiban* 'bleiben' the IE. root *leip-* is defined 'beharren, haften, kleben.' It is rather 'schmieren, kleben, haften, beharren.'

13. *Blinds* 'blind' is derived from a root *\*blendh-*. I refer it to IE. *\*mlendh-, \*meldh-*: Lett. *ma'lđit* 'irren, sich versehen,' 'blunder,' *mu'lđet* 'herumirren,' ChSl. *blăditi* 'irren,' *blădū* 'Irrtum,' etc. (*Color-Names*, 88, 109).

14. Under *briggan* 'bringen' Brugmann's explanation, *IF.*, XII, 155 ff., was at least worth mention.

15. *Broe* 'panis, Brot,' ON. *brauð*, etc. should not be compared with OE. *broð*, OHG. *prod* 'Brühe.' *Bread* is not *broth* in any process. The OE. *brēad* 'morsel, crumb; bread' points rather to connection with OE. *brēað* 'brittle,' OHG. *brōdi* 'gebrechlich,' Skt. *bhārvati* 'kaut, verzehrt,' OHG. *brōsma* 'Bröckchen, Krume,' etc. (cf. *Americana Germ.*, III, 318; IE. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>xu</sup>* 54).

16. *Deigan* 'bilden' is separated from ON. *dik(e)* 'Damm, Teich' because one comes from IE. *\*dheiȝ-*, the other from *\*dheiȝ-*. And yet *taikna* and *-teihan*, *raupjan* and *-raubōn*, and similar pairs are combined.

17. On *driugan* compare *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 271 f.

18. Under *duginnan* 'beginnen' should have been mentioned Wiedemann's explanation, *BB.*, XXVII, 193: Alb. *zē* (*\*ȝhenō*) 'berühre, fange, fange an.'

19. It is possible that *ga-* may be related to Lat. *com-*, *co-*, OIr. *com-*. It must be remembered that *ga-* is unstress and may therefore go back to an original Germ. *\*xa-*. Similarly initial unstress *þ-* in OE. and ON. becomes NE. *ð-* (written *th-*) Dau., Sw. *d*: NE. *the, that, then, there, etc.*, Dan. *den, det, da, der, etc.*

20. To *gahuatjan* 'anreizen,' *hwōtjan* 'drohen,' etc. should be added ON. *huáta* 'durchbohren,' OS. *fahwātan* 'verfluchen,' etc. (cf. *MLN.*, XX, 43).

21. On the relation in meaning between *gamaɪs* 'verkrüppelt': OHG. *gimeit* 'töricht, eitel,' MHG. *gemeit* 'freudig, lieblich' (Lat. *mītīs*, etc.): ON. *meiða* 'verletzen' see *MLN.*, XXI (1906), 40.

22. To *gamalujan* 'zermalmen' add ME. *melwe* 'mellow, soft,' Skt. *malvā-s* 'töricht, unbesonnen,' Gk. *ἀμβλύς* 'blunt, dull, sluggish,' Lith. *malvinu* 'mache zahm,' OHG. *blōdi* 'zerbrechlich, gebrechlich, zaghaf,' Goth. *blauþjan* 'entkräften,' etc. (cf. *MLN.*, XV, 326; IE. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>xu</sup>* 35).

23. *Gastaurknan* 'verdorren,' OHG. *gistorch-anēn* 'obrigescere,' etc. are separated from ON. *sterkr* 'stark' etc. "der verschiedenen Bedeutungen wegen!" By the same token OE. *stearc*

'rigid : strong,' NE. *stark* 'stiff': NHG. *stark* must be separated into two words.

24. *Grētan* 'weien': OHG. *gruozen* 'antreiben, excitare: irritare, angreifen; anreden, rufen, nennen; grüssen,' OE. *grētan* 'touch, handle; come to, visit, treat; address, greet' is a comparison that is accepted without demur. Why not refer the entire group to a root or base *\*ghrēd-*, *\*ghrōd-* 'touch, handle: treat, address, greet; attack; touch, rub, smear; rub, grate, make a harsh sound?' To this belong then Gk. *χρώω* (*\*ghrōdīō*) 'touch: smcar' = OE. *grētan* (*\*grōtjan*) 'touch, handle, etc.', with which compare Skt. *sam-hrādayati* 'schlägt zusammen' and Lith. *grodzia* 'poltert' (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, Oct., 1903). But OE. *grētan*, OS. *griotan* 'weinen' surely do not come from contamination between *grētan* and OE. *rētan*, etc. With OE. *grētan* compare Lith. *graudus* 'spröde; rührrend, herzbewegend,' *graudžiu* 'tue wehmütig,' *graudoju* 'jammere, wehklage' (*ibid.*, 241 f.).

25. *Halbs* 'halb,' *halba* 'Seite, Teil': Lith. *szalis* 'Seite, Gegend' is regarded as "verfehlt." Not so Brugmann, *Grdr.*, II, 389.

26. If *hiufan* 'klagen' goes back to a root *\*keup-* 'in Wallung geraten,' then we may well add here Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich' (cf. IE. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>xu</sup>* 83).

27. The comparison of *jiuka* 'Streit,' *jiukan* 'kämpfen' with MHG. *jouchen* 'jagen, treiben' is credited to Holthausen, *IF.*, XX, 327. This had been given previously by me, *Mod. Phil.*, II, 471, and IE. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>xu</sup>* 28.

28. With *mail* 'Mal, Runzel,' OHG. *meil* 'Fleck,' MHG. *meilen* 'verletzeu, verwunden; beflecken, beschmutzen' compare OWelsh *mail* 'mutilum,' Ir. *mael* 'kahl, ohne Hörner,' root *mei-*: Skt. *mināti* 'schädigt, mindert, verletzt,' *mīta-s* 'gemindert, geschädigt,' ON. *meiða* 'verletzen,' etc. (cf. No. 21 above, and *MLN.*, XXI, 40).

29. *Maiþms* 'Geschenk' should not be compared with MHG. *meidem* 'Pferd, Hengst, Wallach,' *meidenen* 'castrare.' This is related to ON. *meiða* 'verletzen, verstümmeln,' etc. (cf. Nos. 21 and 28, and *MLN.*, XXIII, 147), while *maiþms* belongs to *maidjan* 'verändern,' Lat. *mūtāre*, with which I also connect OHG. *miata*, OS. *mēda*

'Miete, Lohn,' MLG. *mēde*, *meide* 'Miete, Lohn; Gabe, Geschenk,' etc., of course separating them from Gotb. *mizdō* (cf. *MLN.*, XIV, 261 f.).

30. On *marjan* : Skt. *mīsyatē* etc., see *MLN.*, XXI, 40f.

31. *Mulda* 'Staub' closely corresponds to Lith. *miltai* 'Mehl,' OIr. *mlāith* 'weich' (Brugmann, *Kz. vrgl. Gram.*, 132).

32. *Qistjan* 'verderben': Skt. *jásatē* 'ist erschöpft' is quite possible. Compare ON. *kuasa* 'ermatten, erschöpfen' (*MLN.*, XVII, 9).

33. To *raidjan* 'anordnen, bestimmen,' *garaibs* 'angeordnet' add OHG. *ant-reita* 'Ordnung, Reihenfolge,' *ant-reitōn* 'ordinare, digere,' OE. *gerād* 'reckoning, account; wisdom, prudence,' Lett. *rēdu* 'ordne,' Lith. *rinda* 'Reihe,' Gk. *ἀριθμός* 'zahl,' etc., base *rēidh-* from *rēi-*: Lith. *rēju* 'lege in Ordnung,' Lat. *reor*, OHG. *rīm* 'Reihe, Rcihenfolge, Zahl,' etc. (cf. *IE. a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>u</sup>* 43 f.). But ON. *rīða* 'swing, ride,' OHG. *rītan* 'reiten, fahren' are from *rei-* in Skt. *rīnāti* 'lässt laufeu, lässt fliesen,' Gk. *ὁρτύω* 'set in motion,' etc., tho it is not impossible that the two sets of words are remotely related.

34. *Rasta* 'Meile,' OHG. *rasta* 'Rast, Wegstrecke,' etc. may also be compared with Gk. *ἐπαστός* 'beloved, lovely'; and Goth. *razn* 'Haus,' ON. *rann*, etc. with *ἐπανώς* (\**ἐπαστός*) 'lovely, pleasant,' in Hom. only of places. For meaning compare *wohnen* : *Wonne* (cf. *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 336).

35. To *sainjan* 'säumen' are related many other words that should have been given, especially the st. vb. Norw. *sīna* 'glide, sagte; synke nedad, blive tung' (cf. Falk og Torp, *Et. Ord bog*, II, 151; Fick, *Wb.*, III<sup>4</sup>, 438 f.).

36. With *sauib* 'Opfer,' ON. *siðða* 'sieden, kochen,' etc. compare Lith. *siauežiù* 'tobe im Zorn, wüte' (Berneker, *IF.*, X, 160).

37. *Siuks* 'krank, schwach,' MLG. *swak* 'biegsam, dünn, zerbrechlich, schwach,' MHG. *swach* 'niedrig, schwach' evidently come from the meaning 'bend, sway, give way,' as in *krank*, *weich*. We may therefore compare Skt. *svajá-s* 'Art Schlange,' *svājatē* 'umschlingt,' *sūksma-s* 'fein, schmal, dünn, klein,' and with nasal infix OE. *swancor* 'pliant, supple: agile, graceful; weak,'

MHG. *swane* 'biegsam, dünn, schlank,' *swenken* 'schwenken: sich schlingen,' etc. (cf. No. 6 above; *Color-Names*, 30f.; *IE. a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>i</sup>:a<sup>u</sup>* 117).

38. If *staks* 'Wundmal,' OE. *staca* 'stake,' etc. are from a root *steig-*, then what shall we do with NHG. *stock*, *stocken*, *stothen*, ON. *stauka* 'stossen,' etc.? There are too many such words to be explained in that way. For my explanation see *IE. a<sup>x</sup>* etc., Strassburg, 1905.

39. If *stautan* 'stossen' is related to MHG. *stutzen* 'scheuen,' then we need not hesitate to add NSlov. *studiti* 'verabscheuen,' ChSl. *stydēti se* 'sich schämen' (*IE. a* etc., 129).

40. *Stiggen* 'stossen' is separated from OE., OHG. *stinean* 'stinken.' Fonetically they are the same, as is evident from NFries. (Wang.) *stiunk* 'stiukcu' (OFries. \**stiunka*, Siehs, *Pauls Grdr.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1312). In meaning there is also no difficulty. To begin with OE. *stincan* does not mean 'stink.' That is a developt meaning, just as any word meaning 'exhale' might come to mean 'stink.' Primarily Germ. \**stinkwan* meant, when used intransitively, 'springen, stieben, dufften, riechen': ON. *stökkua* 'springen, fort-, ent-springen; stürzen, herabfallen, bespritzen,' OSw. *stiunka* 'springen, stieben,' OE. *stincan* 'rise (of dust); emit vapor, emit odor (good or bad),' OHG. *stinkan* 'duften, ricchen; tr. riechen, wittern' (cf. *Pub. MLA.*, XIV, 303 f.; *Mod. Phil.*, II, 278; Falk og Torp, *Et. Ord bog*, II, 298).

Compare the same development of meaning in the following: ON. *riúka* 'stieben, jagen: rauchen, dampfen,' OHG. *riohhan* 'raucben, dampfen, duften, riechen; Geruch empfinden.'—Skt. *dhū-nōti* 'schüttelt, erschüttert, bewegt hin und her,' *dhūmá-s* 'Rauch, Dampf,' OHG. *toum* 'Dampf, Dunst, Duft, Geruch,' Goth. *dauns* 'Dunst, Geruch,' etc.—Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich,' *kūpyati* 'wird erschüttert, wallt auf, zürnt,' ChSl. *kypēti* 'sieden, wallen,' Lett. *kūpēt* 'rauchen,' Lith. *kvāpas* 'Hauch, Atem, Duft,' *kvepēti* 'duften,' *kvīpti* 'Geruch bekommen; duftend werden, auch stinkend werden,' etc. (cf. No. 26 above). So many others.

41. *Stiwiki* 'Geduld' may have nothing to do with the Germ. root *stōu-*, pre-Germ. *stāu-*. But that is no reason why it may not be referred to a root *stē-u-* 'stand' (OHG. *stān* etc.): Gk. *στεῦται* 'stellt fest, behauptet,' Skt. *sthāvará-s* 'stehend,

unbeweglich, fest,' etc. For meaning compare Skt. *sthāyin-* 'stehend, dauernd, geduldig,' *sthēmā* 'Festigkeit, Dauer' (*MLN.*, xx, 44; *IE.* *ax* etc., 128 f.).

42. With *sūts* 'mild, behaglich, ruhig,' *unsūti* 'Aufruhr': Skt. *sūdāyati* 'macht angenehm, bringt in Ordnung, macht fertig, tötet' compare Gk. *εἰδω* 'höre auf, ruhe, schlafe,' ON. *súta* 'gerben' (cf. *Color-Names*, 33; *IE.* *ax* etc., 113). If these are related to Skt. *svādū-* etc., they go back to a base \**seyād-*.

43. *Swarē* 'vergebens, umsonst, ohne Grund' is formed like *simlē*, *bisunjanē*, etc. from a Germ. *swa-ra-* from *swa-*, pre-Germ. \**swyo-*, \**swye-*: Skt. *svá-s*, Av. *hva-*, Lat. *suus*, etc. The suffix *-ro-* is the same as in Goth. *unsar*, *izwar*, ON. *várr* (\**wēra-z*), etc. *Swarē*, therefore, is from \**sworēd* 'of itself,' with which compare Skt. *sva-tás* 'aus sich selbst heraus, von selbst' (cf. *Am. Germ.*, III, 325).

44. *Svikns* 'unschuldig, rein,' ON. *sykn* 'straf frei, schuldlos,' OE. *swien* 'clearance from criminal charge,' are certainly related to OHG. *pi-suuihhēn* 'clarescere,' OE. *be-swician* 'escape from, evade; be free from,' *geswicennes* 'cessation, abstention; repentance'; and these are as certainly related to OE. *swican* 'wander, depart; desert; desist, cease, etc.', OHG. *swihhan* 'verlassen, im Stiche lassen,' etc. On one side we have 'depart, escape, be free from'; on the other 'depart from, abandon, be traitor to, etc.' This combination is given by Schade, *Wb.*², 915, but for some unaccountable reason has not been accepted. Is it because it is so obvious?

45. *Tagl* 'Haar,' OHG. *zagel* 'Schwanz,' MLG. *tagel* 'Endstück eines Taues,' etc., Skt. *daçū* 'Zettelfäden, Franse, Lampendocht' may be referred to Goth. *tahjan* 'reissen, zerren,' ON. *tūia* 'fasern,' *tág* 'Faser,' MHG. *zäch*, *zāhe* 'Docht.' For meaning compare Dan. *tæse* 'zupfen': NHG. *Zaser* 'Faser.'—OHG. *zeisan* 'zupfen, zausen': Sw. *test* 'zotte.'—MHG. *-zūsen* 'zausen, zerren': *zūse* 'Haarlocke.'—NHG. Bav. *setzen* 'vexieren,' 'tease': OHG. *zata* 'zotte.'—ON. *tutla* 'zupfen, pflücken': OHG. *zota* 'zotte.'—NHG. *zupfen*: *Zopf*, NE. *tuft* (cf. *IE.* *ax* etc., 67 f.). Cf. also Fick, *Wb.*, III⁴, 152.

46. The comparison *talzjan* 'lehren,' *untals* 'unfähigsam': OE. *getæl* 'swift,' OHG. *gizal*

'leicht, schnell': ON. *tál* 'deceit,' Gk. *δόλος* 'wile, trick,' Lat. *dolus* is also found in *Class. Phil.*, III, 75 (Jan., 1908). But I there leave out ON. *tal* 'Zahl,' etc., which may be better explained otherwise.

47. The comparison *þreihan* 'drängen': OS. *thrēgian*, MDu. *drēghen* 'drohen,' etc. from \**þraigjan* is called 'verfelilt.' How so? Is it the meaning that causes trouble? Compare Lat. *trūdo* : OE. *þrēatian* 'urge on, press; afflict; rebuke, threaten.' Or is it the form? Whether *þreiha* goes back to \**trénkō* or \**tréikō*, OS. *thrēgian* may be related: in the first case with analogical formation as in Goth. *faihu-þraihns*, in the second with regular formation. Cf. also Fick, III⁴, 190.

48. With *þrafstjan* 'trösten, ermahnen, vermahuen,' compare OE. *þrafian* 'urge, ermuntern; reprove, rebuke, rügen, verweisen,' ON. *þrefa* 'wrangle, dispute,' Pol. *trapić* 'quälen,' etc. (cf. *MLN.*, XXIII, 148).

49. The comparison *þwastipa* 'Sicherheit': Skt. *tavās* 'stark' etc. is credited to Hirt, *Beitr.*, XXIII, 306 (1898). It had been given long before by Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, 279 (1892).

50. In *untē* 'bis, solange als; denn, weil' we have two different words: \**und-tē* = OS. *unti*, OHG. *unzi* 'bis, solange als'; and \**und-þē*. Kluge, *PBB.*, XXXV, 574 is ready to admit the second but not the first. And yet *-nd-t-* > *-nt-* is fonetically simpler than *-nd-þ-* > *-nt-*.

51. Under *un-wēniggō* the conjecture is made that the suffix *-igga-* is "vielleicht verschrieben für \*-iga-." And yet *-ingō*, *-ungō* is not uncommon as an adverb suffix in Germ.: OE. *wēninga* 'vielleicht' (= Goth. *-wēniggō*), *dearnunga* 'heimlich,' *eallunga* 'durchaus,' *ierringa* 'wütend,' etc. (Sievers, *Ags. Gram.*³, § 318); OS. *darnungo* 'heimlich,' *färungo* 'plötzlich,' etc. (Holthausen, *As. Elementarbuch*, § 373, Anm. 2), MDu. *varinghe* 'alsbald, eilig.'

52. With *-waibjan* in *bi-waibjan* 'umwinden, umkleiden,' to which add OE. *wēfan* 'dress, clothe' (= G. *waibjan*), *bewēfan* 'wrap round, dress,' compare Lett. *vēju* 'hülle mich ein' (= G. *waibja*), Lith. *vēpiūs* 'verziehe das Gesicht' (*IE.* *ax* etc., 30).

53. *Waihts* 'Sache' has Germ. *ai* or *i* not *e*, and can therefore not be compared with ChSl. *vestī*, unless we separate *waihts* from ON. *vátr*,

*vatr* (\**waihtiz*), *vítr*, *vétr* (\**wiht-*) 'Wicht' (cf. Noreen, *Urg. Lautlehre*, 92). These go back to pre-Germ. \**uoikti-*, \**uikti-* 'activity, life : being, wight': Lith. *veikùs* 'schnell, flink,' *vykis* 'Leben, Lebhaftigkeit,' *vaikas* 'Knabe, Sohn; pl. Kinder' (*MLN.*, xxiii, 148).

54. The comparison *wairpan* 'werfen': Lith. *viřbas* 'Reis, Gerte,' ChSl. *vriba* 'salix,' etc. was first given by Persson, *Wz.*, 165. To these I add Lith. *verbìū* 'wende um,' Gk. *ρέμβω* (with IE. *b*) 'turn round and round,' *ρόμβος* 'spinning, whirling motion,' *ομβέω* 'spin; whirl, hurl, sehleudern,' MLG. *wrimpen* 'das Gesicht verzichen,' etc. (*IF.*, 13 f.; *IE. ax* etc., 33).

55. *Wairþs* 'wert' is from the same root as *wairþan*. Compare OHG. *in-wert* 'inwendig,' Ir. *frith* 'gegen,' Welsh *gwirth* 'per, contra, retro, re-' and for meaning Gk. *προτι* 'toward,' Lett. *pret* 'gegen,' *pretiniks* 'Gegner, gleichen Schlages oder Wertes sciend,' Lat. *pretium*, etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, v, 290).

56. The comparison *wamba* 'Baueh': Skt. *vapá* 'Eingeweidehaut' should have been credited to me. It is given in *MLN.*, xv (1900), 99, and quoted by Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*, 179).

57. If *weihs* 'heilig' is related to Skt. *vinákti* 'siebt, sieht,' then OE. *wāh* 'fine (meal)' from pre-Germ. \**uoiko-* 'sifted' belongs here (*MLN.*, xviii, 16).

58. *Weipan* 'bekränzen': Lett. *vēbjus* 'drehe mich; verziehe das Gesicht,' etc. is given by Trautmann, *ZfdWf.*, vii, 268 f.

59. Under 2. *witan* 'wissen' is given the old explanation: " \**uoida* 'ieh weiss,' eig. 'ich habe gesehen.'" 'See, know, understand' are each developed from 'perceive,' and this from 'reach, get, find, find out': Skt. *vindáti* 'fiuet, trifft, erreicht, erfasst, erwirbt,' etc. For an explanation of the various meanings of the IE. root *ueid-* see *AJPh.*, 27, 60ff.

60. To *uwaitōn* 'umherblicken' etc. F. says: "Keine Etymologie." I refer these words to a pre-Germ. \**uileid-* 'turn : look,' and compare Gk. *ἱλλίξω* 'look awry, look askance' from \**uiulidiō* (*Pub. MLA.*, xiv, 332).

61. *Wratōn* 'reisen, wandern': Gk. *φαδνός* 'schwank, sehlank,' *φαδνίζω* 'schwenke,' etc. is credited to Trautmann, *BB.*, 29, 308 f. This was given previously by me (*Color-Names*, 13, 63; cf. also *IE. ax* etc., 32).

62. *Wruggō* 'Schlinge,' OS. *wringan* 'dreheu,' OSw. *vranger* 'gebogen; verklirt,' MLG. *wrank*, *wrange* 'sauer, herbe, bitter, streng,' *wrank* 'Ringen, Streit, Groll' may be compared with Lat. *rancens*, *rancidus* 'stinking, raneid,' *rancor* 'a stinkug smell or flavor; an old grudge,' from \**uṛnk-*, base \**uerenk-* (*Class. Phil.*, iii, 83 f.). For meaning compare OE. *wriþan* 'twist; bind,' *wrāþ* 'angry, hostile; harsh (to taste); grievous,' MLG. *wrēt* 'gedreht, krumm; grimmig; strenge; herbe, sauer, bitter, widrig (vom Gesehmack).'

63. *Wulþus* 'Herrlichkeit,' Lat. *voltus* represent IE. \**uļtu-s* 'appearance' from *uļt-* 'turn, roll; appear': Skt. *válati* 'wendet sich; äussert sich, zeigt sieh,' *valana-m* 'Wendung, Wallen, Hervortreten, Siehzeigen' (*Color-Names*, ii, 63).

For other additions that might be made see the author's review of Uhlenbeck's *Et. Wb.* in *MLN.*, xvi, 305 ff. (May, 1901).

In conclusion it may be said that Feist's book is a fairly good compilation, but hardly more than that. An example of careless copying may be seen under *aigin*, p. 11: "die suffixe \*-ina- und \*-ana- stehen im ablautsverhältnis, vgl. got. *waurþans* und aisl. *orðenn* 'geworden,' ai. *bhind-ānás* zu \**bhid-* 'finden' und abulg. *nese-nū* 'getragen.'"

The above is full of inaccuracies. To begin with there is no reason why *-ina-*, *-ana-*, and *bhid-* should be starred. They are not hypothetical. ON. *orðenn* seems to be given as an example of the suffix *-ina-*. That would have given \**yrðenn*. So OSw. *brytin* (: ON. *brotenn*), ON. *slegenn*, *tekenn* (: *farenn*, *grafenn*), OE. *cymen* (: and *cumen*), etc. But why is the pres. part. *bhindānás* given instead of the perf. *bibhidānás*? See Brugmann, *Kz. vrgl. Gram.*, 316: "Präs. *bhindānás* Perf. *bibhidānás* zu *bhid-* 'finden'" (sic!) In Brugmann the misprint *bhid-* 'finden' for 'findere' is copied by Feist without correction. Or are we to suppose that German printers are in the habit of printing *bhid-* 'finden' for *bhid-* 'findere'? That F. here copied from B. is evident from the fact that all the examples in F. are found in B.

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### SAINTE-BEUVÉ'S INFLUENCE ON MATTHEW ARNOLD.

"L'art de la critique... dans son sens le plus pratique et le plus vulgaire, consiste à savoir lire judicieusement les auteurs, et à apprendre aux autres à les lire de même, en leur épargnant les tâtonnements et en leur dégageant le chemin."

The duty of English criticism is "simply to know the best that is known and thought in the world, and by in its turn making this known, to create a current of true and fresh ideas."

A careful collation of the critical works of Arnold and Sainte-Beuve would show an astonishing number of parallelisms of the kind indicated above. Often, the similarity is not in the thought only, but even in the words. A study of Sainte-Beuve leaves no doubt as to Arnold's parentage in literary criticism.

It sometimes occurred to Arnold to present continental subjects to that dense mass of Philistines in whom he was trying to "inculcate *intelligence*, in a high sense of the word." What more simple than that he should pitch upon Maurice de Guérin, upon Eugénie de Guérin, upon Joubert, because Sainte-Beuve had written illuminating, and above all, handy little articles on them? Also, there was the advantage of maintaining an appearance of recondite wisdom before his benighted people: and Arnold was not above such trivial vanities.

In 1859, Arnold was enjoying the liberating influence of a "certain circle of men, perhaps the most truly cultivated in the world," for whom he had the deepest respect. This circle existed in Paris, and Sainte-Beuve was the center of it. At a dinner given him by the latter, Arnold found him "in full vein of conversation, which, as his conversation is about the best to be heard in France, was charming." Sainte-Beuve's translation of Arnold's poem on Obermann gives our English poet-critic an undeniable thrill of satisfaction. There was, besides, the practical consideration that Sainte-Beuve's praise can carry "one's name through the literary circles of Europe in a way that no English praise can carry it." Arnold, at this time, was thirty-seven years of age; Sainte-Beuve, fifty-five. The broad-shouldered dean of literary criticism, who looked like an Italian prelate, was, to our

sturdy Anglo-Saxon lay preacher, a lifelong repository of the traditions and mysteries of the critical faith.

The truth is that Arnold could not have chosen a better master. As a literary critic, Arnold was lacking in ideas: and in Sainte-Beuve, he delved in the richest of mines. It was from him that he drew his notions of curiosity,—the "disinterested love of a free play of the mind on all subjects, for its own sake,"—literary urbanity, charm: it was from him that he learned the value of creating "a current of true and fresh ideas": it was from his teachings that he obtained his definitive opinion as to the critic's rôle, namely, the "communicating fresh knowledge, and letting his own judgment pass along with it,—but insensibly, and in the second place, not the first, as a sort of companion and clue, not as an abstract law-giver": and it was in his works that he found the expression of the critic's highest qualities,—tolerance and justness of spirit.

What Arnold was never able to take to heart was Sainte-Beuve's conviction that generalizations of any kind are both unjust and injurious. For that reason, Arnold spent himself, fulminating against British Philistinism. If he had really assimilated his master's beliefs as to tolerance, intellectual flexibility, justness of spirit, he could not have spoken of "a wave of more than American vulgarity, moral, intellectual, social, preparing to break over us"; nor could he have passed this crass judgment on Tennyson:

"I do not think Tennyson a great and powerful spirit in any line,—as Goethe was in the line of modern thought, Wordsworth in that of contemplation, Byron even in that of passion; and unless a poet, especially at this time of day, is that, my interest in him is only slight, and my conviction that he will not finally stand high is firm."

It is not, then, from him that we should expect the following charming and conscientious passage,—which occurs in a letter written by Sainte-Beuve to M. Ratisbonne:

"I have been told that you have attributed to me a joke about children; 'I love children above all when they cry,—because then they are taken away.' Not only have I never uttered such a jest, but I could not have done so.

"I believe that I have always avoided including in a general blame or aversion whole classes or categories, whether of nations, men, or persons.

"How could I have done so with children?"

Sainte-Beuve singled out the individual. That was the great point of his method. Arnold tried to imitate him in this, but was only partially successful, and then, chiefly, in foreign subjects. Like the preacher in the pulpit, he preferred to deal with masses.

It is a pity that Matthew Arnold was not so situated in life as to come into greater intimacy with the "first of living critics," as he calls Sainte-Beuve. A more frequent contact with him would have changed Arnold's critical method completely. With a style of such ease, fluency, grace, and firmness as Arnold's, it would have required only a little more real flexibility of mind and a more comprehensive groundwork of facts to have left us a body of criticism classical not merely in form, but in substance as well. Arnold wrote to his wife, "I think he (Sainte-Beuve) likes me, and likes my caring so much about his criticisms and appreciating his extraordinary tact and judgment in literature." How that persuasive, insinuating personality of Sainte-Beuve's would have softened the positive style of statement which Arnold inherited from his father, the worthy Arnold of Rugby! How it would have taught Arnold to encourage the literature of his own day; to be sympathetic and helpful to those struggling upward; to regard himself in criticism not as an oracle, but as a workman, with hands to be soiled in the rearing of admirable structures!

Matthew Arnold just missed becoming what Sainte-Beuve has now for a long time been,—an indispensable and lovable guide in literature. Perhaps the English Channel is to blame. Whatever of Sainte-Beuve's teachings was absorbed by Arnold has enriched English criticism. Both men, as poets, as men of open and inquiring minds, as masters of language, had the same path before them, and the same glory at the end of it. The one became the most pervasive force which has appeared in any literature: the other became a model of style. Less of Jeremiah and more of Sainte-Beuve would have made Arnold a great critic. As it is, we owe to Sainte-Beuve's influence the most charming critical essays in English literature.

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### SIR THOMAS NORRAY AND SIR THOPAS.

Of Dunbar's general indebtedness to Chaucer there has never been any doubt. The Scottish "makar" acknowledges his English master, and critics have not hesitated to enroll him in the "school" of Chaucerians. The idea seems to prevail, however, that, as Professor Gregory Smith puts it, Dunbar follows Chaucer "at a distance and, perhaps, with divided affection for the newer French writers . . . The evidence of direct drawing from the well of English is less clear [than in the case of Henryson]."<sup>1</sup> Similarly Mackay, in his Introduction to Small's edition of Dunbar, for the Scottish Text Society, says: "Dunbar . . . takes from him chiefly his language, which often finds parallels; but as regards the substance of his poems, only the tale of 'The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo,' and the verses on his Empty Purse, show traces of imitation."<sup>2</sup>

To the general correctness of this estimate of Dunbar's debt to Chaucer, it is not my purpose to take exception. I believe, however, that the relation between the curious burlesque, *Of Sir Thomas Norray*, and *Sir Thopas*, is closer than critics have realized.

The two poems have been associated before this, but no one seems to have done more than point out the fact that both are in the tail-rime stanza, or to suggest that Dunbar may have been familiar with Chaucer's "rym doggerel." Mackay implied this latter, when he said, in his note on *Bevis of Hampton*: "Dunbar must have known this romance from Chaucer's allusions."<sup>3</sup> Schipper, in his *William Dunbar, sein Leben und seine Gedichte*,<sup>4</sup> speaking of the "Balladenton und Metrum," says "vgl. Chaucer's Sir Thopas."<sup>5</sup> Miss Hammoud, in her recent *Bibliographical Manual*, notes that "Dunbar's burlesque Sir Thomas Norray is in the same stanza."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Camb. Hist. Engl. Lit.*, II, 287.

<sup>2</sup> S. T. S. edition of Dunbar's poems, I, cxlvii.

<sup>3</sup> "Appendix to the Introduction"; S. T. S. edition of Dunbar, I, ccix.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin, 1884.

<sup>5</sup> Page 221.

<sup>6</sup> Page 287. Roughly speaking, this is true; though the most distinctive metrical feature of *Sir Thopas*, the use of the "double tail," in which Chaucer was going the ordi-

To stop bere, however, is to state but half the case. Not only is the satirical purpose evident in both poems, and the stanza practically identical, but there are several significant parallelisms of language which, taken in connection with the two points just mentioned, make it almost certain that Dunbar wrote *Sir Thomas* either with *Sir Thopas* actually before him, or else with the lines of that easily remembered romance clearly in mind. Of course he knew *Sir Thopas*,—that one may assume. Remembering this, one finds the following parallelisms decidedly significant:—

*Sir Thomas Norray:*

1.

Now lythis of ane gentell knyght,  
Schir Thomas Norny, wyss and wicht.  
And full of chivalry;  
Quhais father was ane Grand Keyne,  
His mother was ane Farie Queyne,  
Gottin be sossery.

(ll. 1-6.)<sup>7</sup>*Sir Thopas.*

1.

Listeth, lordes, in good entent,  
And I wol telle verament  
Of mirthe and of solas;  
Al of a knyght was fair and gent  
In bataile and in tourneyment,  
His name was sir Thopas.

y-born he was in fer contree,  
In Flaundres, al biyonde the see,  
At Popering, in the place;  
His fader was a man ful free,  
And lord he was of that contree,  
As it was goddes grace.  
(*Canterbury Tales*; B, 1902-1913.)

Here there is both a certain amount of verbal similarity in the introduction, and a general imitation, on the part of Dunbar, of Chaucer's method of recounting the parentage of his hero before proceeding any farther. The elf-queen whom Sir Thopas "wol . . love, y-wis," Dunbar has made the mother of his hero; for it would have been unfortunate to represent one of the king's fools, with whose amours the court must

nary romancers one better, is entirely absent from Dunbar's poem.

<sup>7</sup> I quote from Schipper's edition, in the *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 41, sec. iv, pp. 5 ff.

have been more or less familiar, as sharing Thopas's romantic devotion to a fay.<sup>8</sup>

2.

Ane fairer knycht nor he was ane,  
On ground may nothair ryd nor gane,  
Na beir bucklar nor brand.

In that contree was ther noon  
That to him dorste ryde or goon,  
Neither wylf ne childe.  
(ll. 1994 ff.)

(ll. 7 ff.).

2.

He hes att werslingis beine  
ane hunder,  
get lay his body nevir at  
wnder:

(ll. 22 and 23).

3.

Of wrastling was ther noon  
his peer,  
Ther any ram shal stoude.  
(ll. 1931 and 1932.)

4.

Was never vyld Robeine  
wnder bewch,  
Nor get Roger of Clek-kniskleuch,  
So bauld a barne as he;  
Gy off Gysburne, na Allan Bell,  
Na Simones sonnes of Quyhynfell,  
At schot war nevir so slie.

Men speke of romances of prys,  
Of Horn Child and of Ypotys,  
Of Bevis and Sir Gy,  
Of sir Libeux and Pleyn-damour;  
But sir Thopas he bereth the flour  
Of royal chivalry.  
(ll. 2086 ff.)

This aunterous knycht, quhar ever he vent,  
Ad justinge, and at tornament,  
Evir moir he wan the gre;  
Was never off halff so gryt renowne  
Schir Bewis the knycht of Southe Hamptowne;  
I shrew him gif I le.  
(ll. 25 ff.)

In these passages both poets compare their heroes to well-known figures of ballad and romance, not a common occurrence in satirical poetry. It is interesting to note, moreover, that "sir Bevis and sir Guy," whom Chaucer mentions, both reappear in Dunbar's poem: "Guy of Gysbourne," an easy change, though Chaucer must have referred to Guy of Warwick,—and "Schir Bewis the knycht of Southe Hamptowne."

<sup>8</sup> On the identity of Norray, see Schipper's notes, p. 4, and the references there cited.

## 5.

He said he was ane lieberous bull,  
That croynd bayth day and nycht.

(ll. 41 and 42.)

## 5.

He was chast and no lechour,  
And sweet as is the bremble-flour  
That bereth the rede hepe.

(ll. 1935 ff.)

## 6.

This auunterous knycbt, quhar ever he vent,  
Ad justinge, and at tornament,  
Evir moir he wan the gre.

(ll. 31 ff.)

## 6.

He was a knight auntrous.  
(l. 2099.)  
A knyght was fair and gent  
In bataille and in tourneyment.  
(ll. 1905 and 1906.)  
Sir Thopas, he bereth the flour  
Of royal chivalry.  
(ll. 2090 and 2091.)

No one of these parallels, standing alone, would be of much significance. But considering the similarity of satirical purpose in the two poems, the practical identity of stanza, and the occurrence of a considerable number of rather striking verbal similarities, one is justified, I believe, in saying that when he wrote *Sir Thomas Norray* Dunbar was consciously imitating *Sir Thopas*.

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## 'GHOST-WORDS.'

In Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 34b, we read the following entry :

'cinedaben ornamente in some way : *hyre - an cyrtel Ct.*'

The word is certainly a puzzle which will be solved when we turn to Hall's Dictionary where we find on page 56b 'cinewāðen adj. of royal purple KC 1290.' KC 1290 means Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus No. 1290 = Thorpe's Diplom. Angl. p. 538. The passage in question reads from line 4 on thus: *þ hio an Ceoldryþe hyre blacena tunecena swa þær hyre leofre beo. þ hyre betsō haliryft. þ hyre betsþan bindan. [þ Aþþel]laðe þisse hwitan hyre cinewāðenan cyrtel. þ cuffian. þ bindan.* The letters in brackets are supple-

mented by Thorpe who gives this rendering : 'And she (viz. Wynflæd in her will of ca. 995) gives to Ceoldryth whichever she prefers of her black tunics, and her best holy veil and her best binder, [and to Aþþelf]laðed her white striped kirtle and cuffs and binders.' Thorpe designates 'white striped' as conjectural translation. I do not think it can stand ; *þisse hwitan* is, as far as I can see, in apposition to Aþþelflæd and designates her as Candida ista to distinguish her from other women going by the name of Aþþelflæd ; *cincwaðen* Hall correctly, I think, interprets as meaning 'of royal purple.' It is no doubt a compound of *cyne* and *waðen* = *wāden* = *wāðen* 'hyacinthinus,' which is absent from Sweet and B.-T., though recorded by Hall. For instances of the adjective ep. *wið ðy wedenen attre* (Grein-Wüller, Ags. Prosa, vol. I, 323) and Napier OEGI, 7, 372 = 8, 374 *wāden* 'iacinthi(n)a.' How Sweet came to transmogrify Hall's *cincwāðen* = *cynewāðen* to *cinedaben* escapes me. Certainly there is no warrant for it.

Another ghost-word is

*misþegnian, -þenian* 'misuse'

exhibited by Sweet on page 119a of his *Dictionary* as quite a common word. As a matter of fact, it is nothing but Sweet's change of what Hall quotes as nonce-word from *Lib. Scint.*, 224, 10, 'mispenian to misuse, abuse.' The passage in question as printed by E. W. Rhodes is this :

*fram flæscum þinum aceorf hi þe na symle þe  
a caribus tuis abscide illam ne semper te  
miswenige.  
abutatur.*

I hardly think we shall go amiss in taking the last interpretation to stand for *miswerige*, either the scribe miscopied the symbol = *w* and *r*, or the editor misread the two letters which sometimes very closely resemble *þ* and *n*. As to *miswerian 'abuti,'* compare *foruerit* 'abusus,' Grf. 1135. Also Sweet's (p. 136a)

*penn* 'kind of cataract (disease of the eye)'

will be nothing but a misreading of *Leechd.*, I, 374<sup>2</sup> *þ wið wenne*, printed by Cockayne *pennē*. Certainly we read *wið wanne* in the exactly corresponding passage, *Leechd.*, III, 4<sup>5</sup> =

Leonhardi, Læechoc, p. 122<sup>4</sup> *wið wænne*, which shows that we have to do with the well-known

*wænn* 'tumor.'

Therefore *pænn* as a term for an eye-disease must be stricken as unwarranted from the Dictionaries of Hall, Sweet, and Bosworth-Toller.

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### THE SOURCE OF AN INCIDENT IN GAMMER GURTON'S NEEDLE.

It seems not to have been noted in connection with this interesting and important Elizabethan comedy<sup>1</sup> that one of its minor incidents, the intrusion of Dr. Rat into the house of Dame Chatte and his warm reception, finds a parallel in a familiar episode from the history of Reynard the Fox. In the play, it will be remembered, Diccon the Bedlam declares that he has seen the lost needle in Dame Chatte's hands and promises to bring the vicar where he may take her unawares.<sup>2</sup> He has already put the dame on her guard by telling her that Hodge has sworn to avenge the injuries which he has received at her hands by making an inroad upon her hen roost. When the two come to the house Diccon points out a hole and bids Dr. Rat creep in. He does so and is welcomed with a shower of blows.

"Ware that!" eries Diccou, "Hoow my wenches! have ye caught the Foxe

That used to make revel among your hennes and cocks?

Save his life yet for his order, though he sustaine some paine.

Gogs bread! I am afraid they wil beat out his braine."

In the Beast Epic a similar trick is played on Isengrim the wolf by that more primitive mischief-maker, Reynard. The incident is related with gusto in the course of the latter's confession of his sins. I quote from Caxton's version,<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Henry Bradley, in Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, New York, 1903, pp. 195 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Act iv, Se. ii, ll. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *The History of Reynard the Fox*, ed. Arber. The Eng-

the author of *Gammer Gurton* is most likely to have known.

"Tho ledde I hym to a place where I tolde hym ther were viii hennes and a cocke whiche satte on a perche and were moche fatte. And ther stode a faldore by, and we clymmed ther up. I sayde to hym : yif he wolde bileyve me and that he wold crepe in to the dore, he shoulde fynde many fatte hennes. Isengrym wente al lawhyng to the dore ward and crope a lityl in and tasted here and there and at laste he sayde to me : 'Reynard, ye borde and iape with me, for what I seele I fynde not.' Then said I : 'Eme, yf ye wyl fynde, crepe forther in. He that wil wynne, he muste laboure and aventure. They that were wonte to sytte there, I have them a waye.' Thus I made hym to seche ferther in, and shoove him forth so ferrc that he fylle down upon the floer, for the perche was narow, and he fill so gretc a falle that they sprange up alle that slepte. And they that laye nexte the fyre cryden that the valdore was open and somthing was falle and they wiste not what it myght be. They roose up and lyghte a candel, and whan they sawe hym the smeton, beten and wounded hym to the deth." (i. e., almost to death; for Isengrim is still alive).

The general resemblance between the two incidents is obvious. The changes in *Gammer Gurton* are such as would naturally have resulted from the substitution of men for animals and the use of the motive in the complication of the plot. It is to be noted that while the real object of Dr. Rat's visit is different from that of the wolf, Dame Chatte supposes it to be the same. A further indication that the author of *Gammer Gurton* found the germ of this episode in the *Reynard* is Diccon's remark about the fox and hens quoted above. Later Dame Chatte speaks of the incident in the same terms.

"Who it was? A false theefe, That came like a false foxe my pullaine to kil and mischeefe!"<sup>4</sup>

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lish Scholar's Library, I, Cap. xii, pp. 26-7. I have inserted marks of punctuation.

<sup>4</sup> Act v, Se. ii, l. 50. Cf. also ll. 86-7.

## WAS PETRARCH AN OPIUM-EATER?

It is well known that a majority of the great poets in all the ages have indulged more or less freely in the stimulation of alcoholic liquors ; so much so that it is a problem as inevitable as it is curious, how much of the idealized substance of *Childe Harold*, *Lalla Rookh*, *Prometheus Bound* and the rest that have stirred the wondering applause of mankind is the spiritual product of physically digested wine or stronger liquors.

From the testimony of such men as Coleridge and De Quincey, representative opium-eaters, we learn that there is available another material agent of still greater power of intellectual and moral stimulation. And although the pathological history of the early ages is to a great degree obscure and unknown, it is certain that the very unique virtues of this agent were well known and its use as an indulgence established long before Petrarch's day not only in the East generally but in medieval Italy as well.

We find, indeed, no statement in credible history, nor is there, as in the case of Homer, any tradition that the great Sonneteer stimulated his powers by imbibing the juice of the poppy ; but there are peculiar indications not a few of which seem to point very distinctly that way ; and on the authority of expert opium-eaters, to offer a plausible explanation of many of the often observed but feebly explained idiosyncrasies and coruscations which so often halo the sentiments and architecture the forms especially in the sonnets of Laura.

To begin with that strange kind of platonism beautifully auroral, cool as that of the fine old Philosopher himself, while charged with a splendid pyrotechnic that would have set the Greek aghast ; how explain so much apparent fire of passion, so much seeming blaze of sensuous splendor, all of which, nevertheless, engenders so little heat ?

The experts affirm that opium, while more powerfully exalting, produces results very different and very distinguishable from those of alcohol. In a comparison of this exaltation with the result of alcoholic stimulation by the various forms of liquors, the profoundly experienced opium-eater De Quincey says :

"The main distinction between exaltation by opium and intoxication by liquors, lies in this, that whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation and harmony. . . . A man who is inebriated, or tending to inebriation, is, and feels that he is, in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human, too often the brutal part of his nature ; but the opium-eater feels that the diviner part of his nature is paramount ; . . . and over all is the great light of the majestic intellect."

Now apart from the transcendent beauties of expression, no quality is more clearly in evidence throughout the *Canzoniere*, than the absence of "*the human, too often the brutal*," which De Quincey differentiates as the result of wine-driuking—in the Poet's own words :

"Apprising little that which every man desires."

As the best illustration of this fundamental feature of the *Canzoniere*—this non-enkindling fire of passion—I have had the good fortune to find how this quality strikes the apprehension of a distinguished representative of the more sensitive sex. In the correspondence of Professor Fernand Brissot, author of one of the many attempted chronological re-arrangements of Petrarch's sonnets, is a letter from a lady, a great admirer of Petrarch, from which I quote a few analogous paragraphs. She says :

"Thanks to the dates indicated by you, I am delighted to be able to make live again the phases of this wonderful love. I feel born in my woman heart the fancy of being Laura and of allowing myself to be seduced by the lays of the Poet. I knew—his *Epistle to Posterity* had told me so—that he was of an agreeable figure, always superlatively groomed, and I was not ignorant of his fine estates.

"I opened, then, the *Canzoniere* with something of the emotion we feel in reading poems of love addressed to ourselves and set myself to reading slowly. The first sonnets gave me a chill ; the fifth a fit of laughter at his infantile word-play ; the twelfth seemed to me an odd conceit and I did not at all comprehend why it would be easier for the Poet to declare his love of me if, instead of being young and beautiful, I were old and ugly.

"At the thirteenth, however, my heart began to palpitate ; a poet was talking to me, a poet who was beginning to love me as his sublime inspirer ought to be loved and who in the infinites of his love was getting glimpses of the infinites of heaven."

The sonnet the lady here refers to is that known in the indexes as :

*"Quando fra l' altre donne ad ora ad ora"*

XIII of Vat. MSS. No. 3195.

When 'mong the other ladies now and then  
Comes Love resplendent on her face so fair,  
As much as all, than she, less lovely are,  
So much desire enkindles me again.  
I bless the place, the hour, the moment when  
My eyes on sight so lofty fixèd were,  
And say : ' My soul, thou must warm thanks declare  
For that thou wast so honored 'bove all men.  
From her comes to thee living truth of love  
Which leads thee, following, toward celestial quires,  
Apprising nought what every man desires ;  
From her the uplifting goodness which aspires,  
Escorting heavenward, while I swiftly move ;  
So that I'm drawn by every hope above.'

"All in a thrill I continued my reading on the verge of falling in love. Consulting your dates I found there had been three years since the Poet saw me for the first time and I had received from him but thirteen sonnets, only one of which was capable of moving me ! That is, during the blessed period when the heart awakes to love, when the most earthly feel a particle of the infinite penetrating their souls, this is all he found to say to me—that poet of twenty-three years ! I must think he loves me very little.

"No, I'm wrong ; if he hasn't yet celebrated my beauty it is because he loves me too much and that I am too beautiful. He tells me so in the XX sonnet ; must I believe it ?"

The sonnet to which the lady here refers is that known in the indexes as :

*"Vergognando talor ch' ancor si taccia,"*

XX of Vat. MSS. No. 3195.

Ashamed sometimes that no applauding rhyme  
Thy beauty yet has waked, nor stirred a line .  
To warble, Lady, and thy charms enshrine,  
Yet mindful memory recalls the time  
That sight made later charms of others dim.  
But 't were a heavy work ; the needs combine  
Far, far beyond all shaping powers of mine ;  
My genius, chilled, faints at the thought sublime.  
Yes, more than once, those beauties to rehearse  
My lips were opened, but within my breast  
The struggling voicee was locked and silent lay.  
I more than once began to scribble verse,  
But pen, nor hand, nor thought a word expressed,  
Helpless and overpowered at first essay.

"Believe it, no ! I do not think he is incapable of writing ; but I well understand that he is incapable of loving. It is not thus that he will succeed in touching my heart."

Of this eminent feature of the Petrarchan strain—a quality notoriously unlike the hot and unruly tone of Anacreon, of Horace and of the whole line up and down the ages of wine-inebriated lovers, which is emphatically, according to the dictum of the great modern Opium-eater, a specific characteristic of the æsthetic exaltation—De Quincy says again :

"Opium, like wine, gives an expansion to the heart, but with this remarkable difference, that, in the development of kindheartedness which accompanies inebriation, the sensual creature is uppermost. The expansion of the benign feelings incident to opium is no febrile access, but a healthy restoration to a state where the impulses of the heart are just and good."

All this is exactly true of the *Canzoniere*. Other words could not better describe the character of the amorous sentiment expressed there in language not less morally immaculate, than radiant with the rhetorical splendors and almost celestial melody of the great Sonneteer of the ages ; while yet his love is not a sensuality, like that of the erotic poets ; while it is an ecstasy, and the language in which it is clothed is not, like theirs, unmixed human (when not indecent), but is a noble elevation of the human into the region of the divine ; while it has an ideality, a serenity, a purity, a melodious sweetness which cannot be described nor imitated nor translated.

At the same time,—and this is a most necessary observation,—this absence of wine-heated desire and wine-heated expression is by no means the overshadowing of a merely Platonic sentiment. The Platonic is an abstraction abiding wholly in the spiritual and the intellectual. On the contrary, it is the body of Laura, not as a figure of speech but as a real woman of flesh and blood, which enlivens and amplifies Petrarch's imagination. Laura is modest and chaste and lovely in temper and adorned with every virtue ; but it is not these abstractions which move the lover and inspire the poet. It is Laura of the blond locks, of the milk-white neck, of the beautiful hand, of the blushing cheeks, of the sweet face, of the eyes of heavenly blue and full of love-inspiring fire. It is the woman whom he locates and treats in a thousand varying ways and of whom he is forever making a new picture set in the midst of some beautiful landscape, a verdant plain, a rain of

flowers, a murmuring of waters ; in the words of De Sanetis, " all nature made an echo of Laura." He loves that gentle spirit which turns upon him those eyes, which dictates those thrilling words, but it is the real woman-form clothing this spirit which holds his love in perennial flame.

Turn to the Sonnet known in the indexes as :

"Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi,"

XC of Vat. mss. No. 3195.

Her tresses of gold in the zephyr were streaming  
And on them a thousand sweet nodules it turned ;  
And the charming eye-flashes marvellously burned  
Of those beautiful eyes, now so faint in their gleaming ;  
The colors of pity all seemed to be beaming  
On her beautiful face ; what wonder the flame  
Burned in my fond heart always the same,  
Whether't was true, or I was but dreaming ?  
Her heavenly port shadowed nothing below,  
But mated the step of the angels above ;  
And the sound of her voice had no human ring.  
'T was a heavenly spirit, illumined with love,  
That I saw ; but if not, unbending the bow  
To the wound once inflicted no soundness will bring.

Very neatly, in expounding the joint operation of "the great light of the majestic intellect" which De Quincey attributes to opium, overriding in Petrarch "the brutal part of his nature," De Sanetis says in his ingenious way :

" The spirit [of the poetry] remains pure reflection or abstract intellect and the will has no power of putting itself in action, through the conflict which it finds in the imagination. The imagination remains pure imagination and has no power upon the will, does not labor to realize its own sweet fancies, through the conflict it finds in reflection. If one of the two forces had been able to subdue the other, there would have arisen equilibrium and peace ; but the two forces struggle without any result and there is never arrival at a manly 'I will' ; there is within the soul the 'Yes' and also the 'No' in eternal strife. Therefore the life never comes out in any result, in any action, but remains pregnant of thoughts and imaginations wholly internal. This wavering imbecility of the will De Quincey reports as a prominent characteristic of the anaesthetic exaltation ; and hardly a more distinct modern example could be imagined than the splendid but inconsecutive, inconsistent work of the opium-eating author of *Kubla Khan*.

For one of many illustrations of this striking feature in the *Canzoniere* let us turn to the much discussed sonnet known in the indexes as :

"Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerro,"

CXXXIV of Vat. mss. No. 3195.

I find no peace, yet have for war no placee ;  
I fly to heaven, yet lie upon the ground ;  
I nothing grasp, yet all the world embræe ;  
I fear, yet hope, I burn, yet ice am found.  
Love neither locks my eell, nor gives me græee,  
Nor holds me his, nor yet dissolves the bond ;  
Nor kills me, nor sets free a living spæee,  
Nor wills me life, nor saves me from my wound.  
Eyeless I see, tongueless I scream the while ;  
I crave to die, yet beg help in the strife ;  
I hate myself, another love most true.  
I nourish me on grief, weeping I smile ;  
I am displeased alike with death and life.  
In this state am I, woman, all for you.

Again, especially in the later compositions, so far as the date of composition is determinable, there is, together with the auroral splendor of the representation always present, a certain gloomy foreboding merging into melancholy. Apropos to this, narrating jocosely some of his first experiences with opium-eating, De Quincey says :

" But if I talk in this way the reader will think I am laughing ; and I can assure him that nobody will laugh long who deals much with opium. Its pleasures even are of a grave and solemn complexion ; and in his happiest state the opium-eater cannot present himself in the character of L'Allegro ; even then he speaks and thinks as becomes Il Penseroso."

Describing his later experiences with opium he says :

" The Opium-eater loses none of his moral sensibilities, or aspirations ; he wishes and longs as earnestly as ever to realize what he believes possible and feels to be exacted by duty ; but his intellectual apprehension of what is possible infinitely outruns even his power to attempt. . . . This and all other changes in my dreams, were accompanied by a deep-seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy."

For a representative sonnet among the supposed later compositions, going to show the marked difference from every tone of the wine-inspired erotics, let us turn, among scores of similar ones, to that sweet but mournful augury of dreamland,

laden with fear and dark pictures of thought, known in the indexes as :

"*Qual paura ho quando mi torna a mente,*"

CCXLIX of Vat. mss. No. 3195.

What fear I have when my sad mind reviews

That day I left my Lady grave with thought

And with her all my heart! yet there is nought  
On which so oft, so glad, I love to muse.

Mid ladies fair my visiou then renewes

Her standing with a rose's splendor fraught

Mid minor blooms, to joy, nor sorrow brought,

Like one who fears, yet no foreboding brews.

Of her accustomed cheer she was bereft,

Her pearls, her garlands and her dainty clothes,

Her laughter and her song and prattle sweet.

So my own life in painful doubt I left.

Now auguries sad, dark thoughts and dreams oppose

My yearning bopes, may God their fury cheat.

Again another dietum of the great modern Opium-eater comes to throw an illumination on a peculiar feature of the activities of the great medieval Sonneteer. De Quincey says : "To the opium-eater, when in the divinest state incident to his enjoyment, crowds became an oppression ; even music too sensual and gross. He naturally seeks solitude and silence, as indispensable conditions of those trances, or profoundest reveries, which are the crown and consummation of what opium can do for human nature."

Now there is no feature in the life of the Tusean Poet more marked than his tendency—apparently a created, a super-induced tendency—toward seclusion. His natural temper was restless, keeping him, from choice, perpetually on the wing ; but in his perpetual journeys he was always shunning the society of men ; and with every pause shutting himself away in some one of his many homes. To say nothing of the rest, he was ever glorifying Vaueluse [Shut-Valley], sought out by him and exquisitely fitted up for seclusion ; and where the greater part of his effusious on Laura were composed.

Turn to the Sonnet, reckoned by all the greater critics as certainly the most characteristic, and perhaps, all values considered, the superlative of all the sonnets of Petrarch, known in the indexes

as :

"*Solo e pensoso i più deserti campi,*"

XXXV of Vat. mss. No. 3195.

Alone and pensive each most desert strand

I measure through with paces dull and slow

And, with eyes all intent for flight, I go  
Where no dread human step imprints the sand.

No other mean I find, no other brand

To guard from men my too transparent woe ;

Because all acts of mirth are vanished so,

That how within, all in a blaze I stand,

Is read abroad ; and now each mount and shore

And stream and wood my vital tempers share,

From others hidden to wild nature plain.

Yet paths so thorny, savageries so sore,

I cannot find but Love comes faring there

His fires to breathe and I respond again.

It may, perhaps, also be added here in parenthesis that old Homer, who, as tradition has it, was himself an opium-eater, recognizes this tendency in certain similarly exalted states, as in the case of Bellerophon, told in the vi Book of the Iliad.<sup>1</sup>

Among other indications which it were easy to point out, I will mention but one more which is strikingly apparent throughout the *Canzoniere*. I mean the utterly fragmentary, or better, sporadic character of the *Canzoniere* itself. And it adds to the pertineney of this indication to be reminded also of the familiar observation that the sonnet, above every other poetic form, affords the faculty for fragmentary expression, for briefly yet completely deploying a sporadic thought in fourteen curiously intertwined lines. Hence no other form is so expressly suited to the majestic but sporadic results of the anesthetic exaltation. And hence, again, assuming that opium was the exalting agent, what other so plausible reason could be found for the determination of this form by the great Sonneteer of the ages ?

In point of fact, the *Canzoniere* is like a string of pearls of infinitely multifarious hues, each rounded and polished with consummate art, and all held together by the slender thread of Laura's name. And yet even this string of pearls does not flow in an open, disengaged course, but is like a tangled skein of ever returning and crossing threads.

The most striking illustration in modern times of this sporadic characteristic—excepting De

<sup>1</sup> "But when at last distracted in his mind,  
Forsook by heaven, forsaking human kind,  
Wide o'er the Alcian field he chose to stray,  
A long, forlorn, uncomfortable way."

Pope's translation.

Quincey himself—has been found in the opium-eating Samuel Taylor Coleridge whose remains are too familiar in this regard to be more than named in passing. De Quincy, apropos to this characteristic, says : "Opium, like the bee that extracts its materials indiscriminately from roses and from the soot of chimneys, can overrule all [accidental] feelings into a compliance with the master-key."

The whole *Canzoniere*, as I have said, is a continuous illustration of it in Petrarch. The momentary sentiment ruling in any one sonnet may as likely as not be just as naturally, as forcefully, as beautifully and as momentarily contradicted in the next. But for one of a hundred confessions of it let us turn to the famous sonnet known in the indexes as :

"*S' amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento ?*"

CXXXII of Vat. MSS. No. 3195.

If 't is not love, what is this thrill so fleet ?

But if 't is love, good heavens ! what is that thing ?

If good, whence does the deadly bitter spring ?

If criminal, why punishment so sweet ?

If willingly, why with lamenting greet ?

If 'gainst my will, what helps my whimpering ?

O living death, O luscious suffering,

What can you do, if I refuse, discreet ?

If I consent, unrighteously I mourn.

Mid struggling winds I ride in pinnace frail,

All reft of sail and rudder, helpless rolled ;

So witless, error-laden to the rail,

That I myself know nothing why I burn

In winter, in midsummer shake with cold.

In a word, if the anaesthetic solution be accepted, it does away with a goodly number of otherwise unanswered queries, clears the critical sky of a good deal of rather murky philosophizing, and leaves in its place the easily comprehensible idea of a man of very extraordinary genius and very extraordinary culture, but a man while endowed, indeed, in fullness of sensibility with the common passions of humanity, yet one who under a mighty exaltation *feels the diviner part of his nature to be paramount to the human*,

"Apprising little that which every man desires,"  
and over all which blazes *the great light of the majestic intellect.*

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### POE AS AN EPICUREAN.

Since Gassendi and Dalton have made the Democritean theory of the atomic constitution of matter, transmitted by Epicurus, the basis of modern chemical and physical science, Epicurean physics has been rescued somewhat from the ridicule bestowed upon it by contemporary critics and become a heritage of recognized value to later scientific thought. "*Res tota facta pueriliter,*" says Cicero, but the 'picked phrase of Tully's' contempt the modern must apply with more discrimination. Yet however much Lucretius may win our respect for the theories of Epicurus, which he has so skillfully cast into lucid Latin verse, even a modern may decry his master's ethics and venture a laugh at the Epicurean gods, whose nature the later adherents of the school report either with inconsiderate brevity, or with the ludicrous obscurity of muddled thinking.

In the dialogue of Cicero, "On the Nature of the Gods," Velleius, the Epicurean, with characteristic assumption essays the theme, in Stoic and Academic company, but fails so utterly to make intelligible or rationally convincing his conception of their atomic constitution, that the passage has passed from his auditors to us as a legacy of bewilderment and irreverent jest. "*Hoc, per ipsos deos, de quibus loquimur,*" cries Cotta, "*quale tandem est !*"

The life of the listless, shadowy gods of the intermundane spaces, where "neither winds do shake nor clouds drench with rains nor snow congealed by sharp frosts harms with hoary fall," Lucretius exalts as the perfect type of Epicurean *ἀταράξια*. Why, with his noble passion for truth established by an appeal to reason and a zeal for science only to make her serve theology, he should have been content merely to dogmatize on the nature of the gods and have left unfulfilled his promise of copious explanation of their subtle material nature, remains a matter of conjecture. Perhaps the task was too difficult to be executed with his characteristic confidence or, perhaps, as suggested by the exceedingly confused ideas of later Epicureans, their master, content with his concession to popular belief which his acknowledgment of their existence implied, left

formless and unconvincing his own conception of their bodily nature.

In view of this deficiency, it is interesting to note how Poe, somewhat akin to the frenzied, dream-haunted Lueretius in his morbid vision of the "grotesque and arabesque" of life, attempts formally to rationalize, in curious consistency with Epicurean theories, the conception of such materialistic quasi-spirits, as it seems the Epicurean gods were. In "Mesmeric Revelation," Vankirk under the supposed hypnotic influence of his interlocutor has revealed his discovery of an unparticled matter of infinite fineness, which he designates *deity*. When pressed for a more precise idea of this existence he proceeds: "The matters of which man is cognizant escape the senses in gradation. We have, for example, a metal, a piece of wood, a drop of water, the atmosphere, a gas, caloric, electricity, the luminiferous ether. . . . When we reach the latter, we feel an almost irresistible inclination to class it with spirit, or with nothingness. The only consideration which restrains us is our conception of its atomic constitution, and here, even, we have to seek aid from our notion of an atom, as something possessing infinite minuteness, solidity, palpability, weight. . . . Take now, a step beyond the luminiferous ether, conceive a matter as much more rare than ether, as this ether is more rare than the metal, and we arrive at once . . . at a unique mass — an unparticled matter. For although we may admit infinite littleness in the atoms themselves, the infinitude of littleness in the spaces between them is an absurdity. There will be a point — there will be a degree of rarity at which, if the atoms are sufficiently numerous, the interspaces must vanish, and the mass absolutely coalesce. But the consideration of the atomic constitution being now taken away, the nature of the mass inevitably glides into what we conceive as spirit. It is clear, however, that it is as fully matter as before."

The postulates here of an ontology that included only void and matter, and an ultimate form of matter whose nature was atomic and beyond the ken of the senses are thoroughly Lueretian; likewise Epicurean is the fantastic reasoning for a divine nature that in the end is matter, yet un-

particled. Such at least seems the import of a fragment of Philodemus, *μήτε γὰρ ἀτόμους νομίζειν τὸν θεὸν μήτε συγκρίσεις*, which in the apologetics of the school may count as a defence of the eternity of the gods. One may scarcely venture to theorize upon an explanation of the psychology of Poe, which willy nilly assigns him to the Epicureans, yet when it is remembered that modern materialism leaves no place for deity, what is more likely than that the later author, under the spell of Lueretius, as a curious experiment in the occult and the bizarre, has played at the task which the other, with all his seriousness, left unfinished?

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### CHAUCER'S "ETIK."

The well-known phrase "As Etik saith" in the B-version of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*,<sup>1</sup> is commonly explained as a reference to Aristotle's *Ethics*.<sup>2</sup> There is, however, evidence which points in quite another direction.

John of Salisbury, in his *Policraticus*, has the interesting mediæval habit of referring, on occasion, to the authors whom he cites by some descriptive appellation or other. Juvenal especially (and once at least Persius) is designated as *satiricus*<sup>3</sup>; Terence is constantly referred to as *comicus*.

<sup>1</sup> B 166.

<sup>2</sup> See Skelton, *Oxford Chaucer*, III, 296; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 387.

<sup>3</sup> *Policraticus*, lib. i, c. 5 (400 d): ut idem ait *satiricus* [Juv. Sat., xiv. 31-33]; lib. i, c. 12 (408 d): unde *satiricus* [Sat. xiv. 248]; lib. 2, c. 15 (431 d): unde et illum *satiricum* illis aptissime facit [Sat. x. 112-13]; lib. 3, c. 6 (486 d): proinde *satiricus* inquit [Sat. iii. 41-48]; lib. 3, c. 12 (503 b): et *satiricus* [Sat. ix. 118-121]; lib. 6, c. 5 (596 e): ut velis nolis *satiricum* illud tibi frequenter occurrat [Pers. Sat. iv. 20-22]; lib. 8, c. 11 (753 b): licet *satiricus* dicat quoniam [Juv. Sat. vi. 165]. All references are to *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, ed. C. C. I. Webb, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909. Cf. *ibid.*, I, xxxii, xxxiii.

*cus*,<sup>4</sup> Martial as *coquus*.<sup>5</sup> And Sallust is once at least entitled *historicus*.<sup>6</sup>

Most striking of all, however, is John of Salisbury's use of the term *ethicus*. He applies it to Juvenal,<sup>7</sup> Persius,<sup>8</sup> Ovid,<sup>9</sup> and Diouysius Cato.<sup>10</sup> But the writer whose designation it seems peculiarly to be, is Horace—the Horace, with perhaps one exception, of the *Satires* and the *Epistles*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lib. 1, c. 4 (398 a); ut mandato *comici* adquiescas [Ter. *And.* i. 1. 34]; lib. 3, c. 4 (481 d): *Gnatonom apud comicum vide* [*Eun.* ii. 21–22]; lib. 8, c. 6 (724 b): *comicus et coccus docent* [*Ad.* i. 2. 37]; lib. 8, c. 6 (724 c): ut verbis *comici* utar [*Eun.* ii. 3. 8–9]. Compare Jerome, *Ep. Adv. Jovinianum* (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, xxiii, col. 297: unde et *comicus* [*Eun.* iv. 5. 6]; *ibid.*, col. 279: *noster comicus*; Alanus de Insulis, *Summa de Arte Predicatoria*, Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, cex, col. 115: de qua Persius *comicus* ait. See Webb, i, xxix.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. 7, c. 12 (665 b): teste *coquo* [Martial, *Epigr.* i. 68. 1–4]; lib. 8, c. 6 (724 b): *comicus et coccus docent* [*Epigr.* ii. 12]; lib. 8, c. 13 (764 d): *unde coccus* [*Epigr.* iv. 56]. See Webb, i, xxxiii; ii, 142, n. 18 (under 665 b).

<sup>6</sup> Lib. 3, c. 4 (482 c): ut ait *historicus* [Sallust, *Catil.* 20, § 4]. Compare Jerome, *Ep. adv. Jovinianum*, Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, xxiii, col. 299: unde et *historicus* [Sallust, *Catil.*, cap. 1].

<sup>7</sup> Lib. 1, c. 13 (414 b): unde *ethicus* dc criminosis [*Juv. Sat.* xiii. 223]; lib. 3, c. 4 (483 a): ait *ethicus* [*Sat.* iii. 86–91]; lib. 3, c. 12 (501 a): scitum est illud *ethici*, quia [*Sat.* iii. 51–52]; lib. 8, c. 13 (767 c): [perhaps *Sat.* xi 56 sqq.]; lib. 8, c. 15 (773 a): inquit *ethicus* [*Sat.* viii. 269–71]. See Webb, i, xxxiii.

<sup>8</sup> Lib. 3, c. 1 (479 b): inquit *ethicus* [*Pers. Sat.* v. 120–21]; lib. 3, c. 2 (480 a): non nescivit hoc *ethicus* dicens [*Sat.* iii. 66–72]. See Webb, i, xxxii.

<sup>9</sup> Lib. 1, c. 8 (405 d): clamat *ethicus* [*Ov. Pont.* i. 5. 5–6]; lib. 3, c. 12 (501 b): inquit *ethicus* [*Ars Amat.* ii. 13–14]; lib. 4, c. 8 (530 c): ait *ethicus* [*Pont.* i. 2. 123–24].

<sup>10</sup> Lib. 3, c. 8 (490 b): ait namque *ethicus* [Cato, *Dist.* iv. 3]; lib. 7, c. 7 (651 a): nam ut ait *ethicus* [*Dist.* ii. 4]; lib. 7, c. 9 (655 a): praeceptum *ethici* [*Dist.*, coll. vulg. 26]. See Webb, i, xlvi. The appellation *ethicus* is also used once (lib. 3, c. 8, 489 c) of the pseudo-Ciceronian *ad Herennium*; and once (lib. 7, c. 24, 702 c) of verses quoted by St. Jerome.

<sup>11</sup> Lib. 1, c. 8 (405 d): inquit *ethicus* [*Hor. Sat.* ii. 3. 14–15]; lib. 2, c. 27 (470 d): *egregie quidem ethicus* [*Ep.* i. 4. 13–14]; lib. 3, c. 8 (492 a): unde *ethicus* inquieto extra se ineptam beatitudinem inquirenti [*Ep.* i. 11. 29–30]; lib. 3, c. 9 (492 c): undc *ethicus* [*Ep.* i. 18. 111–12]; lib. 3, c. 14 (512 b): consonat ei *ethicus* dicens [*Ep.* i. 16. 39–40]; lib. 4, c. 9 (531 d): unde *ethicus* [*Ep.* i. 6. 15–16]; lib. 6, prol. (587 d): notum est illud *ethici* quia [*A. P.* 32–37]; lib. 7, c. 23 (698 c): cum et *ethicus* dicat

And four times one finds, with reference to him, precisely Chauveer's phrase, "As Etik saith": *ut ait ethicus*.<sup>12</sup>

But that is not all. For in one of these four instances John of Salisbury ascribes to *Ethicus* the very doctrine which Chauveer attributes to *Etik*. The lines in Chauveer run as follows:

But I ne clepe nat innocence folye,  
Ne fals pitee, for '*virtu is the mene*,'  
*As Etik saith*, in swich manere I mcne.  
And thus thise foules, voide of al malycy,  
Accordeden to love, and *laften vice*  
Of hate.<sup>13</sup>

The passage in John of Salisbury is this: Nempe indoctorum haec opinio est; *ut enim ait ethicus*:

*Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt,*

*recedentes a medio vitiorum, quae regio virtutis est.*<sup>14</sup> There can, I think, be little doubt that this is the passage which Chauveer had in mind.<sup>15</sup>

But did he also have before him (or in memory) Horace's very phrase? The last eight words from the *Policraticus* are obviously a paraphrase of the ninth line of the eighteenth epistle (*Ad Lollum*) of the first book:

*Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reductum.*

And Chauveer's "*virtu is the mene*" is a translation not of the paraphrase, but of the original itself.

The point bears directly upon the question of

[*Ep.* i. 2. 56]; lib. 8, c. 10 (747 a): *ethicus* ait [*Sat.* ii. 3. 73–74]; lib. 8, c. 12 (760 a): *ut enim ait ethicus* (*Sat.* i. 2. 25–26); lib. 8, c. 13 (762 c): *ut enim ait ethicus* [*Sat.* i. 2. 24; *Ep.* i. 18. 9]; lib. 8, c. 13 (767 c): *ut ait ethicus* [*Carm.* iv. 12. 28]; lib. 8, c. 24 (817 b): *siquidem, ut ait ethicus* [*A. P.* 161–64]; lib. 8, c. 24 (817 c): *ut ad memoratum ethicum redeamus* [*A. P.* 166–68]. The list here given is the result of a single rapid reading, and may not be exhaustive; but it is probably sufficient. On the application of the term *ethicus* to Horace, see Webb, i, xxxi. On the question whether John of Salisbury knew the *Odes* of Horace or not, see *ibid.*, ii, 55 (note on l. 18, under 617 b).

<sup>12</sup> Sec 760 a, 762 c, 767 c, 817 b, in note 11 above. The phrase also occurs in 651 a (see note 10 above), where *ethicus* is Cato.

<sup>13</sup> B 164–69.

<sup>14</sup> Lib. 8, c. 13 (762 c). The "dum vitant" line is *Sat.* i. 2. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Compare also (with *recedentes ... vitiorum*) "*laften vice of hate*" (ll. 168–69).

Chaucer's knowledge of Horace,<sup>18</sup> and indirectly upon the Lollius problem. And it has, perhaps, certain implications with reference to the version of the Prologue in which it occurs. Some of these points I wish to consider in another connection. The one thing which seems at present to be clear is the fact that Chaucer's "Etik" is not Aristotle, but Horace.

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#### A GERMAN ADAPTATION OF THE "BLUE BELLS OF SCOTLAND."

August Daniel von Binzer is well known as an enthusiastic Burschenschaftschafter at Jena (1817-1819), and as the author of the student songs "Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus" and "Stoszt an! Jena soll leben." Throughout the years of his activity as poet and novelist he was strongly influenced by English literature and English literary motives. While at Jena, Edward Young's "Night Thoughts" seem to have exerted a powerful influence upon him. Almost all his early letters to relatives and friends contain "night thoughts" à la Young, in which Binzer narrates many of his personal experiences. In 1826 he translated the First Night into German, notwithstanding the fact that up to that time numerous translations, good and bad, had appeared in Germany and appeased the German appetite for moralizing poetry. In 1829 he translated Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography, although a good translation of the original had been published in 1817. But perhaps the most interesting example of English influence upon Binzer is furnished by his "Die deutsche Heldenbraut."

To facilitate comparison with its source Binzer's poem is set opposite Annie McVicar Grant's popular song.

<sup>18</sup>The line from the eighteenth epistle may, of course, have stood as a gloss in Chaucer's manuscript of the *Policraticus*—a suggestion for which I am indebted to one of my students.

*The Blue Bells of Scotland.*  
Oh, where, and oh, where  
is your highland laddie  
gone?  
He is gone to fight the  
French,  
for King George upon  
the throne;  
And it's oh! in my heart,  
that I wish him safe at  
home!

What clothes, in what  
clothes  
is your highland laddie  
clad?  
His bonnet 's of the Saxon  
green,  
his waistcoat of the  
plaid;  
And it's oh! in my heart  
that I love my highland  
lad!  
Suppose, oh, suppose  
that your highland lad  
should die?  
The bagpipes shall play  
over him,  
I'll lay me down to cry;  
And it's oh! in my heart  
that I wish he may not  
die.

*Die deutsche Heldenbraut.*  
Wohin und wohin  
mag dein Schatz gezogen  
sein?  
“Mein Schatz zog gegen  
Frankreich  
und liesz mich hier al-  
lein!  
Und ich wollt ich wär' mit  
oder er wär' wicder  
heim!”

Welch Gewand trug dein  
Schatz,  
als er aus nach Frank-  
reich zog?  
“Den Stutzhat mit dem  
Eichenzweig,  
den grau und grünen  
Rock;  
Und ich wollt' er wär' hier,  
träg den alten Kittel  
noch.”  
Was fingst du wohl an,  
wenn dein Schatz im  
Felde blieb?  
“Sie würden ihn begraben,  
ich hätt' ihn ewig lieb—  
Und ich wünsch', dasz  
mein Schatz  
noch daheim sein Hand-  
werk trieb.”

I am at this moment unable to state if Binzer's poem has ever appeared in print. The manuscript, which I found among the papers of the poet,<sup>1</sup> plainly bears the character of a first rough draft.

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ARNALDO SEGARIZZI : *La Poesia di Venezia.*  
Venezia : Stab. Graf. Giovanni Fabris di  
Spiridione, MCMIX.

The unique conditions of life in Venice, the picturesqueness and romance of her institutions and history, the splendor of her civilization with

<sup>1</sup>I hope to publish soon a biography of Binzer based upon a large amount of hitherto unknown material, furnished me through the kindness of Adolf Baron von Binzer, grandson of the poet.

its beauties and its corruption, no less than the vastness of her dominions and the exceptional nature of her independence among Italian states, have created around her a special literature with which that of Rome and Florence only of Italian cities can compare. From the labors of that brilliant series of scholars in the nineteenth century, Gamba, Cicogna, and Cecchetti with the coöperative production of the various societies for local research, the extent and nature of this enormous bulk of literature have been more or less diffusely known. In fact by the solid works of A. Belloui (*Gli Epigoni della Gerusalemme Liberata*, Padova, 1893) and the more recent *Storia della Rep. di Venezia nella poesia*, Milano, 1904, of M. Medin, the influence of Venetian history on the epic, and the general themes and forms of historical-political poetry, have been definitively established. But whatever the conditions, in the course of seven centuries, that produced this copious literature, a definite conception has given life to it all—the conception of the city itself, as a social, a political, an artistic unit, whether symbolized in the Lion-Evangelist of the Middle Ages or in the Queen Enthroned of the Renaissance.

To disengage this figure in its most typical expressions from a field allowing almost limitless choice and unrelieved by conspicuous marks of genius, was the task proposed by Prof. Segarizzi in this anthology. Voluminous contributions by him to the bibliography of Venice and a long series of attractive studies of the humanism of the Veneto, as well as of popular customs, were a previous guarantee of the scholarly method in fact apparent in the collection throughout. And though confessedly addressed to the general public, the tone of originality is evidenced in that the great majority of the citations, save for existence in inaccessible editions, are here given in full for the first time. And nearly half of the ninety titles are distinct contributions to the bibliography of Venetian poetry. Yet it should still be observed that after the extensive chapter devoted by Medin to the "poesia encomiastica," this can hardly be said to have been "trascurrata"; and Prof. Segarizzi's book is most valuable when read as a development of that chapter.

On the "Name and Lion of Venice," for example, Medin had given numerous details; but

not only are the strong verses of Boiardo, describing the lion rising blood-stained from the waves, with feathered wings, and fish's tail, the paws raised threateningly on high, quite worth repeating in such a connection, but the new sonnet of Madrisio, with a vivid image of the faith- and home-defender, one paw on the Bible, the other holding the uplifted sword, gives, with the strong poem from Carlo Dottori, no inconsiderable literary merit to this section. Naturally most space is devoted to "Le lodi di Venezia." If, in the course of the forty-six specimens, the traditional themes are fairly well worn, the special title of each poem to citation in point of form or substance is generally convincing. No. vii, for instance, a poem apparently of the early Renaissance, with traces of the humanistic prejudice against the vulgar tongue and the usual quaint mixing of paganism and Christian symbols, also contains data on the personification of Venice, from their earliness not without value. The vision of the heavenly lady is executed with a hint at the dignity of Boethius' Philosophy; though her transformation "in terra sacra, e uuda—d'ogni vizio mortal—mirabilmente posta in mezzol'acque" is entirely in the temper of Renaissance fantasy. The selections are guided largely also by attention to their lyrical quality. To this we owe an attractive exile lament of Celio Magno, a curious letter of Franco Veronica, chiding her lover for omitting praises of Venice; and one or two dialogues—notable here, the debate between Naples and Venice as to their mutual advantages, in which Naples graciously admits her defeat; and that between Neptune and Mars, over Rome and Venice. The latter is almost an encyclopedia of the encomiastic concetti, and concludes with an imitation of the famous epigram of Sannazaro, cited in the dedication of Prof. Segarizzi's book, "Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse deos":

"E s'anteponer voi Marte a Nettuno  
E s'anteponer voi al mare il Tebro,  
E una vergine casta a una corrotta  
. . . . Roma dirai  
Fabbricata per man d'uonini soli,  
Ma Venezia par man de'dei celesti.

The appointed referee, Paris the Trojan, answers in terms of the ancient oracle, "aio te Romanos vincere posse":

Quanto la lenta salice il cipresso,  
 Quanto supera il mar un piccol rivo,  
 Quanto supera il sol la bianca luna,  
 Tanto Venezia tua supera Roma.

It is interesting also to note from these selections a tendency to deification of the city in poems that bear every stamp of deep sincerity, a tendency to substitute the ideal of local patriotism not only for the national but for the religious concept as well—the effect of which has been incalculable in retarding the formation of a modern political consciousness in Italy. For the rest, one of the most devout poems in the series is by Pietro Aretino! In addition to examples of satires against Venice, we have a chapter on her monuments and an extensive treatment of the “Le Feste e gli Usi.”

The book is equipped with an index, which aims conspicuously at brevity; it may be regretted only that the editor has not extended his occasional explanatory biographical notes to the symbolism of some of the poems. Without aid, the occasion of xv, “una dispietata e ria ventura” is unclear; Nos. v and xiv would likewise gain much from such editing. In the matter of text, further, Prof. Segarizzi has apparently adhered with one exception to the peculiarities of the manuscripts or editions consulted. The punctuation therefore is not always illuminating. It would have been safe perhaps also to remove in xxvii, a poem in the Genoese dialect, the query to *senta sè* (*sè* < *sedem*; the other alternative would be *fè* < *fidem*), and to correct on p. 51, *riplende* for *risplende*; p. 191, *più* for *pì* in rhyme with *dì*; p. 77, *ben* for *bel*. On p. 73, *toco* seems meant for *teco*. *Cora*, p. 70, also seems doubtful; perhaps for *ora*. The metre at present is impossible.

Upon the exterior form of the book, a care has been expended for which the lovers of ornate printing will be grateful. The movable cover is decorated with a seventeenth century frontispiece and the chapters are separated with appropriate art reproductions in platinum, notably Carpaccio’s lion, and a smaller allegory of Paolo Veronese (which might also have been suggestively interpreted in such a secular book). The twelve point type, broadfaced, has angular trimmings and punctuation points. The page setting, rarely exceeding twenty lines, is noticeably conservative

and engaging, devoid entirely of distracting features: the strophes are placed slightly above the centre line and slightly toward the central fold, thus producing with unusual perfection the open page unity of the best models of the Renaissance.<sup>1</sup> The care of the revision and press-work is indicated by *Neptumus* for *Neptunus*, p. 3; *dir* for *dire*, p. 11; *mief* for *miei*, p. 32; an inverted letter in the title, p. 166; and two immaterial spreads: *broccati*, p. 101; and *oriental*, p. 123,—this in nearly two hundred and fifty pages of text.

Lovers of Venice no less than students of Venetian culture are indebted to Prof. Segarizzi for this valuable addition to the resources of Venetian studies. He has penetratingly shown the existence of a lacuna in our preceding classificatory and filled this gap with regard both for the processes of scholarship and the claims of art. He promises in his brief preface to supplement this contribution with a new bibliography of the encomiastic literature of the nineteenth century.

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*French Short Stories*, edited with Notes and Vocabulary, by DOUGLAS LABAREE BUFFUM, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907. Pp. vi + 491.

*Les Misérables par Victor Hugo*, edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by DOUGLAS LABAREE BUFFUM, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1908. Pp. xvii + 566.

For the first of these volumes Dr. Buffum offers the following apology in the Preface: “In teaching classes in French, I have felt the need of a collection of Short Stories, chosen from as large a

<sup>1</sup> With this type and the line grouping adopted here, the avoidance of “white rivers,” as affecting the color scheme of the page, is of some importance, though rendered practically impossible for reasons of expense. There are unusually few occurrences of noticeable streaks: on p. 40 the second octave is practically bisected, and there are rare instances of lines crossing six verses (p. 47).

number as possible of the representative authors of the nineteenth century with a view to: (1) literary worth, (2) varied style and subject-matter, (3) large vocabulary and idiomatic constructions, (4) interest for the student. In an endeavor to meet these requirements I have prepared the present edition."

The stories in this collection are selected as follows: one from Mérimée, five from Maupassant, six from Daudet, two each from Balzac and Copeé, and one each from About, Gautier, Theuriet, Zola, Musset.

In the Notes a bare outline of the career of each author is given, as his stories are taken up. In fact, merely a list of the important works of the individual writer is given, together with a few remarks to give an idea of the place of each one in the history of French literature. The rest of the Notes is devoted to "the explanation of literary and historical references."

The Vocabulary, like the Notes, is worked out in a most excellent manner. However, it seems that it is a waste of valuable energy and time to incorporate any vocabulary at all, thereby saving the student the trouble and advantage of digging out the meanings from a dictionary. If this were omitted difficult phrases and unusual meanings might have been rendered in the Notes. The word *boucle* (=curl) has been omitted in the vocabulary, and *jurer* should also be given the meaning *to contrast* as well as *to swear*, especially in the sentence in which it is used on p. 54, l. 24.

No attempt has been made to any careful search for typographical errors. However, in a casual reading of these selections, together with a class, we have noted the following examples: p. 53, l. 3, *frans* for *francs*; p. 100, l. 27, *étais* for *était*; p. 125, l. 30, *fruites* for *truites*; p. 131, l. 13, *affarée* for *effarée*; p. 148, l. 2, *at* for *et*; p. 197, l. 30, *on* for *ne*; p. 267, l. 12, *mid* for *nid*; p. 274, l. 10, *pannetière* for *panetièr*; p. 284, l. 1, *giroutte* for *girotte*; p. 295, l. 12, *me* for *ma*; p. 355, *bésicles* for *besicles* (cf. p. 99, l. 22); p. 387, *échanson* in wrong order; p. 418, *intriguant* for *intrigant* (cf. p. 99, l. 18); p. 444, *pannetière* for *panetièr*; p. 469, *Saint-Jaques* in wrong order; p. 472, *sicilien*, *conj.* for *s.*, *adj.*

In the editing of Hugo's masterpiece Dr.

Buffum has "endeavored to reduce the novel to the limits of a text-book," altho there are 395 pages of text still given. "With this in view, all extraneous matter, such as the description of the battle of Waterloo, the long dissertation on convent establishments and on the riots of 1832, and the description of the Parisian sewers, has necessarily been omitted. The early history of Fantine and a few episodes have also been omitted; brief summaries of these will be found in the notes."

The Notes to this volume, as in the case of the preceding, are devoted to excellent explanations of historical allusions and grammatical peculiarities. Again, moreover, there is added a full and extensive vocabulary.

In the Introduction Dr. Buffum has given a careful, concise and critical estimate of Hugo and his works. This is of great advantage to the average student who, probably, will never have an opportunity to look up the sources so as to get such an excellent idea of Hugo's place in French literature. In tracing his literary career, the editor remarks that, beginning with his first volume of poems, Hugo shows "a wonderful ability in handling the language, but little true emotion"; and later (in commenting on Hugo's being raised to the peerage), "in his speeches in the Chamber of Peers, just as so often in his novels, his dramas, and in fact in almost all his work, he is above all a poet." Dr. Buffum's conclusion is: "In *Notre-Dame de Paris* Hugo has given the typical Romantic novel, in *les Misérables* he has given Romauticism, Realism, and even Naturalism; the episodes are partly invented, partly borrowed from Eugène Sue, Dumas and Balzac; the characters are, in several cases, drawn from life," etc. Finally, Hugo shows a "tendency to generalization" when we notice that Jean Valjean, Javert, Gavroche, etc., are really types of a redeemed man, police inspector, gamin, etc.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Buffum will continue editing such representative authors and in such a satisfactory manner.

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*Grundzüge der Naturlehre* von DR. IGNAZ G. WALLENTIN, k. k. Regierungsrat und Landesschulinspektor in Wien. Edited with notes and vocabulary by P. M. PALMER, Lehigh University. Bethlehem, Pa. Times Publishing Company, 1909.

In editing for the use of English-speaking students the first six chapters of Dr. Wallentin's book, Professor Palmer has made a welcome addition to the texts available for classes in scientific German.

The book contains 148 pages of text divided into the following chapters—(1) Vorbegriffe, (2) Lehre von der Wärme, (3) Vorbereitung für die Chemie, (4) Grundlehren der Chemie, (5) Lehre vom Magnetismus, (6) Lehre von der Elektrizität. The text is followed by notes, vocabulary, and a list of the strong and irregular verbs. The Roman type is used throughout. About fifty cuts help to make clear some of the explanations. The subject matter is of general interest, and the style, with the exception of a slight monotony in the chapter on electricity, is good.

The notes, though covering more than thirty pages, are not profuse. More than half the space devoted to notes is taken up by the so-called "word lists." At the end of the notes for each page of text is a list of the new words (without English definitions) occurring on the page in question. The value of the lists is doubtful. If a student meets an unfamiliar word he naturally turns to the vocabulary for the definition; if a word-list is to be memorized it should contain the English definitions of the words in the list. As arranged at present, the lists are entirely disregarded by the student.

The vocabulary is particularly full and well arranged. An excellent feature is the insertion of the chemical symbol under almost every definition of a chemical term—thus, "Kohlensaurer Kalk = calcium carbonate,  $C_aCO_3$ ," "Phosphorsäure = phosphoric acid,  $H_3PO_4$ ," etc. It would have been well to carry through the principle uniformly. The omissions in this respect, however, are comparatively few. It would be well if the vocabulary indicated whether a verb is strong or weak, and thus save students the trouble of trying

to find weak verbs under the list of strong and irregular verbs.

The book was published under the direction of the Lehigh University Supply Bureau, which has adopted the commendable plan of furnishing free of charge to the instructor one pamphlet copy of the text (without notes and vocabulary) for every copy of the book used. This pamphlet can be used for examination purposes and for sight translation. Professor Palmer's edition is singularly free from misprints and omissions; it has given complete satisfaction in the class room.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE.

MARLOWE'S *Tamburlaine*.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In the December (1909) number of *Modern Language Notes*, Dr. J. Douglas Bruce suggests what seems to me an unwarranted theory concerning the origin of a passage in the first part of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. The lines are those in Act iv, sc. 1 (ll. 1421–1435 of my edition) which describe the colour symbolism in the conqueror's camp and attire during the first three days of a siege:

'The first day when he pitcheth downe his tentes,  
White is their hew, and on his siluer crest  
A snowy Feather spangled white he beares,  
To signify the mildnesse of his minde,  
That satiate with spoile refuseth blood:  
But when Aurora mounts the second time,  
As red as scarlet is his furniture,  
Then must his kindled wrath bee quencht with blood,  
Not sparing any that can manage armes:  
But if these threats mooue not submission,  
Black are his colours, blacke Pavillion,  
His speare, his shield, his horse, his armour, plumes,  
And Icty Feathers menace death and hell.  
Without respect of Sex, degree or age,  
He raceth all his foes with firc and sword.'

The same custom is mentioned in ll. 1556–66, 1639 f., 1788–91, 1848–54.

Dr. Bruce would explain this idea as borrowed from the mediaeval romances of chivalry, in several of which occurs "the incident of the victorious knight who on three successive days of a tournament appears each day disguised with a horse and armor of different colour," though he is "unable to say what was Marlowe's immediate source."

It seems not unlikely, indeed, as M. Faligan (*De Marlovianis Fabulis*, Paris, 1887) has suggested, that Marlowe's earliest plays are influenced, in certain general aspects of tone and sentiment, by the popular romances—or, it might be safer to say, by the early chivalrous dramas based upon them. But this is probably not a matter likely to be cleared up very greatly by the accumulation of vague parallels, and in the passage under discussion I think there can be no question that Marlowe, instead of shaping his hero after the impossible knights of mediaeval fiction, is merely versifying the accounts of the real Tamburlaine as they lay before him.

The most immediate English source of *Tamburlaine*, Thomas Fortescue's translation of Pedro Mexia's *Silva de varia lecion* (ed. 1571, Part II, Ch. 14, fol. 67-71), contains the following passage:

"It is writen of him, that in all his assaultes, of any castell or citie, he vsually would hang out to be seen of the eniuie, an Euseigne white, for the space of one full daie, whiche signified, (as was then to all men well knownen) that if those within woulde in that daye yelde theim, he then woulde take theini to mercie, without any their losse of life or goods. The seconde daie hee did to bee hanged out an other all redde, lcttyng theym thereby againe to vnderstande, that if they then woulde yelde, he onelie then woulde execute Th' officers, Magistrates, maisters of housholdes, and gouernours, pardonyng, and forgeuyng all others whatsoeuer. The thirde daie he euer displaied the thirde all blacke, signifyng therby, that he then hadde shutte vp his gates from all compassion aud clemencie, in such sorte, that whosoever were in that daie taken, or in anie other then folowynge, shoulde assuredly die for it, without any rcspecte either of man or woman, littele or grcate, the Citie to be sackt, and burnt with all to ashes : whence assuredly it can not be saide, but that he was verie cruell, though otherwise adorned with many rare vertues."

Mexia's account is based mainly, it would seem, upon the Latin chronicle of Andreas Cambinus, of which an English version by John Shute appeared in 1562. The same story is told independently in another work probably familiar to Marlowe, Thomas Newton's *Notable Historie of the Saracens—Drawne out of Augustine Curio and sundry other good Authours* (1575). Speaking of Tamburlaine, Newton says (fol. 129):

"When he cam in sight of his enemies, his custome was to set vp three sortes of Pauylions or Tentes : the first was white, signifying therby to his Enemyes, that if at that shew they would yelde, there was hope of grace and mercye at hys handes : the next was redde, whereby he signified bloude and flame : & lastly blacke, which betokened vtter subuersion & mercilesse hauocke of all things for their contempt."

A comparison of the three passages quoted above will show that Marlowe introduces nothing of consequence which is not found in one of the prose extracts, and ultimately in the sources of the latter, the Latin chronicles of the wars of Tamburlaine. There appears no sort of reason to predicate a more imaginative treatment on the poet's part of the facts as he had received them than would naturally result from the heightening of prose into dramatic verse.

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#### COLERIDGE'S INFLUENCE ON POE'S POETRY.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—The indebtedness of Poe as a poet to Coleridge is greater and more specific than is commonly believed. Mr. Woodberry (in his Life of Poe) states that Coleridge was the guiding genius of Poe's entire intellectual life ; but he does not follow up this assertion by examples from the latter's verse. Yet there are some which are almost unmistakable,—most of them from the earlier poems, as indeed would naturally be the case. One, however, occurs in *The Raven* (1845):

"‘Prophet,’ said I, “thing of evil!—prophet still, if bird or devil!  
By that Heaven that bends above us—by that God we both adore—  
Tell this soul with sorrow laden,” etc.

The corresponding passage in *Christabel* can hardly be a coincidence :

"That saints will aid if men will call,  
For the blue sky hends over all."

Of the early poems, *The Sleeper* (1831) is most definitely influenced — which is significant, for Poe himself declared that he preferred this poem to *The Raven*, adding what hardly seems true at the present day : “There is not one man in a million who could be brought to agree with me in this opinion.” In the first place, the metre is the same as that of Coleridge's *Christabel*, though not handled with equal freedom. Moreover, the opening line is suspiciously similar :

"At midnight, in the month of June."  
(*The Sleeper.*)

"'Tis the middle of night by the castle clock."  
(*Christabel.*)

And, just as Geraldine is a peculiarly strange, unexplained creature from an unknown land, so the lady of *The Sleeper* has come

"O'er far-off seas,  
A wonder to these garden trees!  
Strange is thy pallor! strange thy dress!"

As one reads on, one finds that the atmosphere of the whole poem is delicately redolent of Coleridge. It is a kind of divine opium vision. The moon is a "mystic moon," and

"An opiate vapor, dewy, dim,  
Exhales from out her golden rim."

The lines which follow, in marvellous adaptability to purpose, have not been excelled by the English poet :

"And softly dripping, drop by drop,  
Upon the quiet mountain top,  
Steals drowsily and musically  
Into the universal valley." [of sleep]

*The City in the Sea* (1831, revised 1845) betrays hints of *The Ancient Mariner*, especially in the emphasis upon the sea as "hideously serene"; but the similarity is more subtle than the kind that may be indicated by quoting parallel passages. (Both the *City in the Sea* and the *Sleeper*, by the way, obviously resemble some parts and elements of *The Fall of the House of Usher*). *Israfel* (1831), again, has at least one passage drawn from Coleridge :

"None sing so wildly well  
As the angel Israfel,  
And the giddy stars (so legends tell)  
Ceasing their hymns, attend the spell  
Of his voice, all mute."

"And now it is an angel's song  
That makes the heavens mute."  
(*The Ancient Mariner.*)

Even the reference to the albatross in the song from *Al Aaraaf* (1829), "'Neath blue-bell or streamer," is probably not accidental. And it has long been known, of course, that the repetitions of *Ulalume*, *Lenore*, and *The Raven* were suggested by Coleridge in *Christabel* and other poems.

In the light of such evidence it becomes questionable whether Poe's originality as a poet has not been at least a trifle overestimated. It still remains sufficiently great; but no service is done to the poet's memory by attempts to prove that his product was unique. Even that almost unique masterpiece, *The Haunted Palace* (1839), seems—perhaps fancifully—to the present writer to have

certain faint mist-wreaths of *Kubla Khan* hanging about it; but it is none the worse for that!

HARRY T. BAKER.

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### "L'ART POUR L'ART."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—It has always been said that the phrase "l'art pour l'art" was coined by Victor Cousin, and first used by him in a course of lectures delivered in 1818 (cf. Michiels, *Histoire des Idées littéraires en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1842, ii. 102 sq.; Cassagne, *La Théorie de l'Art pour l'Art en France*, 1906, p. 39, and Lanson's review in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 1906; Stapfer, *Questions esthétiques et religieuses*, 1906, p. 26 sq.). But as a matter of fact the phrase appears in the *Journal Intime* of Benjamin Constant as early as 1804. Constant sums up Schelling's aesthetics in the sentence: "L'art pour l'art, sans but, car tout but dénature l'art" (*Journal Intime*, ed. Melegari, 1895, p. 7).

J. E. SPINGARN.

### 'FIGGING'—FORTESCUE'S *Foreste*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—Under the caption 'Fig<sup>v5</sup>' the *New English Dictionary* gives the following inadequate treatment of the word 'figging' in the sense of 'thieving': "Figging vbl. sb. only in 'figgingleaw.'" The earliest recorded instance of the compound is from *Dice Play*, c. 1550. The simple word occurs, however, in Thomas Fortescue's *Foreste* (1571), where a passage concerning Tamburlaine runs thus: 'He in no case pernitted any robberies, priuie figgyng, forec, or violence, but with seueritie and rigour punished whom soever he founde thereof giltie' (fol. 84).

The lines I have quoted appear in a chapter of the *Foreste* (Part II, Ch. 14), which Albrecht Wagner has reprinted in full in the introduction to his edition of *Tamburlaine* (Heilbronn, 1885, pp. xiii–xxii). Since the book is of considerable importance and there exists, so far as I know, no other modern reprint of any part of it, it may be worth while to indicate the mistakes in Wagner's text as shown by collation with the Bodleian copies of the editions of 1571 and 1576. Wagner did not consult the latter edition, and so emends conjecturally several printers' errors of the first edition which are set perfectly right in the second. I disregard Wagner's purely typographical inaccuracies, and give below the more serious variants :

Wagner (pp. xiii–xxii.)	Ed. 1571 fol. 82v–87v.)	Ed. 1576 innitfie
p. xiii, l. 2 mightie	confusely	infinit (right)
p. xiv, l. 15	merciali	cōfusedly Marciali
p. xiv, l. 17 advited		advised
p. xiv, l. 38 any		anie
	were	where
p. xv, l. 27 settynge		lottynge
p. xvi, l. 9 yea his		yea though his
p. xvii, l. 18	This	Thus (right)
p. xvii, l. 25 resulte	resude	residue (right)
p. xviii, l. 20	inspecable	inspeak- able
p. xviii, ll. 18, 22 Souldan		Soudan
p. xx, l. 25	this accom- plished	thus accom- plished (right)
p. xxi, l. 7 he lacke		the lacke
p. xxi, l. 14	semblable did they	sem- blably did the (right)

C. F. TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

## ‘NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE.’

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor Cook, in a note in an earlier number of this journal,<sup>1</sup> suggests as the ultimate source of the line quoted above, Cicero, *De Re Publ.* i. 17. 27—a work the only known MS. of which, as he observes, was not discovered until the early part of the nineteenth century. Professor Allen next showed (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 123) that the phrase occurs also in the *De Officiis*, and added that “there seems to be no need of auy ‘intermediary’ to account for its introduction into English literature” (cf. also, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 226). The existence of intermediaries, however, is clear enough. The phrase occurs, for instance, in that excerpt from the “golden book” of Theophrastus in St. Jerome,<sup>2</sup> in which the Middle Ages so rejoiced. The wise man, Theophrastus points out, does not need a wife for company: “Sapiens numquam solus esse potest. Habet secum omnes qui sunt, qui umquam fuerunt boni, et animum liberum quocumque vult, trans fert. Quod corpore non potest, cogitatione complectitur. Et si hominum inopia fuerit, loquitur cum Deo. *Numquam minus solus erit, quam cum solus erit.*” It is perhaps worth noting that both of the lines which Professor Cook cites from Drum-

mond of Hawthonden’s *Urania* have—through the “loquitur cum Deo”—their counterpart in Theophrastus:

Through solitaire, yet who is not alone,  
But doth converse with that eternal love.<sup>3</sup>

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

Washington University.

## THE CAEDMON Ms.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor John M. Manly during his recent visit to England made arrangements with the Oxford University Press for the reproduction in facsimile of the Caedmon manuscript in the Bodleian Library. The manuscript consists of 260 large pages, and is of especial interest not only on account of the importance of the text and the very remarkable illustrations, but because of the system of metrical points, which cannot be studied to advantage without exact reproduction. The University Press have agreed to issue a collotype to subscribers at five guineas net; only one hundred copies will be published, and it is likely that the reproduction will increase in value with the lapse of time.

In coöperation with Professor Manly and Professor G. L. Kittredge I brought the undertaking before the Modern Language Association of America at the Eastern meeting at Cornell University; a resolution was unanimously passed commending the enterprise to American scholars and university libraries, and requesting the Committee on the Reproduction of Early Texts to make preliminary arrangements for publication. In accordance with this resolution, I am now issuing a circular with a form of subscription attached, which I shall be glad to send to anyone interested. Applications will be filled in the order in which they are received, and the subscription list will be closed as soon as one hundred names are registered; although no general appeal has yet been made, I have already between twenty and thirty names on the subscription list.

J. W. CUNLIFFE,

Chairman of the M. L. A. Committee for the Reproduction of Early Texts, Department of English, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Feb. 19, 1910.

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 54–55.  
<sup>2</sup> *Epistola adversus Jovinianum* (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, xxiii, cols. 276–78).

Entra nel petto mio, e spirà tue,  
Sì come quando Marsia traesti  
*Della vagina delle membra sue.*

Par. i, 19–21.

And compare Chaucer, *Envoy to Scogan*, ll. 38–39.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## DOPPELDRUCKE VON SCHILLERS JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS.

### I. Kalender auf das Jahr 1802.

Schillers Jungfrau von Orleans erschien bekanntlich im Herbst des Jahres 1801 unter dem Titel : KALENDER / AUF DAS JAHR 1802. / DIE / JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. / EINE ROMANTISCHE TRAGÖDIE / VON / SCHILLER. / (Kaleuderstempel) / BERLIN. / BEI JOHANN FRIEDRICH UNGER.

Dass von dieser Ausgabe zwei Doppeldrucke existieren, ist schon lange bekannt, das genauere Verhältnis derselben zu einander ist jedoch bisher noch nicht definitiv dargestellt worden. Trömel (*Schillerbibliothek* 177) hält den Druck mit den Lesarten *Throne* (S. 12. Z. 2), *wunderbare* (S. 25. Z. 14), *Stahl* (S. 160. Z. 20) für den ersten, während Vollmer, (*Historisch-kritische Ausgabe* Bd. 13. S. ix.) den Druck mit den Lesarten *Stuhle*, *wundervolle*, *Strahl* u. s. w., den er mit *U* bezeichnet, für den früheren und ächten erklärt, indem er noch hinzufügt : "Schiller hat keinen Theil an dem Druck *B* (mit den oben angeführten Lesarten *Throne* u. s. w.), dieser ist für die Textkritik ohne irgend weichen Belang."

Die Gründe für Vollmers Urteil sollen später erörtert werden, vorerst wollen wir uns einer ausführlichen Beschreibung der beiden Drucke unterziehen. Äußerlich stimmen sie genau überein : beide bestehen aus Titelkupfer, Titel, 14 Bll. Kalender, 260 SS. (Text der Jungfrau), 37 Bll. "Genealogie der regierenden hohen Häupter und anderer fürstlichen Personen in Europa." Dazu kommt noch in *U* ein Blatt Verlagsanzeigen zur Michaelis-Messe 1801.

Das Format ist 12°. Der Titel ist besonders gedruckt. Die Bogen A—L bestehen aus je 12 Bll., während M, den Schluss des Textes des Jungfrau enthaltend, nur 10 Bll. aufweist. Der Satz dieser Bogen wurde in solcher Weise in die Form gebracht, dass beim Binden aus jedem

Bogen zwei Hefte von je 8 und 4 Bll. wurden (Bogen M : 6 u. 4). Die Bogen N—T dagegen, welche die Genealogie enthalten, bestehen abwechselnd aus 8 und 4 Bll., nur Bogen T, als letzter, besteht im Drucke *B* aus einem einzelnen Blatte, im Drucke *U* aus einem Doppelblatte, da hier noch die Verlagsanzeige hinzukommt. Bogen A enthält den Kalender, der mit dem zweiten Blatte des Bogens *B* schliesst. Dieser besteht anscheinend aus 14 Bll., doch sind zwei derselben (Untertitel u. Personen), als Kartons eingefügt. Der eigentliche Text der Jungfrau erstreckt sich vom 3. Blatte des Bogens *B* bis zum Schluss des Bogens *M*, während *N—T*, wie schon bemerkt, die Genealogie enthalten.

Es drängt sich nun die Frage auf, ob die Drucke *U* von demselben Satze abgezogen sind. Falls diese Frage bejaht werden kann, so ist man zu dem Schlusse berechtigt, dass der korrektere Druck der spätere sei, indem die ursprünglichen Druckfehler bemerkt und aus dem für den zweiten Druck stehengebliebenen Satz entfernt wurden. Falls jedoch in dem einen oder dem anderen Drucke neuer Satz vorliegt, braucht es anderer Beweise, um über die Priorität zu entscheiden. Im Folgenden wird meistens von der Anführung der eigentlichsten Textvarianten abgesehen, da diese hier nicht von grossem Belang sind.

Im Titel lassen sich keine Unterschiede bemerkern, und auch Bogen A ist von demselben Satz abgezogen : vgl. das Wort *Erscheinung* im Russischen Kalender (7. May) : in beiden Drucken stehen die Buchstaben *ng* etwa einen halben mm. über der Zeile. Bogen *B* dagegen ist in einem der Drucke neu gesetzt, wie z. B. auf der letzten Seite des Kalenders leicht zu erkennen ist, wenn man *Morgens*, Z. 13, mit dem darüberstehenden *Sie* vergleicht. Ferner sind zu vergleichen : *Schlungen*, S. 8, Z. 5 ; *schweigen*, S. 13, Z. 14 ; *Westfriesland*, S. 19, Z. 5, dessen letzte Silbe in *B* eine besondere Zeile einnimmt ; nach dem Worte *halten*, S. 21, Z. 13, hat *U* einen Punkt, *B* dagegen ein Komma.

Die Bogen C—H sind gleichfalls neu gesetzt.

Für Bogen CDE ist dies am leichtesten zu erkennen an den Stellen *Alle*, S. 27, Z. 17; *ich*, S. 31, Z. 9; Fussnote S. 33; *nachdem*, S. 50, Z. 4; *Gnug*, S. 53, Z. 16; *Dünois*, S. 65, Z. 16; *find*, S. 74, Z. 4; *Chatillon*, S. 91, Z. 13. In Bogen F finden sich eine Anzahl Lesarten die nicht von Vollmer vermerkt sind: S. 104, Z. 5 hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  den Druckfehler *eineu*; desgleichen auf S. 107, Z. 5. *ZWEITFR*; Z. 15 dagegen hat  $\mathfrak{B}$  *Banden*, anstatt *Bande*. Man vergleiche ferner *Herz*, S. 113, Z. 12; auf S. 120 fehlt in  $\mathfrak{B}$  der Kustos *Jo-*. In Bogen G ist das G selbst zu vergleichen, S. 121, desgleichen G, auf S. 123; ferner *Besitz' ich*, S. 125, Z. 17; *tritt zwischen*, S. 141, Z. 5. In Bogen H: *dieser bleibt*, S. 145, Z. 4; *nach*, S. 149, Z. 5; *Wären*, S. 162, Z. 15. Auf S. 155, Z. 10 fehlt in einem Exemplare von  $\mathfrak{A}$  die Interpunktions, in einem anderen dagegen, sowie in  $\mathfrak{B}$ , steht der Strich. S. 157, Z. 5 hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  *wollt entrüssten*,  $\mathfrak{B}$  dagegen *wollt· entrüssten*.

Bogen I ist von demselben Satz abgezogen: vgl. das *EL* von *LIONEL*, S. 172, Z. 9; das *v* von *verbirgt*, S. 174, Z. 13, ist in beiden Drucken schadhaft; das *Z* in *AUFZUG*, S. 180, Z. 1, steht in beiden über der Zeile; auf S. 183, Z. 5, haben beide *ieh* anstatt *ich*; zwar findet sich auch auf S. 188, Z. 21, ein kleiner Unterschied, indem  $\mathfrak{A}$  *Erde!* liest, während in  $\mathfrak{B}$  die Interpunktions ausgefallen ist, zweifellos nur aus Zufall. S. 189, Z. 19, ist das *i* in *dich* in beiden Drucken ohne Punkt; ähnlich ist auf S. 192, Z. 14, das *w* in *will* defekt.

Bogen K ist wieder neu gesetzt: man vergleiche das *K* selbst; auf Z. 195, Z. 2, fehlt in  $\mathfrak{A}$  der Punkt hinter *Krönungsmarsch* (Vollmer liest hier *Krönungsmarsch*  $\mathfrak{AB}$ , aber mit Unrecht). Auf S. 204 ist der neue Satz deutlich zu erkennen an den Stellen *Fahne*, *Volk*, Z. 5, und *Kirche*, Z. 9. Auf S. 208, Z. 17 hat  $\mathfrak{B}$  richtig *bleiben*,  $\mathfrak{A}$  dagegen *bIeiben*, und nach *stehen* hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  einen Punkt, während in  $\mathfrak{B}$  die Interpunktions fehlt; Z. 19 hat  $\mathfrak{B}$  den Druckfehler *Betrand*. Auf S. 209 sind die ersten drei Zeilen deutlich als neugesetzt zu erkennen; S. 212, Z. 4, hat  $\mathfrak{B}$  den Druckfehler *Dnrch's*, während dagegen Z. 12  $\mathfrak{A}$  den Druckfehler *Ls* anstatt *Es* aufweist. Die sämtlichen hier mitgeteilten Varianten dieses Bogens fehlen bei Vollmer.

Die Bogen LM sind von demselben Satze abge-

zogen: S. 218, Z. 15, findet sich in beiden Drucken *and* anstatt *und*, während Z. 18 dies Wort als *uud* erscheint. Dagegen hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  allein die falsche Seitenzahl 119 anstatt 219, wonach also  $\mathfrak{B}$  der spätere Druck wäre; S. 219, Z. 9 hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  ein verkehrtes Semikolon, welches in  $\mathfrak{B}$  richtig steht. Auf S. 228, Z. 7, fehlt in beiden Drucken der Punkt des *i* in *Raimond*; desgleichen ist Z. 12 das *Z* in *Zauberin* schadhaft; S. 229, Z. 18, ist das erste *i* in *reinigen* in beiden Drucken ohne Punkt; S. 232, Z. 16, ist das *ü* in *zurück* schadhaft. Für Bogen M ist zu vergleichen S. 248, Z. 17, wo dem *i* in *einem* der Punkt fehlt; S. 257, Z. 4, steht der letzte Buchstabe des Wortes *BURGUND* über der Zeile, während Z. 7 das *N* in *AGNES* unter der Zeile steht; S. 260, Z. 11, fehlt dem *i* in *Flügelkleide* der Punkt.

Die ganze Genealogie (Bogen N—T) ist ebenfalls von demselben Satze abgezogen, trotz der zahlreichen später zu besprechenden Varianten, die also auf Korrekturen im stehengebliebenen Satze zurückgehen. Dies wird durch die vielen gemeinsamen Druckfehler, schadhaften Lettern u. dgl. über allen Zweifel zur Gewissheit erhoben. Wo nicht ausdrücklich das Gegenteil bemerkt wird, gelten folgende Angaben für beide Drucke:

Blatt N, recto, Z. 15, ist das Komma hinter *Adlerordens* verkehrt und unter der Zeile; unter der Rubrik *Anhalt-Bernburg-Schaumburg-Hoym*, Z. 6, ist das Wort mit beinahe unkenntlich; unter *Anhalt-Zerbst*, Z. 5, ist die Silbe *An* in *Anhalt-Bernburg* unter der Zeile; unter *Baden*, Z. 29, steht *Christiane Luise*. In Bogen O, unter *Fulda*, steht der Druckfehler *bestäud*. *Erzkanzler*; unter *Hessen-Cassel*, Z. 8, fehlt der Punkt am *i* des Wortes *Königs*, sowie auch in dem Worte *Cavallerie* auf der letzten Zeile derselben Seite. In Bogen P, Z. 2 der ersten Seite, ist das *r* in *Eleonore* gebrochen; Bl. P, recto, 7. Z. von unten, ist das erste *r* in *Frhrn. Hanno* gebrochen; auf der letzten Zeile der Rückseite dieses Blattes hat zwar  $\mathfrak{B}$  allein *Philip $\mathfrak{E}$  eich*, doch hat dieser aus Zufall entstandene Fehler nichts zu bedeuten.

In Bogen Q, unter der Rubrik *Oettingen-Spielberg*, Z. 22, ist das erste *n* in *Johann* in beiden Drucken gebrochen; in der ersten Zeile der folgenden Seite vergleiche man *Phil. Carl*, und in der fünften Zeile das Schadhafte *u* in *Eugen*. In Bogen R, unter *Rosenberg*, steht in der dritten

Zeile *s*, *Vetter* anstatt *s. Vetter*; auf der nächsten Seite, Z. 3, fehlt die untere Hälfte des *J* in *Jul. 1769*; Z. 20 steht *verm mit Paul* anstatt *verm. mit Paul*; unter *Schwarzenberg*, Z. 4, steht *geb. 27. Juni* anstatt *geb. 27. Juni.* In Bogen S, unter *Sicilien und Neapolis*, Z. 2, steht das *t* in *Katholischer* etwas unter der Zeile; unter *Solms-Braunfels*, Z. 10 von unten, ist das *r* in *Herzogs* ausgefallen; unter *Spanien*, Z. 17, ist das *W* in *Wittwer* schadhaft. In Bogen T, letzte Seite, Z. 1, steht *Charlotte* anstatt *Charlotte*.

Diese den beiden Drucken gemeinsamen Merkmale beweisen unumstößlich dass die Genealogie von demselben Satze abgezogen ist. Um also die Hauptpunkte zusammenzufassen: Der Kalender (Bogen A u. 3 SS. von B) ist von demselben Satze; der zweite Teil von B und die Bogen C—H sind neu gesetzt; Bogen I ist von demselben Satz; Bogen K ist neu gesetzt; Bogen L—T sind von demselben Satze.

Wir schreiten nun zur Besprechung der textlichen Abweichungen in der Genealogie. Hier kommen neun Stellen in Betracht:

1.) Auf der letzten Seite des Bogens N findet sich in  $\mathfrak{B}$  die Rubrik:

Cölln.

Ist erledigt.

In  $\mathfrak{A}$  dagegen wird Cöln nicht angeführt.

2.) Unter der Rubrik *Deutschmeister* findet sich in  $\mathfrak{A}$ :

Maximilian Franz, Erzherzog von Oesterreich, Grofsmest. geb. 8. Dec. 1756, erw. als Coadjut. zum Deutschmeister im Oct. 1769.

Dagegen verzeichnet  $\mathfrak{B}$ :

Karl Ludwig, Erzherzog von Oesterreich, Grofsmester s. 26. Jul. 1801. Siehe Oesterreich.

3.) Auf Blatt O<sub>1</sub> verso hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  die Rubrik:

Florenz, s. Toscana.

In  $\mathfrak{B}$  fehlt dieselbe.

4.) Auf Blatt Q<sub>2</sub> recto hat  $\mathfrak{A}$  die Rubrik:

Münster, s. Cöln.

Dagegen steht in  $\mathfrak{B}$ :

Münster.

Ist erledigt.

5.) Unter der Rubrik *Oesterreich-Lothringen* wird in  $\mathfrak{A}$  der älteste Bruder des Kaisers angeführt als:

2. Ferdinand III. Joseph Joh. Baptist, Grofsherzog von Toscana, s. Toscana. (2 Zeilen).

In  $\mathfrak{B}$  dagegen fehlt der Hinweis auf Toscana, wobei durch die Aufzählung der Familie des Grossherzogs der Abschnitt 8 Zeilen cinnimmt, anstatt zwei:

2. Ferdinand Joseph Joh. Baptist, Erz- und Grofsherzog, geb. 6. Mai 1769, verm. 19. Sept. 1790 mit Luisc Marie Amalie Therese, Tochter des Kön. Ferdinand IV. von Sicilien und Ncapel, geb. 27. Jul. 1773. Davon ..

6.) Unter der Rubrik *Parma und Piazenza* beschreibt  $\mathfrak{A}$  den ältesten Sohn des regierenden Herzogs als:

1. Ludwig, Erbprinz, geb. 5. Jul. 1773. verm. 25. Aug. 1795 mit Maric Luise Josephe, Infantinn von Spanien, geb. 6. Jul. 1782. Davon: Ein Prinz geb. 23. Dec. 1799.

In  $\mathfrak{B}$  dagegen heisst der älteste Sohn:

1. Der König von Toskana. (ohne weitere Angaben).

7.) Unter der Rubrik *Sicilien und Neapolis* nennt  $\mathfrak{A}$  das dritte Kind des Königspaares:

3. Die Grofsherzogin von Toscana.

In  $\mathfrak{B}$  dagegen heisst sie:

3. Die Gemalin des Erz- und Grofsherzogs Ferdinand, Bruders des röm. Kaisers Franz 2.

8.) Unter der Rubrik *Spanien* steht in  $\mathfrak{A}$  als drittes Kind:

3. Die Erbprinzessin von Parma.

In  $\mathfrak{B}$  erschien diese Prinzessin als

3. Die Königin von Toskana.

9.) Die Rubrik *Toskana* lautet in  $\mathfrak{A}$ :

Grofsherzog.

Ferdinand III. Joseph Johann Baptist, geb. 6. May 1769, K. K. Prinz, Erzherzog von Oesterreich, K. K. Gen. L. succ s. Vater Leop. II. 20. März 1790, verm. 19. Sept. 1790 mit Luisc Marie Amalie Therese, Tochter des Königs Ferd. IV. von Sicilien und Neapel, geb. 27. Juli 1773.

Kinder.

1. Leopold Johann Joseph, Erbprinz, geb. 3. Oct. 1797.  
2. Karol. Ferd. Therese Luise Joh. Jos., geb. 2. Aug. 1793.

3. Marie Luise Joh. Jos. Karol. Rosc, geb. 30. August 1798.

4. Therese Franziske Jos. Joh. Bencd., geb. 21. März 1801.

Anstatt dessen heisst es in  $\mathfrak{B}$ :

König.

Ludwig I. geb. 5. Jul. 1778. verm. 25. Aug. 1795 mit Maric Luise Josephe, Infantin von Spanien, geb. 6. Jul. 1782.

Der Kronprinz, geb. 23. Dec. 1799,

Bei näherer Betrachtung erhellt dass die eben angeführten Stellen sich auf zwei Ereignisse beziehen :

- a) den Dynastiewechsel in Toscana, (Nn. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9),
- b) den Tod des Erzherzogs Maximilian Franz (Nn. 1, 2, 4).

Vollmer hat nur drei dieser Stellen bemerk't (Nn. 6, 8, 9) vermittelst welcher er die Priorität von  $\mathfrak{A}$  feststellt. Der Gang seiner Beweisführung ist folgender :

*„Die Einsetzung des Erbprinzen Ludwig von Parma zum König von Etrurien an Stelle Ferdinands III. erfolgte am 21. März 1801, und es geht daraus mit unumstößlicher Gewissheit hervor, dass  $\mathfrak{A}$ , mit der alten Ordnung der Dinge, früher,  $\mathfrak{B}$  aber, das jene dynastische Veränderung aufzeichnet, später gedruckt ist.“*

Dabei lässt Vollmer jedoch ausser Acht, dass Schiller das Mannskript der Jungfrau erst am 23. bzw. 30. April an Unger schickte, und dass folglich der Satz kaum vor Anfang Mai begonnen werden konnte. Auch finden sich in beiden Drucken mehrere Ereignisse verzeichnet, die nach dem 21. März stattfanden. So z. B. unter Malta und Russland der Tod des Kaisers Paul I., am 24. März, 1801; unter Schweden die Geburt der Prinzessin Sophie Wilhelmine am 21. Mai, 1801; unter Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt die Geburt der Zwillinge Bernhard und Rudolph, „im Juli 1801.“<sup>1</sup> Unter diesen Umständen kann also die Tatsache dass  $\mathfrak{A}$  den Dynastiewechsel vom 21. März nicht verzeichnet, nicht zur Zeitbestimmung gebraucht werden, indem ja auch Tendenz mit im Spiele sein könnte : der erste Druck des Gothaischen Kalenders für 1808, z. B., wurde auf Befehl Napoleons unterdrückt und durch einen neuen ersetzt.<sup>2</sup>

Die Sache lässt sich jedoch ganz einfach erklären, da das von Vollmer angenommene Datum falsch ist. Seit März 1799 war Ferdinand III. von Toscana flüchtig gewesen, da das Land von französischen

<sup>1</sup> Nach dem Gothaer Almanach für 1810 wurde Prinz Bernhard am 23. Juni geboren, doch spielt dies Datum hier keine Rolle.

<sup>2</sup> Fromm, *Napoleon und der Gothaer Almanach, Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, I (1897), Heft 8.

Truppen besetzt war. In dem Vertrag von Lunéville, 9. Feb. 1801, gab er seine Ansprüche auf Toscana zu Gunsten des Herzogs von Parma auf, unter der Bedingung : „Der Grossherzog wird in Deutschland eine vollständige Entschädigung für seine italienischen Staaten erhalten.“ Die Sache wurde also künftiger Vereinbarung überlassen, doch die Franzosen blieben nach wie vor im Besitz Toscana's. Im Vertrage von Madrid, 21. März 1801, wurden dann zwischen Frankreich und Spanien die Bedingungen festgesetzt, unter denen Toscana dem Hause Bourbon überlassen werden sollte, aber die förmliche Besitzergreifung fand erst im August statt. Am Zweiten dieses Monats erschien der Marquis Cesar Ventura in Florenz, um als Bevollmächtigter des neuen Königs von Etrurien die Huldigung der Behörden zu empfangen, und zehn Tage später erschien der König selber. Am 23. August wurde die vorige Regierung aufgelöst, indem gleichzeitig ein neues Ministerium ernannt wurde.<sup>3</sup>

Anstatt des 21. März erhalten wir also das Datum 2.-12.-23. August. Der Druck  $\mathfrak{A}$  war also schon fertig, als diese Nachricht nach Berlin gelangte. In dem stehengebliebenen Satz wurden dann die betreffenden Stellen korrigiert, um davon später den Druck  $\mathfrak{B}$  abzuziehen. Dies kann nämlich an dem Satze selbst bewiesen werden, ganz abgesehen von dem Inhalt. Gewöhnlich misst nämlich die Druckseite in  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{B}$  95 oder 96 mm. Höhe. So auch in  $\mathfrak{A}$  diejenigen drei Seiten, auf welche die Rubrik Oesterreich-Lothringen verteilt ist. In  $\mathfrak{B}$  dagegen sind die betreffenden Seiten 100 bzw. 101 mm. hoch, da in dieser Rubrik sechs neue Zeilen hinzukamen, deren je zwei auf die vorhergehende und nachfolgende Seite verteilt wurden, weshalb diese drei Seiten je 5 mm. größer sind als die entsprechenden Seiten von  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

Es erübrigt noch, die drei Stellen unter *Cölln*, *Deutschmeister* und *Münster* zu besprechen. Maximilian Franz, jüngster Sohn Maria Theresiens, war nicht nur Deutschmeister, sondern auch Bischof von Münster und Kurfürst von Cölln. Durch seinen Tod wurden also das Bistum Münster und das Erzbistum Cölln erledigt, wie auch  $\mathfrak{B}$  angibt. Das Amt eines Deutschmeisters wurde

<sup>3</sup> Reumont, *Geschichte Toscana's*, II. s. 402-405, wo alle Einzelheiten genau angegeben sind.

jedoch nicht erledigt, da Maximilian Franz es schon am 6. Juni durchgesetzt hatte, dass sein Neffe Erzherzog Karl Ludwig, der spätere Sieger bei Aspern, zu seinem Coadjutor gewählt wurde. Als dann Maximilian Franz am 27. Juli<sup>4</sup> kurz nach Mitternacht starb, war Karl Ludwig ipso facto Deutschmeister.

In dieser Beziehung ist zu bemerken, dass sowohl in  $\mathfrak{A}$  wie in  $\mathfrak{B}$  der Erzherzog Maximilian Franz unter der Rubrik Oesterreich-Lothringen nicht mehr erwähnt wird. Im Unger'schen *Militärischen Kalender auf das Jahr 1802* dagegen, dessen Genealogie sonst genau mit  $\mathfrak{A}$  übereinstimmt, wird Maximilius Franz noch unter den Onkels und Tanten des Kaisers angeführt. Daraus folgt also, dass Bogen Q des Druckes  $\mathfrak{A}$  gleichfalls erst nach dem Tode des Erzherzogs gedruckt wurde. Warum dagegen die Rubrik Köln in  $\mathfrak{A}$  gar nicht erwähnt werden sollte ist mir unerklärlich. Denn unter den Ruhriken Mergentheim (dies war der Sitz der Verwaltung des Deutschordens) und Münster heisst es noch *s. Cöln*.

Aus dem Vorhergehenden lassen sich also folgende Datte feststellen :

- a) Bogen R der heiden Drucke ist erst nach Anfang Juli gedruckt (vgl. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt).
- b) Die Bogen OPQ (*Deutschmeister, Münster*) des Druckes  $\mathfrak{A}$  wurden ca. Ende Juli gedruckt ; im stehengebliebenen Satz wurden dann die betreffenden Stellen für den Druck  $\mathfrak{B}$  korrigiert.
- c) Bogen Q der Drucke  $\mathfrak{AB}$  wurde nach dem 27. Juli gedruckt, da der Erzherzog Maximilian unter Oesterreich-Lothringen nicht mehr erwähnt wird.
- d) Die Bogen OPQS (*Florenz, Oesterreich-Lothringen, Parma, Sicilien, Spanien, Toskana*) des Druckes  $\mathfrak{A}$  wurden vor Mitte August gedruckt, dagegen sind die betreffenden Bogen von  $\mathfrak{B}$  später. Da der letzte Bogen T nur aus einem einzigen Blatte besteht, so kam man sagen dass die ganze Genealogie von  $\mathfrak{A}$

<sup>4</sup> C. v. Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, gibt dies Datum als 26. August, 1801, doch ist dies augenscheinlich ein Irrtum. Vgl. den ausführlichen Bericht in der *Allgemeinen Deutschen Biographie*.

zwischen Anfang Juli und Mitte August 1801 gesetzt wurde. Am 15. Oktoher erhielt Schiller zwölf Exemplare des Kalenders, wovon er in den nächsten Tagen gleich die Mehrzahl verteilte, und zwar an den Herzog, die Herzogin, die Prinzess (Caroline Luise), die Herzogin Mutter, Goethe, Meier, Wieland, Körner—Letzterem zwei Exemplare.

Aus der Priorität des Kalenders von  $\mathfrak{A}$  dürfen wir auch schliessen dass der Text dieses Druckes der frühere sei. Man könnte zwar einwenden, dass der frühere Druck des Textes eventuell mit dem späteren Druck des Kalenders verbunden worden sei. Dieser Annahme widerspricht aber das in den heiden Drucken benutzte Papier. Für  $\mathfrak{A}$  wurde nämlich durchweg geripptes Papier gehraucht, in welchem die Filigrane deutlich zu erkennen sind. In meinem Exemplare ist in den Bogen A—N der Name *I. G. EBART* zu lesen, während die Bogen O—Tahwechselnd die Initialen *H R* und *G R* aufweisen—zu den grösseren Bogen der Genealogie (8 Bl.) wurde jedesmal das mit *G R* bezeichnete Papier gebraucht, zu den kleineren (4 Bl.) das Papier mit den Buchstaben *H R*. Alle Exemplare werden wohl hierin nicht genau übereinstimmen—eine Duhlette in meinem Besitz weist z. B. auch in Bogen O das Ebart'sche Papier auf—doch bestehen die bis jetzt eingesehenen Exemplare sämtlich aus gerippstem Papier mit Filigranen.

Dagegen ist  $\mathfrak{B}$  durchweg auf Druckpapier gedruckt, welches nirgends Wasserlinien aufweist. Es folgt hieraus, dass sowohl  $\mathfrak{A}$  als  $\mathfrak{B}$  als Einheiten gedruckt wurden. Es können ja auch Mischexemplare vorhanden sein — die oben erwähnte Duhlette z. B., welche aus Goedekes Besitz stammt, besteht mit Ausnahme von Bogen D aus gerippstem Papier : dieser Bogen, und er allein, weist nun auch die Lesarten von  $\mathfrak{B}$  auf.

Das gesamte Beweismaterial spricht also für die Priorität von  $\mathfrak{A}$  : nur ein einziger Einwand ist noch zu heseitigen. In dem Auktionskatalog der Bibliothek Deucke (J. Baer & Co., 1909) wird bemerkt dass  $\mathfrak{A}$  (No. 796) den Kalenderstempel mit dem Datum 1802 trage, während der Stempel in  $\mathfrak{B}$  (No. 797) die Jahreszahl 1801 aufweise. Hiermit stimmen auch die von mir eingeseheuen Exemplare überein. Es lässt sich darauf nur entgegnen, dass wir vorläufig nichts über die Art

und Weise der Abstempelung wissen. Es konnte ja leicht vorkommen, dass in dem einen Falle der Stempel des laufenden Jahres (1801), in dem anderen der Stempel des auf dem Titel angegebenen Jahres gebraucht wurde. Der Stempel des oben erwähnten *Militärischen Kalenders auf das Jahr 1802*, dessen Genealogie noch früher als  $\mathfrak{U}$  gedruckt wurde, zeigt ein Datum welches entweder als 1802 oder 1804 zu entziffern ist. In dem gleichfalls von Unger herausgegebenen *Berlinischen Damenkalender auf das Jahr 1803* ist sowohl Titel als Kalenderstempel (1803) gestochen, und zwar höchst wahrscheinlich auf derselben Platte.

Das Datum des Kalenderstempels hat also gegen die Priorität von  $\mathfrak{U}$  kein grosses Gewicht. Wir werden demnach die Lesarten *Herabsenk* (Z. 100), *Stuhle* (Z. 142), *wundervolle* (Z. 421), *Strahl* (Z. 3042) u. s. w. als die Schillerschen anerkennen müssen, während *Herablenkt*, *Throne*, *wunderbare*, *Stahl* u. s. w. nur durch die Flüchtigkeit des Setzers von  $\mathfrak{B}$  in den Text gekommen sind.

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### THE MAGIC BALM OF GERBERT AND FIERABRAS, AND A QUERY.

Gerbert, one of the "continuators" of Crestien de Troyes's unfinished *Perceval, ou le Conte du Graal*, appears to have borrowed in one place from the Charlemagne romance of *Fierabras*. Gerbert is describing how Perceval, lying at night on a field where he has annihilated his host of enemies, sees a Hideous Hag approach and with a balm begin to restore his enemies to life :

"Diex ! fait il, de quel vix malfex  
Vient ore si laide figure ?"

Cette sorcière tient à la main :

.II. barisiax d'ivoire gent ;  
Li cercle ne sont pas d'argent,  
Mais de fin or cler et vermeil.

Elle y conserve un philtre, "une poison," qui a servi au Christ dans le sépulcre et qui sert dans les mains de la sorcière à ressusciter les morts et à "rejoindre" les têtes coupées :

A la teste maintenant prise,  
Si l'a desor le bu assise ;

Elle prend du baume :

Puis en froire celui la bouche  
À cui la teste avoit rajointe ;  
Sor celui n'ot vainne ne jointe  
Qui lues ne fust de vie plaine !  
N'avoit plaie qui ne fust saine  
Ausi que s'ainc ne fust blechiez ;  
Plus tost est en estant drechiez  
Que on ne péust dire trois.  
À la poison fu li otros  
Donez qu'ele fait morz revivre ;  
Car Dieu, qui ses amis delivre  
D'infier et chiax qu'il a mez,  
En fu oinz et embalsemez  
Quant el sépulcre fu couchiez.  
—À .III. en a remis les chiés  
La vielle et rendue la vie. . . .

*Perceval*, Potvin's ed., vi, 183 ff.

In *Fierabras* Oliver, badly wounded, issues from camp to do single combat against the heathen giant Fierabras, who, perceiving Oliver's wounded condition, generously offers to heal him :

"—Certes, dist Fierabras, [Oliver,] vous [i] mentés,  
Car li sans vous a ja les jenous surmontés ;  
Tu es el cors navrés, je le sai de vertés.  
Mais voilà .II. barils à ma sele toursés,  
Qui tuit sunt plain de basme dont Dius fu enbasmés  
Au jour qu'il fu de crois el sepucré portés ;  
Plaie qui en est ointe, c'est fine verités,  
Ne puet estre percie ne en drancle mellés :  
Maintenant est li hons garis et repassés.  
Je le conquis à Romme, ki est vostre cités.  
Or va, si pren du basme tout à ta volenté,  
Ja seras maintenant garis et respassés,  
Puis te combatras mieus encontre moi assés."

*Fierabras*, Krober and Servois, p. 17, vv. 522-534.

The idea of putting a revivifying balm in two little barrels and then connecting it with the Resurrection of Christ is not one likely to have occurred independently to two writers. That Gerbert borrowed this idea, or description, from *Fierabras* is a wholly reasonable assumption. He wrote from thirty to sixty years after the date (c. 1170) assigned to *Fierabras*; the Hideous Hag, the balm itself, and all the other incidents surrounding them are in Gerbert's source<sup>1</sup>; and, if he is the same as the Gerbert who wrote the

<sup>1</sup> To the same source are indebted the English *Sir Perceval of Galles* and the Welsh *Peredur*; cf. a detailed study in a volume I purpose to print shortly, in which I hope to do much to reconstruct the story.

*Roman de la Violette*, his reading was so wide<sup>2</sup> as almost certainly to have included the *Fierabras*.

A magic balm for reviving the dead or for curing wounds immediately is not infrequently mentioned in early tales. A tentative list of occurrences may be worth giving :

*Erec*, 4216–36, a balm sent to Arthur by his sister Morgue.

*Yvain*, 2952 ff., sent by Morgain the Wise to the Lady of Noroison.

*The Mabinogion*: "Lady of the Fountain," "Geraint" (?).

*Ywain and Wawain*, 1750 ff.

*Fierabras*, Gerbert, as above.

*Morte Arthure*, see note 4, below.

Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, Bk. v, Ch. x; Bk. vii, Ch. xxii.

*The Mummers'*, or *St. George*, plays; for bibliog. cf. E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i, 205 f.

J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (ed. 1890–93), "Knight of the Red Shield," "Conal Gulban," etc.; see Index.

J. Macdougall, *Folk and Hero Tales from Argyllshire*, "Lad of the Skin Coverings;" see Index.

Hertz, in a note to his *Parzival*, mentions :

Turin, *Vengeance*, i, ii, 14, fol. 80vo.

Rigomer (*Hist. Litt. d. l. Fr.*, xxx, 92).

Arthur Beatty, "The St. George, or Mummers', Plays" (*Transac. Wisconsin Acad. Sc., Arts, and Let.*, xv, 283, Oct., 1906), mentions an occurrence, not otherwise known to me, in a German play of the twelfth century (cf. C. W. M. Grein, "Alsfelder Passionspiel," 1874).

The cauldron in "Branwen" (*Mabinogion*), in the legend of Medea, etc., is probably quite a different sort of thing; as are also the "Herb of St. John" and similar herbs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Miss Weston, *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, i, 146 : "The *Roman de la Violette* is not a very long poem, but in it we find references to *Yvain*, *Cligés*, *Tristan*, *Salomon et Markolf*, *La bone Florence de Rome*, *Carados*, *Aliiscans*, . . . *Guillaume Fierbrace*; to Roland and Aude . . . Gerbert must have known pretty well all the popular stories of the day."

<sup>3</sup>Gaufrey (ed. Guessard, 1859, vv. 3919–3958) mentions such a herb, but apparently owes something to the balm of *Fierbras* too.

Whence the author of *Fierbras* secured his balm I see no way to tell. It appears highly likely to me, however, that he drew upon folk-tale sources, probably of Celtic origin. As old as his references, or older, are those of Crestien to similar balms in *Erec* and *Yvain*. The particular twist that *Fierbras* gives to the balm motif is the connection with Christ and the Resurrection. But this connection was not a firm-fixed one, for when the author of *Morte Arthure* borrowed this passage of *Fierbras*,<sup>4</sup> he did not hesitate to alter it to the extent of accounting for the balm as sprung from the "flower of the four wells of Paradise."

The association of the balm with the Lord's Resurrection and, in general, the readiness with which these heathen *données* were attached to Christian traditions or accounted for by reference to biblical events has raised in my mind the question whether or not this balm may not be intimately bound up with the origin of the Grail itself.<sup>5</sup> My purpose in this note is not to discuss the possibility, but merely to point to several considerations that appear worthy of attention. And for mentioning the matter my excuse—besides the interest that attaches to Gerbert's use of *Fierbras*—must be the recent appearance of two studies upon the origin of the Grail story proper. Miss Weston, in volume II, of her *Legend of Sir Perceval* (Nutt, Loudon, 1909), and Professor Nitze, in the September number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (xxiv, 365 ff.), both believe the story grew out of an initiation ceremony or a ritual. If Miss Weston's contention is right, that Gawain was the earlier Grail hero,<sup>6</sup> I think it highly probable that a ritual concerning the revival of vegetation,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup>For details cf. my article, "Malory, *Morte Arthure*, and *Fierbras*" in *Anglia*, xxxii, 389 ff. (Oct., 1909).

<sup>5</sup>Nutt's researches into the possible Celtic origin (*Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*) do not appear to me to attack just this point.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Miss Weston's "The Grail and the Rites of Adonis," *Folk-Lore*, xviii, 283 ff. (Dec., 1906).

<sup>7</sup>It is interesting that *Fierbras* connects the balm with Midsummer: Oliver threw the barrels of balm into the river—

Or n'iert jamais li feste saint Jehan en esté  
K'il nc flote sur l'yawe, c'est fine verités.

(Vv. 1051–2.)

Cf. also *Gaufrey*, vv. 3956–8.

rather than an initiation, was the starting point. It may well be that further analysis will show an interweaving of both ceremonies.

It appears certain that the Perceval tale (the hero's name being an unstable quantity) and the Grail story existed independently before their amalgamation; and the early Perceval tale included the balm incident, which in Crestien's version became submerged. The nature of the connection between the Grail and King Fisher, or the Lame Fisher, is obscure, as is also the nature of the Grail itself. It seems rather probable that in the earlier form of the story the Grail was less prominent and important than it came later to be. I do not mean to intimate that the Grail, as we know it, originated wholly from the balm of the Hag, but I would suggest that it may owe some parts of its story to the influence of the balm story. This will become more apparent if I place side by side some of the more striking traits of the two stories that seem to have a bearing upon the problem.

1. In the early form of the balm story<sup>8</sup> the hero secures the balm, heals a wounded relative with it, and ends an enchantment; in Gerbert there is the suggestion of a dead realm in the Hag's connection with the "King of the Waste City"; the balm is both wound-healing and revivifying. In the Grail story proper the chief fact is that upon the hero's fulfillment of a certain condition a wounded man (his relative) will be healed, and (in some versions) his wasted and dead land restored to fertility; closely associated with the sufferer is a mysterious vessel that sustains his life.

2. The balm associated in a later tale (*Morte Arthure*) with Paradise, is in earlier tales associated with the Resurrection. The Grail came early to be associated with the Last Supper and the Crucifixion.

3. The balm itself was the important thing, not the vessel that contained it. The form of the Grail, in the early romances, was vague, uncertain; it was its power or its contents that was of significance.

4. The balm in the folk-tales was sometimes, perhaps usually, accompanied by the "glaive of

light"; in Gerbert the light-giving sword is absent, but the vessels of balm themselves have the light-giving power:—(Perceval is returning to Blancheflor;) Gornument et ses fils l'accompagneront, et quand vient la nuit—

... Tant vos di, ce est la voire,  
Que li doi barisel d'ivoire  
Que Perchevax ot conquesté  
Font par laiens si grant clarté  
Qu'ausi cler i fait, ce vos di,  
Com s'il fust à plain miedi.

—Potvin, vi, 188.

The Grail had for one of its characteristics the power to give a brilliant light. (A sword, too, is important in some versions of the Grail story.)

5. The balm is first in the possession of a Hideous Hag, who, of course, is no invention of Gerbert's, for she occurs in early Irish as well as late Gaelic. The Loathly Damsel who reminded Perceval of the Grail quest certainly appears to have been modeled upon the Hag (cf. Crestien, Potvin, ii, 5900 ff., and Wolfram's "Cundrie la surziere," *Parzival*, vi, 962 ff.)<sup>9</sup>.

6. In Gerbert the Hag connects herself with the Grail and the Grail-quest; this explanation, however, is susceptible of explanation as an echo from Crestien's poem.

If we were dependent upon Gerbert alone for the balm story, none of the points I have mentioned would be worthy of much consideration; but it is not greatly difficult to reconstruct from sources independent of Crestien and Gerbert the story that Gerbert partially tells.

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#### THE BALLAD OF EARL BRAND.

This interesting archaic ballad, well preserved even at this late day, may be added to the large and increasing number of British ballads of the better sort whose currency in America is attested.

(Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States, collected by Phillips Barry. *Earl Brand*.—A. Re-

<sup>8</sup> Cf. note 1 above.  
<sup>9</sup> With Wolfram's Cundrie compare Gerbert's Gondree, in Miss Weston's quotation, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 122.

cited by D. L., Thornton, N. H., September 8, 1909.)

- 1 "Rise up, rise up, my seven sons all,  
And put on your armor so gay,  
And take care of your eldest sister  
Or the younger man will carry her away."
- 2 Lord Billy mounts his milk-white steed,  
Little Margaret on her gray,  
With his bugle horn lopped down by his side,  
This Lord went riding away.
- 3 He looked east, he looked west,  
He looked all under the sun,—  
'T was who did he spy but her seven brothers all,  
And her daddy that she loved more dear.
- 4 "Dismount, dismount!" Lord Billy he said,  
"And hold my steed in your hand,  
Whilst I fight your seven brothers all,  
For your daddy is now at hand."
- 5 She held his steed in her lily-white hand,  
And never shed one tear,  
Until she saw her seven brothers fall,  
And her daddy she loved more dear.
- 6 "Forbear, forbear, Lord Billy!" she cried,  
"For you have got wounded full sore,  
Sweethearts, I can have many of them,  
But my daddy I never know more!"
- 7 Then out of her pocket she drew a hankerchief,  
That was made of the holland so fine,  
And there she wiped her old daddy's wounds,  
That run more redder than wine.
- 8 "Agree, agree, little Margaret," he said,  
"Whether to go or abide,"  
"How can I stay, Lord Billy," she cries,  
"You have left me now disguised!"
- 9 Lord Billy mounts his milk-white steed,  
Little Margaret all on her gray,  
With his buglet horn lopped down hy his side,  
This Lord went bleeding away.
- 10 Lord Billy rode, little Margaret rode,  
By the clear shining of the moon,  
They rode till they came to the fair ocean side,  
By the brink of the water so warm.
- 11 "What is that, Lord Billy," she cries,  
"That runs so red in the stream?"  
"It is nothing but the shadow of my scarlet robe,  
That runs in the watery main."
- 12 Lord Billy he mounts his milk-white steed,  
Little Margaret on the gray,  
With his buglet horn lopped down by his side,  
This Lord went bleeding away.
- 13 Lord Billy rode, little Margaret rode,  
By the clear shining of the moon,  
They rode till they came to his own mammy's door,  
And there alighted down.
- 14 "Open the door, dear mammy," he said,  
"And let Lord Billy in;  
For I have got my own death wound,  
If it's a fair lady I have won!"
- 15 "Make up my bed, dear mammy," he said,  
"And lay my pillows all under my sheets,  
And lie my true love down hy my side,  
That the sounder I might sleep."
- 16 Lord Billy died at the middle of the night,  
Little Margaret at the break of day,  
And they were both buried in the high churchyard,  
Both side and side together.
- 17 Out of Lord Billy's breast there grew a red rose,  
Out of little Margaret a briar,  
And they grew till they came to the high church top,  
And tangled into each other.

D. L. is a typical folk-singer. He says he knew at least one hundred and five songs.

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#### GERMAN HYMNS IN THE CHURCH SERVICE BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

The opinion was formerly held, even by such an authority as Philipp Wackernagel,<sup>1</sup> that German hymns were not used in the church service before the Reformation. It has been clearly shown however, especially by Wilhelm Bäumker,<sup>2</sup> that in some churches on certain occasions German hymns were in use from at least the early fifteenth century on, and in the liturgical drama even earlier. The chief occasions, according to Bäumker, were (1) in connection with liturgical dramas, (2) in connection with Latin sequences, usually in alternation with the Latin verses, (3) before and after the sermon, (4) in processions.

<sup>1</sup> Ph. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, page v of Introd. to vol. II (1867).

<sup>2</sup> Wilh. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied*, Introd. to vol. II (1883).

Bäumker's evidence includes a few specific cases but consists largely of decrees of church councils approving or disapproving the custom. The extent of the usage and the details regarding it are not well known. I offer here some additional data with particular reference to the Easter service. These few notes are a by-product of studies in the religious drama which led to the examination of a large number of liturgic manuscripts.

The services of Easter Sunday in many churches began before matins with the *Elevatio crucis*, the solemn raising of the cross that had been buried on Good Friday. In a few cases this developed into a dramatic office, and in two cases, Würzburg<sup>3</sup> and Bamberg,<sup>4</sup> it closed with the singing of the verses of the old Easter hymn *Christ ist erstanden* in alternation with the verses of the well known Easter sequence *Victimae paschali*.

The chief dramatic office of Easter, the *Visitatio sepulchri*, or *Quem quaeritis*, which regularly came after the last respond of matins, usually ended in Germany with *Christ ist erstanden* sung by the people. This usage goes back as far as the thirteenth century, the oldest known instance being the Nürnberg *Visitatio*.<sup>5</sup> The usual position of the German hymn is at the end just before the *Te Deum* with which matins ended, in a few cases it follows the *Te Deum*, and in one case, in an Innsbruck manuscript,<sup>6</sup> it has an anomalous position in the middle of the *Visitatio*. The statement has gained some currency that the Easter hymn *Also heilig ist der Tag* sometimes occurs at the end of the *Visitatio sepulchri*,<sup>7</sup> the instance always given being the *Visitatio* in ms. 448 of the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gallen. Although this manuscript, as will be seen later, has mention of this hymn, it does not occur in connection with the *Visitatio*, and I know of no case where the hymn does occur in such a connection.

<sup>3</sup> Milchsack, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> Zt. f. deutsch. Altertum, Vol. xxix, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> Lange, *Lateinische Osterfeiern*, p. 140.    <sup>6</sup> Id., p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> Bäumker mentions the fact twice (I, 527, II, 11), referring to Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens* (1858). Schubiger makes the statement without mention of authority, as though based upon an examination of the manuscript, but he evidently took the statement from Arx, *Geschichten des Kantons St. Gallen*, 1810-1830 (II, 461), where the mistake seems to have originated.

In a few churches the people sang a German Easter hymn after lauds. I have found only two instances, both from Bavarian monasteries. Cod. lat. 11735 of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, a breviary of the fifteenth or perhaps the sixteenth century from Polling has in its Easter ritual the following rubric :

(f. 63a) Finitis matutinis laudibus, apertis ianuis chori, benedictio cum pixide sacramenti super conventum et populum detur et ad locum deputatum cum duabus candelis accensis portetur, et cantor incipiat populo *Es freyen sich pillich vel Christ ist erstanden.*

Cod. lat. 9469 of the Staatsbibl. at Munich, a breviary from Moosburg, probably of the fifteenth century, possibly of the early sixteenth, has at the end of the *Visitatio sepulchri* this rubric :

Populus *Christ ist derstanden*, vel obmittatur iste cantus vulgaris usque post *Benedicamus* post matutinas laudes, et imponatur statim *Te deum laudamus*. Later after the *Benedicamus* is the following : Deinde populus *Christ ist derstanden* sic quo clauditur matutinum.

More frequent than after lauds was the singing of a German hymn in the procession at terce, the *processio ad aspersionem*. In this the Latin *Salve festa dies* was sung and in quite a number of churches the people sang *Also heilig ist der Tag*, usually in alternation with the verses of the *Salve festa dies*. At Passau this usage, without mention however of any particular hymn, goes back to about the middle of the fourteenth century. Two fourteenth century Passau breviaries in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, cod. lat. 4712 and cod. lat. 1874, the latter from the year 1364, mention it in the following words (the same words in both, but here quoted from cod. 4712, f. 48a): Ad tertiam . . . deinde cantores incipiunt *Cum rex glorie, choro prosequente, et fiat processio solemnis . . . duo pueri procedant cantantes versus Salve festa . . . donec versus finiantur, populus habeat suas vociferaciones Aeria aeria et alios cantus*. This same rubric, with slight variations in wording, is found in a whole series of Passau breviaries up to the sixteenth century, including early printed ones.

It is at this time in the Easter service, at terce, rather than in connection with the *Visitatio sepul-*

chri, that *Also heilig ist der Tag* occurs in the above mentioned St. Gallen codex 448 (p. 107). This codex, of the year 1432, doubtless represents the usages of the Hessian monastery of Hersfeld in the early part of the fifteenth century, which usages were for a short time adopted at St. Gallen.<sup>8</sup>

At Polling and at Moosburg *Also heilig ist der Tag* was also sung at terce, as seen from rubrics in the two manuscripts referred to above, cod. 11735 fol. 63b and cod. 9469 fol. 59b, in the latter "populus habeat suas vociferaciones *Also her (!) ist diser tag.*"

There was this same usage at the monastery of Diessen, as seen from a fifteenth century Diessen manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, cod. 5545. The rubric (fol. 21b) shows the alternating of verses of *Salve festa* with *Also heilig*: His finitis fiat processio . . . fiat stacio in medio ecclesie. Scolares juxta baptisterium cantent alta voce *Salve festa dies*, cantore incipiente, populus respondeat *Also heilig ist diser tag*; deinde cantent sequentes duos versus conjunctos, populus respondeat ut supra, secuntur ultimi duo versus conjuncti, populus iterum respondeat ut supra.

Another rubric in this same Diessen manuscript is of interest as showing that *Also heilig* with *Salve festa* was also sung in the procession on Ascension day: (f. 25a) In ascensione domini . . . ad processionem *Post passionem*; in stacione canitur *Salve festa*, populus *Also heilig*; sequuntur conjuncti sequentes duo versus, populus respondeat; sequitur quartus versus solus quare ultimus vide licet *qui crucifixus obmittitur*.

At Regensburg at the end of the fifteenth century *Salve festa* seems to have been sung at sext instead of at terce. The following rubric from an early printed breviary (*Breviarium Ratisbonense*, Bamberg, 1495) shows this, and is also interesting as showing the use of *Christ ist erstanden* instead of the usual *Also heilig* and the subsequent abolition of the usage: Ad terciam antiphona *Et ecce terre motus*, et immediate dicitur oratio *Deus qui hodierna die*. Ad sextam Antiphona *Hec dies quam . . . Oratio Deus qui hodierna die*. Deinde agatur processio secundum consuetudinem loci cum antiphona *Christus resurgens*, versus *In resurrectione tua Christe*. Oratio *Presta quesimus*

*optimus deus*. Deinde duo juvenes cantantes ymnum *Salve festa dies*, et chorus primum versum repetat *Salve festa*. Quondam etiam populus cantabat *Christ ist erstanden alleluia alleluia alleluia Des sollen wir alle froe sein*, sed nostris temporibus est aboletum, sed pueri cantent tres vel quattuor versus de ymno et chorus respondeat. Deinde imponitur antiphona *Cum rex glorie*. . . .

The last participation of the people in the services of Easter Sunday was in connection with the procession at vespers, the *processio ad fontem*. Of this I have found three instances, at Hersfeld, at Polling, and at Diessen, all in manuscripts already mentioned.

The Hersfeld usage, which was doubtless also for a short time the usage of St. Gallen, is mentioned in the St. Gallen cod. 448 (p. 108): In sauctis vesperis . . . repetatur sequencia *Victime*, ad singulos versus populus cantans *Christ ist erstanden*.

The Polling manuscript, cod. lat. 11735 of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, has at vespers full directions for the usual *processio ad fontem*; at the end after the Latin chants it has this rubric: Tunc populus cantet *Christ ist erstanden vel Es freyen sich pillich*.

The Diessen manuscript, cod. lat. 5545 of the Staatsbibliothek at Munich, describes fully the singing of *Christ ist erstanden* in alternation with the *Victimae paschali*. The procession, apparently including the German hymn, was repeated at vespers throughout the week. The rubric reads: (f. 22a) Fiat processio ad fontem per totam hebdomadam cum antiphona *Vidi quam* . . . (several other chants and thurification of font and altars) . . . Deinde unus de cantoribus vel organista incipiat sequentiam *Victime paschali laudes*; populus, cantore preciniente, respondeat *Christ ist erstanden von der*; organista *Agnus redemit*; chorus conjugat *Mors et*; populus *Alleluia*; organista *Dic nobis*; chorus *Angelicos*; populus *Kirieleison*; organista *Credendum*; chorus *Scimus Christum*; populus *Wär er nit erstanden*. Finita sequentia, redeant ad chorum cum antiphona *Christus resurgens*; cantores cantent versus *Dicant nunc Iudei*; chorus *Quod enim vivit*.

These few notes show six or seven churches, mostly in Southern Germany, where German hymns were sung in the Easter service, not

<sup>8</sup> See *Zt. f. deutsch. Altertum*, Vol. I, p. 310.

including the common use of *Christ ist erstanden* in the dramatic *Visitatio* and its occasional use in the *Elevatio crucis*. The manuscripts in which the cases occur extend from the middle of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. There were some six places in the service of Easter Sunday alone where occasionally the people were allowed to participate in the services by the singing of a German hymn. While one church probably never had hymns at all six of these places, yet they did at times have them at four places in the Easter service; such was the case at Polling with *Christ ist erstanden* at the end of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, *Christ ist erstanden* or *Es freuen sich billig* after lauds, *Also heilig ist der Tag* at terce, and *Christ ist erstanden* or *Es freuen sich billig* at vespers.

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#### ACCENT MARKS IN MS. JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD, 29.

In view of the date of the ms. (circa 1250), it may be worth while to record the following notes as to accent markings in *The Owl and the Nightingale* in ff. 229r-241v, of ms. Jesus College, Oxford, 29, in the Bodleian Library. The notes originated in study of the ms. itself and of photographs made by the Clarendon Press for my edition of the poem (*Belles Lettres Series*, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907). The term "stressed" refers to metrical stress.

Accent marks occur as follows:

I. On *i*: 332 times to distinguish *i* in *in*, *mi*, *ni*.

II. To mark prefix: (1) on *a-* separated (really prep. w. dat.) 682, cp. 239; not separated, 824. (2) on *i-* separated, 32 times—85, 114, 138, 166, 234, 252, 275, 301, 400, 403, 488, 501, 612, 705, 718, 847, 1121, 1158, 1197, 1216, 1220, 1225, 1241, 1311, 1319, 1515, 1516, 1529, 1545, 1628, 1645, 1735; not separated, 11 times—34, 371, 425, 451, 551, 771, 847, 1225, 1424, 1716, 1784. (3) on *i* of *bi-* separated, 1226, 1235; not separated, 137.

III. To mark (1) *ē* stressed in rime (rime-word not marked)—57, 202, 224, 234, 239, 301; *ē* stressed in rime—999-1000, *wére* (rime-word *copinere*) 1341-42; *ē* stressed—*éyen* 75, *wénde* 288, *i hére* 312, *téres* 426, *vn véle* 1381, *séé* 1754; *ē* stressed, *spéke* 554.

(2) *ō* stressed in rime (rime-word not marked)—93, 290, 746 (cp. unmarked 1016), 1177, 1208, 1211, 1311, 1765; *ō* stressed—*gód* 329, *góde* 1369, *nón* 1705.

(3) *ēo* stressed, *bi héold* 108.

(4) *i* stressed in rime—243-44, 1233-34, and with rime-word not marked 306, 320, 686, 894, 1592; *ı* stressed in rime—*witte fitte* 783-84, *witte sitte* 1243-44, *sítte* (rime-word *slytte*) 1117, *witte* (rime-word *sytte*) 1217, *is* (rime-word *a mye*) 1366, *is* (rime-word *wis*) 1317, 466; *i* stressed—*pípe* 22, *íví* 27, 617, *wíues* 1562, *?wís* 192 (perhaps a continuation of *N* of line above); *ı* stressed—*ic* (rhetorical stress) 754, *síttest* (see above) 894, *sítte* 282, *hire* 1082, 1593, 1597, *vích* 1378; *ı* unstressed—*euerich* 355, 494, 922, 1271, 1279, 1315-16, *eueriche* 426 (perhaps to mark word division ?), *is* 1312, 1498; *i* unstressed—*bí* 793, *i* (pronoun) 1218, *soríe* 1162, *sorí mod* 1218, *íví* 27, 617, and in weak rime *murie* *vnmurie* 345-46, *quatíe* *ulatíe* 353-54, *heríngye* (rime-word *síngye*) 981; *ı* stressed in rime, *driueþ* *lueþ* 809-10, perhaps to distinguish first stroke of *iu* as *i*, probably to mark rime of *i* with *ı*.

IV. To mark stress in rime: *dóme tó me* 545-46, *cradele* (?)*apele* 631-32.

V. Mistaken for accent may be (1) a tick to call attention to error or seeming error—*his* (ms. Cotton *hit is*) 1384, *nórþ* (ms. Cotton *neor*, rime-word *mester*) 923, *i schire* (rime-word *wýue*) 1512: (2) a tick marking an insertion—*þey* 409 followed by small dot above, calling attention to tick and small dot and *þe* in margin; *sale* 1206 (misread by Gadow in his edition as *s'ale*) where the tick belongs to *schpes* in 1205 and with dot between *h* and *p* directs attention to missing *i*: (3) excess of stroke of split at top of *l*—*holde* 1419, *redles* 691, (?)*apele* 632: (4) excess of stroke of split at top of *h*—*sehal* 960: (5) to mark *i* from first stroke of *r*,—*tweíre* 888: cp. *i schire* in (1) above.

VI. It is difficult to tell (cf. Morsbach, *M. E. Gram.*, § 10, anm. 3) why *e* in *wel* 1318 is marked. The stroke is, however, heavier and

shorter than the usual accent, and may not be an accent.

VII. Of interest is the back tick over the first stroke of *y* in *nys* 369 and *þeyh* 128. It may be to assist to recognition of the real nature of the character *y* whose strokes are not marked off here by the dot so common in the ms.

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### A NOTE ON CALDERON'S *LA VIDA ES SUEÑO*.

Dr. Buchanan's carefully edited text of *La vida es sueño*, which has recently appeared at Toronto,<sup>1</sup> makes us feel that the study of the Spanish dramatist who was for a long time the one most admired by foreigners, is not wholly neglected to-day. The interest in Calderon's work is in need of the very stimulus which Dr. Buchanan's edition may prove to be to those students of Spanish literature, who are not inclined to devote over-much time or study to his plays. Perhaps the epoch of romantic enthusiasm which deified Calderon has passed never to return. The Schlegel brothers, Friedrich W. V. Schmidt, Schack and others, whose exaggerated praise is partly responsible for this reaction, have long since been in their graves, and no one feels inspired to continue Calderon criticism in a vein half so favorable to him. Possibly this opinion may be found to be erroneous after all, and some day Calderon will come into his own again. No matter how the verdict of time may change, we ought to be grateful to Dr. Buchanan for his good example. He promises us a second volume with notes and commentaries which will greatly increase the value of the first volume.

On pp. 99 ff. Dr. Buchanan substantially repeats the arguments already stated in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1907, pp. 215-16, with regard to a supposed reference to Calderon's play in Lope's *El Castigo sin venganza*: *bien dicen que nuestra vida es sueño*. Of course there can be no allusion to

Calderon in this phrase which is so common, that it needed but little comment. It occurs half a century earlier, in Cervantes's *Galatea*, the song of Tirsi :

*Es nuestra vida un sueño, un pasatiempo,  
Un vano encanto que desaparece  
Cuando mas firme pareció en su tiempo.*  
(Edit. Rivadeneyra, p. 84, col. 1.)

The Spanish *Comedia*, in general, is a drama of stereotyped phrases. Take, for example, a similar expression which may be frequently found, and which, nevertheless, seems sufficiently original to attract attention : *y los sueños sueños son*, the last verse of the *segunda jornada*, p. 63 ; it forms the basis and the climax of Sigismundo's monologue. The verse occurs in a *villancico* long before Calderon's day :

*Sofíaba yo que tenía  
Alegre mi corazón ;  
Mas á la fe, madre mía,  
Que los sueños sueños son.<sup>2</sup>*

In Lope's *La discreta enamorada*, included in the second list of *El Peregrino en su patria*, 1618, may be found :

*¡ Ay sueño de mi afición !  
¡ Qué bien, pues que me engañé  
Por vuestras burlas, diré  
Que los sueños sueños son.*  
(Edit. Rivadeneyra, I, p. 159, col. 2.)

In Tirso de Molina's *El Vergonzoso en Palacio*, first printed in *los Cigarrales de Toledo*, Madrid, 1624, but probably ready for press by 1621, according to the *aprobacion*, dated October 8th of that year, the following verses occur :

*Calle el alma su pasión,  
Y sirva á mejores duefios,  
Sin dar crédito á más suefios,  
Que los sueños, sueños son.*  
(Edit. Rivadeneyra, p. 221, col. 3, esc. ix.)

These are therefore stereotyped phrases which one might put down without being very original : *la vida es sueño*, or *los sueños sueños son*, and so one might add *sueños hay que son verdades* which is the title of another play.

My notes contain a reference to three old *sueltas s. l. e. a.* of *la vida es sueño*, now in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 417 of *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* by D. Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, Madrid, 1871, and note 526.

royal library at Berliu, marked XK 1410, seemingly the oldest, XK 1013, and XK 1500 in vol. I of a collection made by Braunfels. I am unable to say whether they are identical with those known to Dr. Buchanan, or whether they deserve collating with the text of the edition of 1636. Judging from the usual *suelta*, I should not say that they do.

The second volume promises us a discussion of the relation of *la vida es sueño* to *el Principe Don Carlos* by Enciso. As I knew very little about this subject when I wrote my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* quite a number of years ago, and, in fact, *más valiera callarlo que decirlo*, know but little more about it now, it will be interesting to see Dr. Buchanan's conclusions. Dr. Wickersham Crawford, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1907, pp. 238 ff., mentions a manuscript by Cañizares, which he calls an autograph and which is therefore supposed to solve the question of the revamped *Principe Don Carlos* as found in a *suelta* of 1773. Isn't it rather one of a large number of prompter's copies? There are three in the Municipal library of Madrid, and a collation alone of all will solve the question of the authorship of this *rifacimento*. The number of the bundle containing the prompter's copies is, I think, thirteen, and I never had the courage to examine them in detail.

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#### RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO ELIZABETHAN STAGE HISTORY.

The past few years have yielded an unusual harvest in the field of Elizabethan drama. Professor Schelling's book<sup>1</sup> is, of course, in a class by itself as the first adequate and separate treatment of the period from the point of view of the plays themselves. Besides this, however, there has been a group of publications dealing with the external history of the drama of the period; and the accumulation of material, documentary and critical,

has been so rapid that the time seems near at hand for a continuous and fairly adequate history of the Elizabethan stage,—public, the so-called "private," and at the court. Mr. W. W. Grey has completed his series of three volumes,<sup>2</sup> I. The Text of Heuslowe's Diary, II. Notes and Glossary, III. The Alleyn Papers, and has thus provided a safe text and appliances for using one of the most significant and perplexing of all Elizabethan dramatic records. Mr. Thompson's *The Puritans and the Stage*<sup>3</sup> has been supplemented by Miss Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of Elizabethan Drama*<sup>4</sup> and Mr. Wallace's *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*,<sup>5</sup> Miss Gildersleeve's book especially making vivid the continuous conflict of City Fathers and Puritanism on one hand, with royal and popular zeal for the drama on the other. Mr. Wallace's chief preoccupation has been with the significance of the Chapel Children in the dramatic activity of the times, and he announces his book to be the first of a series treating comprehensively the history of the child companies. Mr. Chambers, whose previous publications have given him the right to speak with much authority, has attacked<sup>6</sup> the date claimed by Mr. Wallace for the beginning of the children's performances at Blackfriars, and thinks that their career, far from being so brilliant as Mr. Wallace suggests, was ingloriously subject to royal disfavour and interruption, because of their manager's indiscretion in the choice of plays and in other ways. Mr. Chambers would tend too to minimize the influence of this company upon other companies and theatres, and, perhaps unintentionally, leaves one with an added conviction that Mr. Wallace's zeal for his subject has dulled his sense of proportion. Mr. Wallace's conclusions, must in the present writer's opinion, inevitably be subjected to some deduction, and yet he seems to have made his main point, which concerns not only the successes and influence of the Chapel Children,

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Grey, The Text of ——.

<sup>3</sup> *The Puritans and the Stage*. E. N. S. Thompson, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*. Virginia Gildersleeve. *Columbia University Studies in English*, 1908.

<sup>5</sup> *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*. W. W. Wallace. *University of Nebraska Studies*, 1908.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Language Review*, January, 1909.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Elizabethan Drama*. Felix E. Schelling, 1908.

but the Queen's interest in them as a link between the drama of the Court and that of the popular stage. He is not, to be sure, quite convincing in his claims that Elizabeth herself attended the Children's performances at Blackfriars or that she was busy in making it a model for the public theatres, but he does create a strong probability of the directness of royal favour and assistance in the inauguration and maintenance of the company there, as also for the influence of stage conditions at Blackfriars upon other theatres during the Children's occupancy of this theatre. He cites an impressive array too of the greater dramatists who wrote for them and of well known plays shaped to suit their possibilities as actors ; and in spite of our inevitable protest against his over-emphasis, makes us feel that a study of the plays written for children, taken separately from others, might yield interesting results. His book itself, being the record of a private theatre, furnishes the link in stage history, between the public theatres of London, and the Court theatres under the supervision of the Office of the Revels.

For the Court drama specifically, recent publications have not been less significant. Since more than a century ago, beginning with the contributions of Chalmers<sup>7</sup> and of Malone,<sup>8</sup> Elizabethan documents or fragments of documents bearing on the subject, have been appearing, but the publications have been scattered, often hard to secure, and so unfortunate in the editing that one has frequently been at a loss whether to accept any part of the editor's work as trustworthy. In 1906, however, Mr. Chambers began a better order of things by his *Notes on the Tudor Revels*,<sup>9</sup> which, carefully reproduced in whole or in part, various important Revels documents, and sifted the evidence in regard to several problems of the Court drama. More recently M. Albert Feuillerat has done a much greater service by collecting into one careful volume all available documents relating to the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The documents are drawn from various repositories, many from the Public Record

Office, London ; others from the British Museum, &c., and the editor regards the collection as exhaustive, so far as extant material is concerned. The volume is announced as the first of a series which is to include all documents relating to English Court drama, whether before printed or not. The plan includes four volumes, the present one, for reasons of special convenience printed first, though third in the chronology of the documents involved : a second, dealing with the Revels in the time of Edward VI and of Mary ; a third, with the Court Festivities under Henry VIII ; and a fourth with the Revels in the days of the Stuarts. The second volume is declared in the Preface to this one to be already completed.

M. Feuillerat does not claim to have brought to light much new material. Most of his documents as he explains, Collier<sup>10</sup> and Cunningham<sup>11</sup> have come upon before himself, though he might have pointed out that Malone, Chalmers, and others had preceded these in finding a good deal of the material. He himself, however, has made valuable and interesting additions to the collection, some of them having a strong independent interest, as the Inventory of the Office of the Revels in 1560, and certain petitions in the Appendix ; whereas others are valuable as filling out the Accounts of the Revels Office into a practically continuous record. M. Feuillerat's chief concern, however, has been to present carefully edited texts for both the known and the newly found documents, and so to provide solid foundations for scholarly work in the history of the Court drama. He has been especially careful to avoid the faults of Collier and Cunningham, restoring some of the Elizabethan spelling neglected by the latter, and adding much which one or the other of them failed to transcribe. An example of his fuller text will be found by comparing *Revels Documents*, p. 47, with Cunningham's *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels* (Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. 16. A difference in another direction is found in M. Feuillerat's omission of a page cited by Cunningham.<sup>12</sup> This page the

<sup>7</sup> *An Apology for Believers, &c.* Chalmers. *A Supplemental Apology for Believers.* Chalmers.

<sup>8</sup> *History of the Stage.* Vol. III. First Variorum Shakespeare, ed. Edmund Malone, 1791.

<sup>9</sup> *Notes on the Tudor Revels.* E. K. Chambers, 1906.

<sup>10</sup> *A History of English Dramatic Literature.* J. P. Collier.

<sup>11</sup> *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels.* P. Cunningham. Shakespeare Society, 1842.

<sup>12</sup> In the *Accounts from 31 October to 1 March, 1573-4*, p. 456.

later editor thinks has certainly been lost since Cunningham copied it, and we are relieved to be spared a new ascription of forgery on the part of Cunningham. Indeed, M. Feuillerat's review of the latter's work tends on the whole to help his good name, though the same cannot be said for Collier. M. Feuillerat has given much time to adjusting relations between the records of the various sorts, as those of the Revels Office itself, the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, the Acts of the Privy Council, the Imprest Certificate Books, &c., and he has analyzed with great care the conclusions of earlier workers in this connection, with the result that he differs from Mr. Chambers in various points of detail, as of the date of the survey of St. John of Jerusalem, the seat of the Revels; that Thos. Blagrave was appointed by privy seal; and from earlier critics in general, as to the date of the death of Sir Thomas Benger, Master of the Revels.

The editorial method followed is intelligent and on the whole convincing in its wisdom, although it does not attempt the exactness of absolute reproduction. For example, the Auditor's notes on the Accounts are retained or omitted at the editor's discretion, and all abbreviations are drawn out into the full spelling for the convenience of the reader, the change being indicated by italicising the letters added. On the other hand, a great deal of effort has been given to distinguishing one handwriting from another in the entries of changes by the Revels Officers, the difference being marked by a change of type, with the asterisk to call attention to the reason for change.

The collection of documents is divided into two parts, with a valuable appendix, full notes and various indexes subjoined. The usual introductory discussion of the matter of the text is deferred as being bulky enough to require a separate volume. Part I includes under the title, *The Office and Officers*, ten documents, among them, a new and most interesting Inventory of the Stuff of the Revels Office taken in 1860, A Survey of the Seat of the Revels Office. Part II presents the Accounts themselves, and various warrants.

The Appendix, made up of both old and new material, is perhaps the part fullest of human interest, as it contains chiefly of com-

plaints or petitions and throws many side lights on the loose management of the office and the consequent inconvenience to those involved. There is the somewhat amusing complaint of Thomas Gylles against the Yeoman of the Revels for lending the costumes of the Revels far and wide, with "the red clothe of golde gownes" which were lent "to a taylor marrying in the blakfryer" and to various others of humble station and questionable neatness, until the garments are unfit for the noble masques who are wont to use them. There is a petition from the Yeoman himself too, calling attention to "sarten thinges which are very nedfull to be Redressed in the Office of the Revelles" and showing the consequent discredit that was coming to the office from every side, "which thing," the complainant adds mournfully, "for my part I am very sorry to see." But the petition which draws us most is the well-known one in which "the poore creditours themselves most necdefully desire payment" of money now more than two years due.

Of the illuminating effect of such a collection of documents, one could hardly say too much, and it is because of the mass and variety of material presented in M. Feuillerat's volume that the impression of life is so vivid and convincing. Heretofore there have been only suggestious, or snatches of impressions, now the life stands revealed. And it is not merely the story of the Court drama itself, but of all the force of labourers who made it possible, the variety of work and of workmen conspiring to the one great end, the many shopkeepers coming and going, the hours and wages of labour, the part of the children in the task of amusement, the wretched management of the office, the barrenness of the Queen's Exchequer, and all the rest. In what concerns chiefly the history of the drama itself, one is once more impressed with the large elaborateness of Court staging, for plays and actors coming from the public theatres, and one gains an added conviction that modern critics as well as Mr. Ben Greet, have been too ready to believe that actors would have been content to shift back and forth between barrenness and a surprisingly elaborate stage. One wonders whether M. Feuillerat's deferred introduction will not do something to prove a fuller equipment for the public Elizabethan stage.

We might note too, though as a digression, the rapid accumulation of discoveries and studies tending to make real and vivid to us the Elizabethan life which the dramatists presented in their plays, and of which they were themselves a part. Professor Wallace's recent discoveries in the Public Record Office, London, are the most significant as throwing light on Shakespeare's London residence and social relations during the years when some of his greatest plays were being written, making clear his neighborly instinct, his sympathy with young and old, and his contact with a French household while he was writing *Henry V*; making plausible too, a host of sentimental inferences so tempting that writers are already busy upon them.<sup>13</sup> Mr. A. W. Pollard's *Shakespeare's Folios and Quartos, A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays 1594-1685*,<sup>14</sup> tells the story of the publication of the quartos and folios, explains conditions governing publications in Shakespeare's day, laws regulating licenses, &c., and contributes insight if not a large bulk of new material. There are various books too, of the type of *The Elizabethan People*,<sup>15</sup> by Henry Thew Stephenson, and *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*,<sup>16</sup> the last much more contributive than Mr. Stephenson's book but both helping in the appreciation of the age, of the economic, social and other conditions which prevailed, and especially of that elusive compound, the Elizabethan spirit.

When one considers not only Professor Wallace's Shakespearian discoveries noted above, but earlier ones published or reported at various times by him,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The necessity for caution in such inferences is, however, already suggested by Professor Bruce's timely reminder in *The Nation*, March 12, that the name *Mountjoy* or *Montjoy* is found already in Holinshed, one of Shakespeare's sources, though not in the other and later, *The Famous Victories*.

<sup>14</sup> Methuen Co., 1909.

<sup>15</sup> Published by Henry Holt & Co., 1910.

<sup>16</sup> Publications of the University of Manchester, English Series, 1, University Press, Manchester, 1909.

<sup>17</sup> *The Newly Discovered Shakespeare Documents in University of Nebraska Studies*, 1905, and *Englische Studien*, April, 1906; certain documents concerning Blackfriars Theatre, announced—1906, *The New York Times*; *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars* in *University of Nebraska Studies*, 1908; *Recasting the History of Shakespeare* in *The New York Times*, October 3, 1909.

and still others, by other scholars, conveniently cited by Mr. Sidney Lee in the preface of his 1908 edition of his *Life of William Shakespeare*, there seems ground for hoping that we may grow into fairly vivid realization not only of the man Shakespeare himself, but of the theatrical circle and special stage history which are of supreme interest because of their relation to him. The future historian of the Elizabethan stage must find himself immensely richer than he could otherwise have been, by reason of the very recent acquisitions of scholars; and while we may differ from Mr. Wallace at times, as to relative values, no one will be slow to grant that his discoveries are among the most interesting and significant that modern searchers have brought to light.

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#### A NOTE ON BEOWULF 1142-1145.

My attention has been drawn by a note in the new edition of Holthausen's *Beowulf* (vol. II, p. xxviii f.), to some interesting observations by Dr. R. Imelmann, of Bonn, as to lines 1142-1145 of *Beowulf*, in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of 17 April, 1909. Imelmann considers that Hunlafing is the name of a brother of Guthlaf and Oslaf (= the Ordlaf of *Finnzburg* 18), and that he joined them in helping Hengest to revenge himself on Finn and carry off Hildeburh. The name occurs in a late Brut-version (Cott. Vespa. D iv) at fol. 139b :—

“In diebus illis, imperante Valentiniano, regnum barbarorum et germanorum exortum est, turgentesque populi et nationes per totam Europam conserderunt. Hoc testantur gesta Rodulphi et *Hunlapi*, Unwini et Widie, Horsi et Hengisti, Waltef et Hame, quorum quidam in Italia, quidam in Gallia, alii in Britannia, ceteri vero in Germania armis et rebus bellicis claruerunt.”

He also quotes Chadwick, *Origins of the English Nation*, 1907, p. 52, as pointing out that in the *Skioldunga Saga* three of the seven sons of the Danish King Leifus are called *Hunleifus*, *Oddleifus* and *Gunnleifus*; and René Huchon (*Revue*

*Germanique*, III, 626<sup>1</sup>) as identifying them with the three Beowulfine heroes. And he says Huchon rightly translates the passage,—which he does as follows:—“ Aussi lui, (Hengest) ne recula-t'il pas devant la destinée, lorsque Hunlasing le mit en possession de la lumiére de la guerre, de l'excellente épée, dont le tranchant était famenx parmi les Jutes (ou parmi les géants).” Imelmann himself translates line 1142 ‘Daher verweigerte er es dem Geschick nicht’ (= sah darin seinen Wink und gehorchte ihm).

I venture to suggest that Hunlaf, and not Hunnlasing, is the proper name of Oslaf and Guthlaf's brother, and that the reference in line 1143 is to a son of Hunlaf. This is in accordance with both the authorities quoted by Imelmann, and it would agree with the usual custom in Anglo-Saxon nomenclature, while it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a case where one brother's name ended in the same syllable as that of the others, but with the addition of *-ing*. It is no doubt unusual in *Beowulf* to mention a son of somebody without also mentioning his own name (Scyld Scēfing, etc.). We have Wæsing standing by itself at line 877, but Sigemund's name is given at line 875, so that is not a strong parallel:—but this seems a less difficulty than the other. If we may go by the order in the *Skigldunga Saga*, Hunlaf would be the eldest brother, and probably he was dead before the attack in the *Finnsburg*. It is noteworthy that he, and not Guthlaf and Oslaf, are mentioned in the Brut-version (above quoted) which also contains the name of Hengest. If, as is not unlikely, Hunlaf had been killed by the Frisians, lines 1148–1150 may well have reference to Guthlaf and Oslaf's personal loss, and to their position as his natural avengers.

It is a great relief to find that the personage of line 1143 is a Dane, as it clears out of the road translations which must have been felt to be unsatisfactory. There must, however, still be some doubt as to the exact meaning of lines 1142 and 1145.

(1) ‘woroldræden’ is, I think, not ‘law of the world’ or ‘fate,’ but ‘custom of the world,’ looked at from the religious point of view (see the compounds of ‘weorold’ in Bosworth-Toller) so

<sup>1</sup> “Rev. Herman.” in the *Dtsch. Lititzg.* and Holthausen, is a misprint.

that the line would mean ‘He did not run counter to the way of the world,’ *i. e.*, he fell into temptation, as most people would have done under such circumstances (*swā*). This point of view is exemplified elsewhere in *Beowulf* (*e. g.*, *woroldār*, 17) and seems more likely here than the too Oriental fatalism of ‘He did not resist his fate,’ or the too cynical ‘He took the hint.’

(2) What does line 1145 mean? Was *Hildeleoma* (I adopt Holthausen's suggestion that this is the proper name of a sword) originally a Danish or a Frisian sword? Had Hunlaf, or Hunlaf's son, captured it in a former contest, or had it been given to him at the dealings out of treasure? The last supposition seems most unlikely. Most probably the sword was a Danish one, and it may be that we must take line 1145 as meaning that it had already done good service in fight against the Eotens. The recollection of its past history would thus be likely to rouse Hengest.

But there is another alternative:—ðæs may here mean ‘hence,’ ‘and so’;—the line referring to the future. ‘And so its edges became well known among the Eotens’ (*i. e.*, Hengest made good use of it). It may be objected that adverbial ðæs never begins a clause in *Beowulf*, but as the same may be said of demonstrative ðæs, this is not a serious objection. (The fact is that the position of ðæs in this line is unique in the poem.) The use of *swylce* in the next line seems to me rather to favor the view of a future interpretation (Schücking, *Satzverknüpfung*, pp. 84, 85, and *et. al.* especially lines 1151–2, where the meaning is clearly ‘besides this’).

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#### WOODBERRY'S REVISED LIFE OF POE.

*The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary, with his Chief Correspondence with Men of Letters.* By George E. Woodberry. 2 vols. Pp. xii + 383; viii + 481. Boston and New York : Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909.

Students of Poe everywhere will welcome the revised edition of Professor George E. Wood-

berry's *Life of Poe*.<sup>1</sup> Since the first edition of this work made its appearance, now nearly a quarter of a century ago, several other lives of Poe have appeared—one of them, that of Prof. James A. Harrison, an excellent one—but even Professor Harrison's interesting and sympathetic life can hardly be said to have superseded Professor Woodberry's. Naturally, however, as the years passed, a good many new facts about Poe had been brought out; so that, as Professor Woodberry frankly puts it, the original edition had "become antiquated by its omissions." To collect and sift this new material was one of the chief tasks of the revision. And this task Professor Woodberry has performed with characteristic thoroughness and discrimination. To the contributions of others, however, he has added but few of his own,—fewer by far than his earlier biography, with its notable contributions, might have led us to expect. But this Professor Woodberry explains by the admission in his preface that he has made no personal investigation of his subject since writing the first edition.

The work has grown, in its revision, from a single volume of about 350 pages to two volumes containing over 850 pages. This increase in size comes about mainly through the incorporation into the text of a large number of letters and through the affixing of an appendix to each volume. A change in type also had something to do with the increase in size.

The appendixes—in all about 125 pages—comprise the most interesting parts of the new volumes. They contain, besides sundry "notes mainly on obscure or controverted points," a discussion of the homes of Poe in Richmond, the Poe-Duane letters (concerning the lost volume of the *Southern Literary Messenger*), Lowell's letters about Poe to Briggs, several hitherto unpublished letters of Poe (to Lucian Minor, Mathew Carey, A. B. Magruder, Neilson Poe, C. G. Percival, and Bayard Taylor), a restatement of the author's views on Poe's relations with Chivers, a note on "Griswold's world" (in which a good word is said for Griswold as anthologist), fragments of an unpublished tale of Poe's known as *The Light-house*, and a bibliography of the tales and poems, together with edi-

torial notes about them. Not the least valuable of these is the last-mentioned, in which Professor Woodberry presents, along with much other bibliographical material, his own views as to the time of composition of each of Poe's poems and tales. The fragment of *The Light-house*, recently found by Professor Woodberry among the Griswold MSS., is brief, and of little interest other than historical. In the "notes on obscure or controverted points," some twenty or thirty points on which opinion still differs or which yet remain problematic are dealt with. In the first of these the question—still mooted, absurdly enough, in some quarters—of the time and place of Poe's birth, is discussed anew. Then comes a detailed account of the theatrical career of Poe's parents; then a discussion of Poe's alleged trip to Europe in 1827, a topic not touched on in the original work. Other topics dealt with are Poe's life at West Point (concerning which some reminiscences of a classmate, T. P. Jones, of Seguin, Texas, are given); Poe's Mary (now shown to have become the wife of a Mr. T. C. Leland—though her maiden name remains a mystery); Poe's indebtedness to E. T. A. Hoffmann; Poe's association with Mayne Reid; Poe's relations with Horace Greeley (showing that Poe once remonstrated with Greeley for charging him with unscrupulous neglect of financial obligations); Poe's embryonic affair of honor with John M. Daniel (a résumé of Mr. Whitty's account); Poe's use of opium; and, to conclude with, the authenticity of Griswold's sketch. Poe's indebtedness to Hoffmann, which Professor Palmer Cobb, in a recent Columbia University dissertation, endeavors to show to have been direct, Professor Woodberry holds was indirect, through Scott's article in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for July, 1827, for the most part; and he still insists, despite the researches of Professor Cobb and of Professor Gruner, of Harvard, that Poe knew little or no German. On the subject of Poe's use of opium, Professor Woodberry, after giving the testimony of others, expresses this opinion of his own (II, p. 430): "I incline to the view that Poe began the use of drugs in Baltimore, that his periods of abstinence from liquor were periods of at least moderate indulgence in opium, and that in 1846–47 under the advice of his physicians he abandoned the habit;

<sup>1</sup> First published in Boston in 1885.

that his physical state and mode of life in 1847 are connected with this attempt, and his supposed success in it was the ground of his many statements that the 'physical cause' of his fits of intemperance had ceased and the reiterated expressions of the excellence of his health; and that his begging for laudanum after his sprees was a sign of lapsing into an older habit, which he did not take with him to Richmond." In his note on Griswold and Poe, Professor Woodberry comes strongly to the defence of Griswold. The concluding paragraph of his note sufficiently indicates the attitude that he takes (II, p. 454): "To Griswold's memoir no reply, so far as I know, was made by Poe's friends, except in so far as Burr's article (1852) was a plea in mitigation of judgment, and, long afterwards, Clarke's article (1868) quoted, with cordial endorsement, the testimony of Willis, and added a few words of the writer's own. On the other hand, Thompson, Thomas, and Kennedy, and Mrs. Lewis remained on friendly terms with Griswold; English, Briggs, and Wallace sustained him" [which we must interject, was the most natural thing conceivable, since each was an avowed enemy of Poe], "Redfield and Leland defended him, and Stoddard wrote often and much to substantiate his statements. It is also just to add that the characterization that Griswold gave, in substance though not in feeling, was the same as that which uniformly prevailed in tradition in the best-informed literary circles in this country. The rebirth of Poe's reputation took place in writers of the next generation." In most of what he says here, Professor Woodberry is doubtless right. It must be pretty clear that Griswold has done too heavy a penance for his betrayal of the trust reposed in him as Poe's literary executor. For, in truth, Griswold's unfairness to Poe came less in specific charges against Poe, than in the animus with which these charges were presented and in the omission of much that might have been urged in explanation and extenuation of these charges. But Professor Woodberry overshoots the mark when he expresses the opinion that but two or three replies to Griswold's memoir were made. Because of the memorable notice in the *Tribune*, Griswold, we are told, "was hotly as-

sailed on all sides."<sup>2</sup> But he was also called to account for what he wrote in the memoir proper, and not only by Clarke and Burr, but also by Mrs. Whitman in her "Edgar Poe and his Critics"; by W. J. Pabodie in a letter of June 2, 1852, to the *New York Tribune* and in a private letter to Griswold of June 11, 1852 (*Virginia Poe*, xvii, pp. 408 f., 412 f.); by J. Wood Davidson (in *Russell's Magazine*, November, 1857, i, pp. 170 f.); and by Wilmer (in *The Press Gang*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 385); and Ingram also mentions vindictory articles by Mr. Moy Thomas and Mayne Reid, which I have not seen.

Most of the letters now first incorporated into the text had been published before, either by Professor Harrison or by Professor Woodberry himself, but a half-dozen or more appear now for the first time, among them two letters to Kennedy, dated December 31, 1840, and June, 1841, (I, pp. 266 f., 280 f.); one to Thomas, August 27, 1847, concerning the government position which he had endeavored to secure for Poe, (I, pp. 335-7); and one to Bowen and Gossler, editors of a Columbia (Pa.) paper, a strange letter, of January 18, 1844, concerning literary conditions in New York at that time (II, pp. 81-7). Among topics that are new or that are treated at greater length than in the old edition are these: Poe's relations to the Allans (I, pp. 54, 68, 73 f., 94f.); his life in Baltimore between 1831 and 1835, in particular his love-making with a cousin, Miss Herring (concerning whom new information has been furnished by Miss A. F. Poe), and the more desperate love-affair with his Baltimore *Mary* (Professor Woodberry accepting *in toto* the story of "Poe's Mary" printed in *Harper's Monthly* a number of years ago); the tradition of Poe's flirtation in Richmond with Miss Eliza White, and the suggestion that this had something to do with Poe's "hasty marriage to Virginia" (I, p. 185); the genesis and development of *The Raven* (II, pp. 111 f.); the poet's unhappy experiences in Philadelphia in the summer of 1849 (II, pp. 311 f.); and, finally, his career in Richmond during his last two visits there in

<sup>2</sup> I quote the words of R. H. Stoddard, whom Mr. Woodberry mentions among Griswold's staunchest supporters.

the summers of 1848 and 1849 (II, pp. 317-342). Concerning Poe's relations with the Allans, Professor Woodberry now holds, with Professor Harrison, that Mr. Allan never contemplated making Poe his heir. He also inclines to credit the tradition that the rupture between the two grew out of some piece of misconduct on Poe's part, the facts of which are well known to certain of the descendants of Mr. Allan, but have not been disclosed to the public (I, pp. 102-3, note). The theory of the composition of *The Raven* to which Professor Woodberry now gives his endorsement, is this: the true germ of the poem is to be found in Poe's review of *Barnaby Rudge* in 1842 (a view already advanced by Ingram), and the poem may have been begun in this year; one draft of it had been completed by the summer of 1843; the poem was revised and completed in the autumn or early winter of 1844-45 after Poe had moved to 15 Amity Street. It will thus be seen that Professor Woodberry accepts not only the accounts of Rosenbach, Mrs. Brennan, and Du Solle, but also that of W. E. Griffis, which in the original edition (p. 221, note) he characterized as "highly improbable." Concerning the authenticity of the half-dozen poems variously attributed to Poe<sup>3</sup> yet not regularly included in the editions of his works, Professor Woodberry disdains to give an opinion—he ignores them both in the body of his text and in the bibliography of the poems; he does pass judgment, however, on the genuineness of a number of translations which appeared in the *New Mirror* above the signature of "E. P."<sup>4</sup> An interesting conjecture offered now for the first time is that the poem entitled *Ballad* in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for August, 1835, and signed "Sidney," was the first draft of *Bridal Ballad*.

There are but few points on which the biographer has shifted ground since the appearance of his first edition. He still adheres, for instance, to the tradition that Poe was privately wedded to

<sup>3</sup> *The Mammoth Squash*, *The Fire Legend*, *The Magician*, *The Skeleton Hand*, the *Hymn in Honor of Harmodius and Aristogeiton*, the "Lavante" satire, and the two skits to his cousin Elizabeth.

<sup>4</sup> These Professor Woodberry denies to Poe, suggesting at the same time that they were "from the pen of Emily Perceval" (II, p. 103, note).

Virginia Clemm in Baltimore a year before their public marriage in Richmond,—indeed, he states this as a fact in his index; he repeats (I, p. 82) his vague but tantalizing assertion that *The Valley of Unrest*, *Israfel*, and *The City of the Sea* were "developed from slight Oriental suggestions"; and he reiterates (II, p. 259) the statement that the parallelism between *The Bells* and a passage in Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* "is not likely to be a fortuitous coincidence."<sup>5</sup> He has changed front, however, with reference to Poe's friendship for Mrs. Stanard. In his earlier edition (p. 23) he had said, in agreement with other biographers, that Mrs. Stanard was for a short time Poe's "confidante and friend," and that after her death he "for a long while . . . haunted her grave by night." In the present edition (I, p. 29) he maintains that Poe saw Mrs. Stanard only once, and that "the tale that he haunted her grave by night, with all its later Poesque atmosphere, must be dismissed." The grounds for this reversal of opinion will not readily appear to any except those who are familiar with Mrs. Weiss's deliverance on the point. Mrs. Weiss says (in her *The Home Life of Poe*, p. 39) that the cemetery in which Mrs. Stanard was buried was surrounded by high walls and that the gates of the cemetery were securely locked by night; furthermore, that the discipline of the Allan household was very strict; so that, if she be correct in these particulars, the midnight excursions which Poe is traditionally reported to have made, must have been impossible. Another shift is made with reference to the poet's relations with Mrs. Shelton in 1848. In the earlier edition (p. 311) Poe's message to Mrs. Whitman from Richmond, "I was about to enter on a course which would have borne me far, far away, from you, sweet, sweet Helen," was interpreted as referring to "his intention of offering his hand to Mrs. Shelton." In the new edition this explanation is omitted, Professor Woodberry inclining apparently to the view proposed by Mr. Whitty, that Poe had reference to the duel which he expected to fight with John M. Daniel. But reference to Professor J. A. Harrison's recent edition

<sup>5</sup> Professor Woodberry's insistence upon this point seems to me to be out of keeping with his usual conservatism in such matters.

of Poe's letters to Mrs. Whitman (*Last Letters of Edgar Allan Poe to Sarah Helen Whitman*, New York, 1909, p. 13) shows that Poe's letter on which the whole question had turned had been garbled in the printed texts just at the crucial point, and that instead of the words "was about to enter on a course" etc., we actually have these words: "was about to depart on a tour and an enterprise which would have changed my very nature—fearfully altered my very soul—steeped me in a stern, cold, and debasing, although brilliant gigantic ambition—and borne me 'far, far away' from you,"—words which assuredly cannot refer to a projected duel. In my judgment, it refers, as Professor Woodberry first conjectured, to his projected marriage to Mrs. Shelton, the "gigantic ambition" alluded to being perhaps the establishment of a magazine with the aid of her money. Noteworthy also is the omission of sundry depreciatory references to Poe which appeared in the former edition,—among them the statements as to the untrustworthiness of Poe's word (pp. 31 and 222-3), the comment on his lack of humor (p. 85), the condemnatory judgment on the last stanza of *Bridal Ballad* (pp. 94-5), and the statement as to Poe's proneness to paraphrase from others (p. 97). But more noteworthy still is the comment made in the first volume of the new edition (p. 123), that "the question of Poe's physique is fundamental in his biography,"—a concession to Robertson, Lauvrière, and other friends of Poe.

Errors of statement are few for a work in which such a vast amount of detail is collected. The assertion (II, p. 259) that Poe was "in early years under considerable obligations" to Châteaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* must be due to a confounding of this work with Châteaubriand's *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, which Professor Woodberry claims was the source of the line "Isola d'oro!—Fior di Levante!" embodied by Poe in his *Al Aaraaf* and his *Sonnet to Zante*. And surely it is too much to say that this slight indebtedness involves "considerable obligations." Another error appears in a note in the appendix to the first volume, p. 377. It is asserted here that "the date of the arrival of Mrs. Clemm and Virginia in Richmond [to make their home there] was Oct. 1, 1836"; and in support of this the

letter of Mrs. Clemm to William Poe of date October 7, 1836, is cited. In reality, Mrs. Clemm and her daughter had moved to Richmond almost a year before this, probably in the autumn of 1835 when Poe returned to Richmond to resume his place on the *Messenger*. This is established by Poe's letter of January 12, 1836, in which it appears that Mrs. Clemm was then living in Richmond; other letters bearing on the point are Mrs. Clemm's of February 21 and April 12, 1836. The letter to William Poe which Professor Woodberry unhappily lays hold of in this connection perhaps has reference merely to Mrs. Clemm's return from a visit to Baltimore,—either that, or (as is more probable) the date of the letter is erroneously given as 1836 instead of 1835. Contradictory is the statement (I, p. 198): "He is to be credited, too, with a translation and digest of Lemonnier's *Natural History* . . . ; but there is no indication that he had any part in this work beyond his own statement, in reviewing it, that he spoke 'from personal knowledge, and the closest inspection and collation.'" The first edition (p. 113) avoided the difficulty by reading, "He has been credited" etc. Erroneous also is the statement (II, p. 163) that Poe's 1845 volume of poems, *The Raven and Other Poems*, was issued "Just at the close of the year, apparently on December 31." It must have appeared a month or more before this; for Poe mentioned it in *The Broadway Journal* of November 22 as being among the books "on hand for notice";<sup>6</sup> and in the same journal for December 13 he reprinted a review of it from the *Brook Farm Phalanx* of December 6. Another correction to be made is in the date of *Siope*. This tale was not published "in the fall of 1838," as is said in I, p. 198, but in the fall of 1837. The *Baltimore Book*, in which it came out, was reviewed in the *Baltimore Monument* for December 2, 1837 (p. 68), the contents of the volume being described there at length. Erroneous, too, are the dates given to *Fifty Suggestions*, the lines *To* — — — (to Mrs. Shew), and the review of Lowell's *Fable for Critics*, on pp. 257, 268, and 296, respectively,

<sup>6</sup> In the same number of the *Broadway Journal*, Wiley and Putnam advertised the volume for sale, offering it at 31 cents.

of the same volume. Worth noting, also, is the slip made in asserting (II, p. 412) that the poem *Alone*, which first appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* for September, 1875, "was copied into a Baltimore album March 17, 1829." On the facsimile of the poem as printed in *Scribner's*, there are words to that effect, but more than ten years ago Professor Woodberry, in his edition of Poe's poems (in collaboration with the poet Stedman<sup>1</sup>) had expressed doubt as to the authenticity of these words; and Mr. E. L. Didier, who sent the facsimile to the editors of *Scribner's*, has since admitted<sup>2</sup> that these words were not originally in the manuscript of the poem, but were supplied by himself. To the bibliography of the tales and poems (II, pp. 400f.) the following additions should be made: under *Morella* (p. 400), *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1839; under *The Fall of the House of Usher* (p. 402), Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*, first three editions (see Poe's letter to Griswold of February 24, 1845, "Virginia Poe," XVII, p. 201); under *To Science* (p. 412), *Graham's Magazine* for June, 1841; under *Scenes from Politian* (p. 414), the excerpt of that play printed by Ingram in an edition of Poe's poems, New York, no date, pp. 96f., and the briefer extracts incorporated in his article on "Politian" in *The Southern Magazine*, XVII, pp. 588f.; under *Ulalume* (p. 416), *The Literary World* of March 3, 1849 (see Poe's letters of February 16 and March 8, 1849, to E. A. Duyekinck, then one of the editors of *The Literary World*); under the sonnet *To My Mother* (p. 416), *The Leaflets of Memory* for 1850 (p. 68); and under *The Raven* and *The Conqueror Worm* (both on p. 415), the ninth edition of Griswold's *The Poets and Poetry of America* (Philadelphia, 1848).<sup>3</sup> Under *To —* ("I heed not that my earthly lot") (p. 412) the date 1845 should be deleted, since this poem did not appear in the volume of poems brought out in that year.

<sup>1</sup> See *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, Chicago, 1894-6, x, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> In his *The Poe Cult and Other Essays*, New York, 1909, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also my article in *The Nation* of December 30, 1909 (p. 647f.), in which I give a list of Poe's publications in *The Flag of Our Union* for 1849.

There are also some errors traceable to careless transcribing. For example, the title of the volume of poems published in 1845, *The Raven and Other Poems*, is twice printed on p. 163 of vol. II with a comma after the second word; on the same page, in the list of contents of this volume, *The Valley of Unrest* and *The City in the Sea* are printed without the initial "The," *The Lake = To —* is printed "The Lake = To —," and two slight errors are made in capitalization. Again in the list of the Tales published in the same year (see II, p. 148, note), *A Descent into the Maelstrom* is printed as "*The Descent into the Maelstrom*," and *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* as "*The Murders of the Rue Morgue*." The title of "*The Murders in the Rue Morgue*" is similarly misprinted in a footnote on p. 39, vol. II; and in the same note (as also on p. 404), the publisher of the edition of Poe's tales in 1843 is erroneously given as George B. Zieber; the full title-page of this rare volume—a copy of which is to be found in the Library of Congress—is as follows: *The | Prose Romances of Edgar A. Poe, | Author of "The Gold Bug," "Arthur Gordon Pym," "Tales | of the Grotesque and Arabesque," | Etc. Etc. Etc. | Uniform Serial Edition. | Each Number Complete in Itself. | No. 1. | Containing the | Murders in the Rue Morgue, and the | Man That was Used Up. | Philadelphia: | Published by William H. Graham, | No. 98 Chestnut Street. | 1843. | Price 12 1/2 cents.* Other instances of careless transcribing are to be found in the reproduction of certain of the letters to John Pendleton Kennedy, the originals of which are preserved in the Peabody Library at Baltimore. Collation of Professor Woodberry's text with the originals brings out a number of unimportant errors in punctuation and paragraphing, and also in one case—in the letter of June, 1841, printed in I, pp. 280-282—several errors in phrasing. These are as follows: in the second line, *desire* for *design*; in the fifth line, *send* for *say*; in the eighteenth line on p. 281, *vigorous* for *rigorous*.

Mere typographical errors are more abundant than we should expect in a publication from the "Riverside Press." In the first volume I have detected the following: *Burk* for *Burke* (pp. 25, 29), *Gowan's* for *Gowans's* (p. 257), *xviii* for *xvii*

in the footnote on p. 354, and 141 for 146 on p. 377, l. 23. In the second volume, such errors are more numerous. To be noted first of all are sundry slips in the spelling of proper names. The name of John M. Daniel is spelled *Daniels* no less than seven times (pp. 273, 425, etc.); *Ferguson* appears for *Fergusson* (pp. 443, 463); *Francis* for *Frances* (p. 178); *Lee* for *Lea* (p. 402); *Sargeant* for *Sargent* (pp. 415, 416); *F. W. White* for *T. W. White* (p. 471); *Matthew* for *Mathew* (p. 475); *Stannard* for *Stanard* (p. 478). Other errors are: 1839 for 1838 (p. 401, l. 13); 20 for 21 (p. 404, l. 21); *saw* for *see* (p. 412, l. 21); 1845 for 1835 (p. 414, l. 6); "To ——" for "To ——" (p. 416, l. 9); *challenge* misspelled (p. 444, l. 33); "Lemonnier" in the index (p. 466) out of alphabetical order; "*The Haunted Chamber*" for *The Haunted Palace*," under "Longfellow" (p. 466); *Outes* for *Outis* (p. 469); *Brigg's* for *Briggs's* (p. 473). I have also stumbled upon slight errors or omissions in the page references in the index under "Clarke, Thomas C.", "Mary," "Mystification," "Poe, Rosalie P.", "Wallace, William," and "White, Eliza." But aside from these errors, the mechanical work of the two volumes is thoroughly satisfactory. The index is several times fuller than the index of the first edition. There is also improvement in type, in paper, and in binding. And the photographs, engravings, and facsimiles, with which both volumes are liberally supplied, are done most admirably.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

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#### THE ROMANTIC SCHOOL IN GERMANY.

WERNAER, ROBERT M., Ph. D.: *Romanticism and the Romantic School in Germany*. New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1910. xv + 373 pp.

Dr. Weruaer has the distinction of having written the first complete English discussion of the German Romantic School. He has studied the sources carefully and has sought, not only to

giv the salient features of the School's activities, but to interpret Romanticism as a literary phenomenon in its broader relations to the human spirit. His study is a personal study, written by a man filld with the greatness of the men with whom he has to deal and yet not blinded by their faults ; but his interpretation remains always intensely subjectiv and has all the faults and virtues of such subjectivity.

For him Romanticism is neither a return to the past nor to nature but is a reaction of "Love" against the "Legal" attitude of mind which threatens to shut out from the world the vision of "sweetness and light." From this "Love" all romantic activity proceeded ; on the basis of this "Love" all romantic attitudes must be interpreted. The great failure of the book is that it leaves the reader with the suspicion that much of this "Love" proceeds not directly from the School, but from Dr. Wernaer's undeniably poetic interpretation of the Romantic mood and that the glamor within him is reflected in the pages of his work. Instead of keeping a middle course between Haym and Ricarda Huch as the program of his preface indicated, he has substituted for the latter's subjectivity and her theory of the male and female elements in the spirit of the Romantic School and of Goethe, a new theory and a new subjectivity.

For this reason the book will not be entirely clear to the average reader. He will leave it, no dout, with a keen sense of appreciation of the School and a firm belief in his own Romanticism, but he will not hav had a critical survey of the whole. In a way, the book is not elementary enuf. It does not contain enuf of the bare Grad-grind facts set forth as such. For the specialist, the abandonment of the literary-historical point of departure and the assumption of a new stand-ard offers food for thot. The specialist will not, perhaps, abandon his cherisht historical point of view without a struggle, if he abandon it at all, but he must recognize that in this work a defuit stand is taken and a real interpretativ attempt is made.

There can be no question that the author understands the Romantic School, in spite of a certain naive wonder at it that crops out from time to time. His interpretation of the main problems of

the School is, on the whole, sane and just; his grasp of facts adequate. If he leads everything back somewhat over-enthusiastically to his theory, he at least clothes that theory with a wealth of examples that is seductive. For him the Romantic School, and he means by this the first, or Jena group, as opposed to the second, or Heidelberg group, is a band of great leaders who lift life up from barrenness to fertility, whose mission is a revelation of divinity (page 35) and whose failure is the inevitable one to reconcile the irreconcilable, while their victory is to be found in the culmination of the powers of the ego (page 134).

It is not possible in the short space of this review to discuss the book chapter by chapter. Perhaps the harmony of the whole might have been served better if the chapter on Romantic Leaders (Chap. 4) had followed directly after the statement of the problem in Chapter 1.

In the chapter on Romantic nature, Dr. Wernaer has neglected to discuss all the demonism expressed by Tieck in his attitude toward the impingeing universe, just as he has omitted all the coloristic effects and the confusion of sense imagery, sight terms for sound and sound terms for light, which was so large a part of the Romantic point of view and which explains so much of the actual seeing and psychology. These two ideas do not follow out the idea of "Love" and it is, perhaps, for this reason that the author has omitted them. The one is a major part of Tieck's personal contribution to the nature attitude of German poetry, the other is one development or phase of the Romantic irony—an attempt to express universality, the oneness of all the non-ego. Nor has Tieck, as Dr. Wernaer claims, the Wordsworthian pantheism. If any distinction is to be made, Tieck's God in Nature must be compared to that of Coleridge and not to Wordsworth's.

The chapter on Romantic irony is one of the clearest in the book. It shows very well the difference in point of view toward this irony as interpreted by Friedrich Schlegel and by Tieck. It might also have been added that the structure of Tieck's dramas like *Der gestiefelte Kater* owes a great deal to certain plays of Ben Jonson and that the clever idea of satire in the play within the play comes as Tieck's personal contribution. The relation of the irony to *Lucinde* is rightly

interpreted but the chapter on that story itself is marred by a certain moral—unctuousness is too strong a word—a certain ministerial tone. Both here and in the chapter on the Romantic lives there seems to be a lurking disapproval with its necessary apologetic tone that appears to have an eye on our latent American Puritanism.

There is, in the last chapter, a good statement of what Romanticism is to us in the present. It has often occurred to the reviewer that America, like Germany, is, though unconsciously, passing through a Romantic revival. Some external signs are exhibitions, historical pageants and celebrations. These combined with a new nature attitude, developed first from the English tradition of out-door sport, an attitude that is fostered by a large number of magazines devoted to out-door life, to gardens and to the suburbs, all help on the moral side. They are signs of a new sense of civic righteousness, civic pride and of humanitarianism. Dr. Wernaer points out the same thing from another point of view and leads the modern revival back to his doctrine of "Love."

On the whole, the polemic side of the Romantic School is left too entirely out of the discussion and so the actual condition of the *Aufklärung* with its main exponents is not explained. The whole literary satire, the fact that so large a part of what was written and projected was literally polemical in character should be brought out in a book for non-Germans. Perhaps here, too, the inclusion would not have fitted in with the doctrine of "Love," the certainly righteous wrath may arise from love.

A brief word may also be said about the style of the book. The work flows along smoothly, borne on the waves of its author's emotionalism. There are several lapses into cheap colloquialism which a stroke of the pen can eradicate in the revision. So (page 135) "Das Ding an sieh, that naughty supernatural background" and others. There are many mixed metaphors. Such translations as "Stormers and Stressers" sound almost ludicrous while the use of the abbreviation Fried. for Friedrich is hardly to be recommended for it smacks of the country newspaper.

Appended to the work is a useful and excellent bibliography. Its plan brings with it some unfortunate repetitions in title because the author has tried to separate source material from critical

works. So, for example, to cite two of a number of instances, Holtei's *300 Briefe*, and Sulzer-Gebing's article on the relation of the Schlegels to art appear several times. A second edition shud rearrange this bibliografy and add some new titles. There is an important letter of Tieck to his sister in the *Festgabe für R. Hildebrand*, Leipzig, 1894. The recent Runge material shud also be added. So, e. g., the studies by Aubert and Roch to which may be joind the most recent, in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for January, 1910, which appear since the publication of the book. Karl Lamprecht's outline of the history of Romantic art in volume 10 of his history of Germany is also omitted, as is Gurlitt's history of German art in the niueteenth century, which wud be of interest to the general reader, however much one may take exception to Gurlitt's point of view toward Tieck. Dessauer's study of Wackenroder's relatiou to Vasari and Ottokar Fischer's article, *Über Verbindung von Farbe und Klang*, in the *Zeitschrift für Aesthetik*, vol. 2 (1907), are also important. Mr. Wernaer probably did not know the latter for he has not made any use of its conclusions, with its general strictures on Steinert's book on Tieck's color sense. Prodningg's program ou the relation of A. W. Schlegel to Lessing touches on a point rather too eutirely neglected by the author, namely, the Romantic attitude toward Shaksper, especially Tieck's close personal feeling. In this connection Marie Joachimi-Dege's *Deutsche Shakspeare-Probleme* shud be included. Another noteworthy omission is that of Minor's edition of Novalis.

The following misprints were noted in the bibliografy: page 336, Geothe; 338, Fougué; 345, Accorambona; Ranftle for Rauftl. The title of his book is *Genoveva als Romantische Dichtung*; 347, Verhältnisse.

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### PROVENÇAL ANTHOLOGY.

E. GAUBERT et JULES VÉRAN: *Anthologie de l'Amour Provençal. Préface de J. Anglade.* Paris: Mercure de France, 1909, 315 pp.

The larger part of this book is devoted to selections from Provençal poetry, the original being given as well as the French translation, thus making, for classes in Provençal, an excellent text book. In addition to the poetry itself, a preface of about 30 pages, an Introduction, an Appendix of about 35 pages of close print, and introductory notes at the beginning of each chapter, make of this volume a rcally scientific tool in the hands of scholars.

Let us lay stress on this part of the book. The Preface is written by J. Anglade, who has just revealed himself an excellent specialist in his *Les Troubadours* (A. Colin, 1908), having absorbed and complemented the science of Diez, Chabaneau, and all their forerunners. He offers us, in those luminous pages, an 'aperçu' of the evolution of the poetry of Provence, or rather of Occitanie as it ought more properly be called (*note* to p. 5). The Troubadours alrcady made love the chief theme of their poetry. But Anglade shows how, because they imagined a love code which represented the lover in the same relation to his lady as the vassal knight to his lord paramount, their literature was impaired by artificiality and lost its meauing when feudal customs lost their grasp upon the people. Anglade then shows how before all was over, the troubadours had, under the presure of events, transformed their natural, pagan love-songs, into songs of praise in honor of the Queen of Heaven. It would surely prove interesting if one was to compare that evolution with the oue of poetry in the North of France, which was first entirely religious in character, and then became profane by freeing itself from the influence of the Church. The Northern transformation was surely more in keeping with the general trend of history, and it seems to the writer that this cause would account very well for the long slumber of the Provençal literature. When he comes to the remarkable awakening at the hands of the modern félibres, Anglade hands over his pen to Gaubert and Véran.

In their Introduction they tell us that a second volume is forthcoming in which other inspirations of Provençal poetry will be taken up ; here they deal only with the chief theme, *love*. They maintain the superiority of the *félibres* over the troubadours, and explain it thus : the troubadours sang for the aristocracy on which they depended for their living ; thus, in spite of all the gracefulness and poetry of their verses, there is at the same time a certain lack of spontaneity of personal emotion. The *félibre*, on the contrary, is a product of modern democracy [see in Mistral's *Mémoires*, his account of the Revolution of 1848]. Although there have been, and there are still, a few royalist *félibres*, they all sing really the thoughts, feelings and aspiration of the people, and they themselves belong to the people : "les *félibres* chantent pour le peuple, et leurs hommages poétiques vont à celle qui passe, aux champs ou dans la rue, n'ayant pour tout diaème que le ruban qui entoure ses cheveux, d'autres richesses que celles dont la nature l'a gratifiée, d'autre science que celle du cœur" (page 29). What further makes their conception of love so deeply human is that they offer in their poems this perfectly inconsistent mixture of paganism and christianity which we all know. The *félibre* "a su rester ardent et chaste . . . si la race provençale a gardé tant de jolis gestes païens, si ses yeux ont encore la vision païenne de la nature, elle a l'âme chrétienne : . . . Mireille pourra se mourir d'amour, mais elle mourra pure devant les Saintes-Maries" (p. 30). This explains why this Provençal literature, which could so easily, with the pagan conception of love, become licentious, very rarely is actually so.

The poems, together with the introductory notes, well illustrate the fact that we have here a literature of a very special kind. The poets do not form a class by themselves ; they do not consider themselves to be a sort of literary mandarins ; they are absolutely one with the people, feel exactly like them, only they know better how to express what is within all. Not to speak of bookdealers like Aubanel, we find among these poets a peasant, a clerk of the P. L. M., a tailor, and even a barber. Furthermore, two of them, d'Arbaud and Baroncelli, who, by right of birth belonged to a higher social class, felt it necessary, in order

to use to the best advantage their gifts as poets, to reenter the ranks of the people, and become *manadié* (élevenrs de taureaux). Not a thing do they sing which is not within the reach of the simple, but poetic, people around them. And they live their poems ; how indissolubly connected life and art is can be seen in such biographies as those of Aubanel, the author of the magnificent *Vénus d'Arles*, or of Paul Arène, the author of *La Font-froide*, worthy descendants of that Geoffroy Rudel, the troubadour who became the hero of Rostand's *Princesse lointaine*. It is remarkable also that whenever they allow themselves to be touched by poetical themes not specifically Provençal, they first make the subject their own and are not content with mere imitation. Tourès had made Provençal socialism, André and Devolny have created a symbolism of a peculiar kind, and Boissière has even succeeded in writing Provençal poetry while cultivating exotism.

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## TWO RECENT FRENCH TEXT-BOOKS.

*Le Cid*, by PIERRE CORNEILLE, edited with introduction, notes, and vocabulary, by JAMES D. BRUNER, Ph. D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1908, American Book Company.

*Ruy Blas*, by VICTOR HUGO, edited with introduction, and notes, by KENNETH MCKENZIE. New York, 1909, Henry Holt & Company.

These two works are amongst the most important additions that have been made in recent years to our series of French texts for class-room use, and we may esteem ourselves fortunate that two such able editors should have devoted their talents to the preparation of these standard works, rather than to the production of new texts of minor value.

With his edition of the *Cid*, Professor Bruner sets a new standard in the preparation of classical French texts for school and college use, in that he makes it his first duty to present the work as a piece of literature to be understood and appre-

ciated by the student as such, and not simply as a parcel of language to be opened and sorted into verbs, adjectives and pronouns, each with its corresponding English label. Following the best English usage, there is first of all a comprehensive introduction covering the theory of the classical tragedy in France, its versification, language, style, and setting, together with a discussion of the plot and individual characters of the drama in question. After this preliminary discussion, come a short bibliography and Corneille's *Avertissement* and *Examen*, the whole introduction covering sixty-two pages.

The text is well printed from large type and there is a full vocabulary containing the translation of idiomatic phrases as well as of the individual words. All of this work is done in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, and of itself would be a valuable contribution to our literature on the drama. The editor was not content, however, to rest with a general introduction to direct the student, but devoted his chief attention to the annotation of particular lines and passages, in order that the student might have not only a correct translation of the words and phrases, but also a clear, intelligent conception of the action and motive forces of the dramatic work. The language of a classical writer offers little difficulty to the average student who has been reading for a twelvemonth or so selected passages from nineteenth century authors, and it is always a temptation for both teacher and student alike to be satisfied with a good translation of the text without much thought for its literary value. It is this very tendency that Professor Bruner seeks to overcome, and in his notes to the various scenes he endeavors to point out the part each one plays in the development of the drama as a whole, how it conforms to or departs from the standards of classical composition, whether the rôles of the characters harmonize with the action, and how each character is to be understood. In short, in the footnotes, Professor Bruner gives a valuable analysis of the drama and a literary commentary thereon, such as all instructors should give their classes, but which very few are willing or able to do. As an example of what this commentary is, I will cite the note to Scene v of Act I: "This simple, strong, effective scene, with its animated broken lines, has most artistic-

ally been prepared for by the preceding vigorous situations. An admirable and adequate preparation has, by allusion and stirring action, been made for the introduction of the hero, who appears here for the first time in person. Rodrigue meets at once a severe test of his family loyalty, and, like Ferdinand in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the young knight 'strangely stood the test.' Corneille has with good taste avoided the barbarism of the Spanish original in which Diègue bites the hand of his son. The melodramatic violence of anger on the part of the mediæval Spanish knight has been toned down to the refined rage belonging to the French courtier of the time of Louis XIII—a justifiable anachronism soon to be more extensively employed by Racine, whose Greek characters are only elegant French gentlemen.

"There is something in the Cid's task of revenge and his adoration of his father that reminds one of the perplexing problems and filial devotion of an Orestes or a Hamlet. The situation recalls, furthermore, the splendid scene in Lope de Vega's *The Star of Seville*, in which the king urges the loyal knight to kill his friend, the brother of the lady he is about to marry."

Tho emphasizing the literary feature of the notes, the editor has not been unmindful of the linguistic side; attention is regularly called to expressions now obsolete or peculiar to Corneille, and many of the *précieux* terms so common at that time are indicated. The vocabulary fortunately precludes the necessity of translations in the footnotes.

There is little to be said by way of criticism, Professor Bruner does not indicate the text of the drama he followed, but a careful comparison with that of the *Grands Ecrivains* edition,<sup>1</sup> shows but slight variations. Lines 406, Bruner *pas*, G. E. *point*; 584, *soumissions*, G. E. *submissions*; 645, *quelque sentiment*, G. E. plural; 906, *te puis*, G. E. *puis te*; 1094, *la justice*, G. E. *ce monarque*; 1132, *produit*, G. E. *produits*; 1207, *songer*, G. E. *penser*; 1230, *compte*, G. E. *conte*; 1296, *la*, G. E. *leur*; *désir* is regularly accented and *ai* is used instead of *oi* in the terminations of the im-

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Marty-Laveaux, 12 vols., Paris, 1862, Hachette et Cie.

perfect, conditional, etc. Accents are placed on capitals at variance with the best French usage. Unimportant variations in punctuation occur in lines 54, 81, 128, 178, 187, 267, 353, 385, 390, 399, 407, 438, 544, 572, 592, 615, 679, 792, 798, 813, 948, 1019, 1074, 1095, 1168, 1217, 1285, 1360, 1425, 1463, 1466, 1545, 1580, 1661, 1679, 1820. Misprints occur as follows: line 737, *sons* for *son*; 1078, *entends* for *entend*; 1181 and 1624, period for comma; Act V, scene vii, *Don Arias* is omitted from the list of characters. In the note to line 350 the word *death* instead of *insult* is used in referring to Rodrigue's father.

In his treatment of the episode of the Infanta, Professor Bruner insists that it is meant as a comic relief to the intensity of the real action, the writer would not willingly accept this interpretation, preferring to regard the Infanta as one who would sacrifice her inclinations to her position and to her friendship for Chimène. The introduction of such a comic element would not be at all in harmony with the professed ideals of the classic writers.

The task of Professor McKenzie in preparing *Ruy Blas* for class-room use differed considerably from that of Professor Bruner with the *Cid*; it is exceedingly doubtful, in fact, if the two plays could be treated alike, if we were to attempt to indicate fully the feelings and emotions of Hugo's characters, we should undoubtedly far exceed the limits of the college text-book; and furthermore, the characters of the Romantic drama are presented to us in so much greater detail than are the figures in the classical drama that it is certainly an open question whether such extended interpretation is worth while. In the *Cid* comparatively little aid needs to be given to the actual interpretation of the text; the language is classic, the references to outside matters of no account. Quite the contrary is true of *Ruy Blas*; adequate information with regard to the setting and clear explanations of the many unusual words and innumerable historical references is of primary importance to the satisfactory understanding of the drama. The editor has not hesitated to undertake the full responsibility of this interpretation and has spared no pains nor effort in his work.

In a comprehensive introduction, in the almost

incredibly small space of twenty-three pages, he indicates the place of Victor Hugo in the literary development of the early part of the nineteenth century, adding the essential details of his life; he explains the origin and objects of the Romantic movement with especial reference to the drama; he gives a list of the chief plays of that school, including all of Victor Hugo's; he analyzes the character of Ruy Blas, comparing it with that of Hernani; and, finally, he gives a brief picture of the historical conditions in Spain at the end of the seventeenth century. Following the introduction we have the text of the *Préface* and of the drama itself neatly presented, with the stage directions, so important in plays of this sort, printed in type large enough not to fatigue the eye. As there is no vocabulary, the editor has devoted a great deal of attention to the notes which are admirable in every respect. There are very few translations, and the writer has not found a single allusion that needed further elucidation; again, in all cases where there may be a question as to the meaning, the authority is given for the editor's interpretation. Just what Professor McKenzie has added to our knowledge of *Ruy Blas* may best be appreciated by comparing his notes with those of the best preceding edition of the play,—one which has been generally regarded as a most satisfactory piece of work,—when it will be seen that the number of lines annotated is increased by fifty per cent, yet without any useless additions or translations. From his statements and from the number and character of his references, one can see that the editor has left no stone unturned to arrive at accuracy and truth; in fact, it would be hard to find a better guide for the graduate student or the teacher who would make an exhaustive study of the times and drama of Victor Hugo.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

MORE ODD TEXTS OF CHAUCER'S *Troilus*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—I append to this communication copies made by myself from two unnoticed manuscripts, of five stanzas of Chaucer's *Troilus*.

The three "Avaunter" stanzas, taken from *Troilus*, III, 309–322, appear similarly quoted in another ms., Univ. Lib. Camb. Ff. 1. 6, leaf 151. These were printed by Dr. Furnivall, in *Odd Texts*, 1871, App. xi–xii, and are referred to in Miss Hammoud's bibliography. The collation with my text shows very slight evidence that the two citations are due to an immediate common original. Thus my copy is an independent testimony to the popularity of these lines in the fifteenth century. Incidentally the Trinity text is to be preferred to its University fellow.

The Pandarus "whetstoue" stanza is also quoted elsewhere, in Shirley's ms. R. 3. 20, printed by Dr. Furnivall in the same volume above cited. The odd ascription to Gower is merely another evidence of Shirley's inaccuracy of memory in age. Let no one hint that Chaucer stole the stanza from Gower, and that this was the real cause of the (mythical) Gower-Chaucer feud!

The stanza beginning "If no love is" is another of Shirley's quotations. The old scribe's memory held fast some precious nuggets of verse, according to our modern sense. This Petrarch stanza was never elsewhere quoted, I think.

The Ellesmere Lydgate ms. (No. 4), from which the two stanzas are taken, has only three pages in Shirley's hand on stray leaves at the beginning. Leaf 5b contains in Shirley's most ornate hand

iesu            mercy  
Margarete & Beaurice  
:ma ioye .M. Shirley.

The letter which I give as "M." is the same crowned letter which occurs on the first leaf of Shirley's<sup>1</sup> Ashmole 59, and on p. 363 of his Trin. R. 3. 20. I have no hesitation in declaring with

<sup>1</sup> In his note on Shirley mss., *Archiv*, CIII, 151. He refers to the Ashmole copy only.

Prof. M. Förster the identity of the letter as "M." Miss Hammond's idea that the letter in the two copies hitherto known is a compound letter MAR, standing either for Maria (*Anglia*, XXVII, 393, n. 1) or for Amor (her latest guess, *Anglia*, XXXIII, 320), is not supported by facts. The letter is identical with other capital "M" initials occurring throughout the Ellesmere ms., save that, as would be natural in an ornamental letter, the faint strokes are firmly drawn in. The fact that the "M" in Trin. R. 3. 20 stands where "A" should come in the line

"A soltyre soore compleynyng,"

means nothing. If one were to count the number of cases in which initial letters of pieces are wrongly set, he would deserve a pension. Whether the "M" stands for "ma ioye," "mercy," or more probably the crowned Queen "Margarete" of Shirley's later years, is of little account; but future students of "our firste lettre" and of "crowned A" need not trouble themselves with Shirley's fanciful "M."

Folios 2b and 3a of the Ellesmere Lydgate contain :

1. The refrain of Lydgate's "Prayer for King, Queen and People."
2. The first stanza of the Halsham stanzas, beginning "þe worlde so wyde."
3. The second Halsham stanza, here headed "Halsham," beginuning "þe more I go."
4. The Troilus whetstone stanza, here headed "Gower."
5. The Petrarch stanza, here headed "Troylus."
6. The stanza on the changes in condition from Walton's Boethius, here headed Boese, beginuning "As þat pouert causeþe sekurnesse."
7. The heading of another stanza, "To yowe Chaucier." On this see Miss Spurgeon's forthcoming note in the Chaucer Allusion Book.

The contents of the Trinity ms. are accessible to all in Dr. James' catalogue. The Troilus stanzas are not identified by him however.

(Ellesmere ms. 4, fols. 2b–3a.)

## GOWER.

A whetstone is no karving instrument  
And yitte it makeþe sharpe karving tholis  
If þow knowest ought where þat I have miswent

fol. 3a) Eschewe þou þat for suche thing to þe scole is  
þus wyse men beon offt beware by folis  
If þowe do so þy witte is wele bywarded  
By his contrarye is every thing declared—

## TROYLUS.

If no love is o lord what fele I so  
And if love is what thing and what is he  
If love be gode fro whens comþe my wo  
If it be wicke gret wonder thenkeþe me  
Sith every turment and adversite  
þat frome it comþe may to me savoury thenke  
For ay thrist l þe more þat I it drynke

## BALLADE.

(Ms. Trinity College Cambridge R. 4. 20. 171b.)

O fals tonge so often here before  
Has þu made many oon bryghte of hewe  
Say walaway the day that I was bore  
And mony a maydes sorwe for to newe  
And for the more parte all vntrewe  
That men of yelpe and it wer broght to preve  
Of kynde none Avaunter is to leve  
  
Avaunter and a lyer all is oon  
As thus I pose a woman grauntith me  
Hyr luff and sayth that other wyll she none  
And I am sworne to hold it secre  
And after I go tell it two or thre  
I am avaunter a the leste  
And a lyer for I breke my beheste  
  
No wonder than if thay be not to blame  
Suche maner of folke what I clepe ham what  
That bam avaunte of wymmen and by name  
That neuer yhit behyghte ham this ne that  
Ne knowe ham more than my nowlde hatte  
No wonder is so gode me sende hele  
þoghe wymmen drede with vs men to dele  
by me ffraunce.

Collation of this text (T) with Un. Cam. Ff. 1. 6, leaf 150 (F) and with Skeat's text (S). 1 O tongue alias S. 2 many a lady S. 3 seyd S. 5 al is F. S. 9 And thus F a om. F. 10 sayth feythe F. 11 holden S. 12 line om. F. 13 Y-wis I am FS. 14 a om. S. 15 Now loke thanne S now loke thou F. 16 of om. FS. shal I, S. 17 That and, F. 18 knewe, FS.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN.

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POE DOCUMENTS IN THE LIBRARY OF  
CONGRESS.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—None of the biographers of Poe have taken account of some interesting documents bearing on the early life of the poet that are

preserved in the Library of Congress. These are, first, a letter of Poe's to George Watterston, Esq., of Washington, D. C., and, second, a number of letters and bills that came to the Library with the purchase of the Ellis-Allan collection of papers.

The Watterston letter—the only one of the documents that was written by Poe—is dated "New York, Nov. 1845," and bears the post-mark "New York, Dec. 5." It was written for the purpose of soliciting a subscription for the *Broadway Journal*, which Poe was then editing, and which was in straits. The letter begins with a gracious mention of Mr. Watterston's support of the *Southern Literary Messenger* while Poe was its editor, proceeds with a complimentary allusion to Mr. Watterston as one whose judgment Poe held in high esteem, and ends with the request that he subscribe for the *Journal*. A notation in the lower left-hand corner of this document has it that the manuscript is a facsimile, but the post-mark proves it to be an original.

The letters in the Ellis-Allan collection are four in number. Of these the earliest and the most interesting is the letter of Eliza Poe, an aunt of the poet, to Mrs. John Allan, the poet's foster-mother, who is obsequiously addressed as the "Kind Benefactress of the infant Orphan Edgar Allan Poe." The letter was written from Baltimore on February 8, 1813, or when the poet was but four years old. It deals, first, with the failure of Poe's Baltimore grandparents to receive an answer to a letter addressed to Mrs. Allan in July of the preceding year (an omission which the writer suggests was probably due to the miscarriage of the letter); then dwells upon the magnanimity of the Allans in adopting the infant Poe; and concludes with greetings and affectionate messages from Poe's brother, William Henry, his senior by two years. Incidentally reference is made to a meeting of a Mr. Douglas with the Allans at some watering-place, and to Mr. Douglas's report that the boy Edgar Allan was a most handsome and obedient child. The writer of this letter, Eliza Poe, subsequently married Henry Herring, of Baltimore, and her daughter, Elizabeth, was one of the Baltimore cousins whom Poe fell in love with in the early thirties.

The next of the letters in the order of time is

one written by John Allan to Poe's brother, William Henry. This bears the date November 1, 1824. In it Mr. Allan deprecates young Edgar Allan's neglect to answer a letter received from William Henry a short time before, complains of his ward's slinkiness and general ill-temper and his lack of affection for his benefactors, boasts that he had given Poe a better education than he had himself received, compares the two brothers to the disadvantage of the younger, and winds up sanctimoniously with a prayer that God may protect and prosper young William Henry—in order that his sister Rosalie may not suffer. This letter is not an original, but is the copy kept by Mr. Allan.

The two remaining letters have to do with Poe's life at the University of Virginia. One of them is from a school-fellow there, Edward G. Crump, of Dinwiddie Co., Va. It is addressed to Poe, and remonstrates with him for delaying to pay a debt that he owed him—a debt which the writer insists it is all the more his duty to pay since it is not a gambling debt. This letter is dated March 25, 1827,—three months after Poe had left the University. The other letter is from George Spotswood, of Charlottesville, to John Allan, asking that he reimburse him for the services of one of his slaves whom Poe had employed while at the University of Virginia. The date of this letter is May 1, 1827.

The bills in the Ellis-Allan papers are five in all. Four of these are for Poe's tuition at the academy kept by the Clarks in Richmond—three of them being made payable to J. H. Clarke, and one to J. W. Clarke, apparently a predecessor of J. H. Clarke. The period covered by the first of these bills is June 11 to September 11, 1821; by the second, September 11, 1821, to March 11, 1822; by the third, June 11 to September 11, 1822; by the fourth, September 11 to December 11, 1822. In three of these bills, the item of "Pens, Ink, and Paper" appears, and in one of them charge is made for a Horace and for a Cicero's *De Officiis*. The remaining bill is not against Mr. Allan, but against Poe (spelled *Powe* twice in the document), and for tailor's articles to the amount of \$68.46. Among items included are one "cut velvet vest," one "pair Drab Pantaloons and Trimmings," one "Set Best Gilt Buttons," and three yards of "Linin," with a like amount of "Super Blue Cloth." The bill is not dated, but probably belongs to Poe's college period.

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

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#### PALAEASTRA, LXXXIV.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS :—The philosophical basis of Novalis' esthetic theories is the subject of volume 84 of *Palaestra* (E. Havenstein, *Friedrich von Hardenbergs ästhetische Anschauungen*, Berlin, 1909). The book contains many new and stimulating theories especially with regard to Novalis' relation to Fichte, who, according to Havenstein, had by no means as much influence in determining the content of Novalis' ideas as is generally supposed. It is rather to Hemsterhuis that one must look for the fundaments of the Romantic philosophical system. The great significance of Hemsterhuis in the development of Romantic thinking in Germany has long been known but it has remained for Havenstein and Kircher in their recent brilliant study of the philosophy of the Romantic School in Germany to bring out the details.

Not only did Novalis not really accept Fichte's doctrine of the difference between the *ich* and the *nicht-ich*, but he did not even thoroughly digest Fichte's general doctrine as the notes from his Fichtean reading clearly show. For Novalis, the barrier between the *ich* and the *nicht-ich* does not exist and all philosophizing is self-contemplation without any reference to the external ego. The difference between the two egos is non-existent or at least if it must be predicated, according to Novalis' scheme, it can also be overcome. From this point of view it is an easy step to the Romantic doctrine of *Willkür* and of the miraculous as parts of the inner world of fancy. Hence too, Novalis' glorification of mathematics as the highest form of this *Willkür*.

The ultimate basis of reality is in the feelings alone and these with the unconditional freedom of the imagination are the material and birthright of the Romantic personality. The poet and the philosopher are two parts of the same thing. The poet takes his material and treats it inwardly but absolutely independently (*Pluspoesie*) the philosopher treats it objectively.

The book also discusses Novalis' theory of the "Märchen," of transcendental poetry, and gives a definition of "romantic" from Novalis' point of view without adding much to the subject. Prefixed to the discussion of the esthetic theories is a very important attempt at a redating and rearrangement of the Fragments. Havenstein shows three periods in Novalis' chirography and arranges the Fragments accordingly. This arrangement will prove a definitive check on Heilborn's edition which has already been so sharply criticized by Walzel and Minor.

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## BROWNING'S *CHRISTMAS EVE*.

The importance of the question raised by Professor Phelps in *Modern Language Notes* and his kindly reference to my article in *Modern Language Publications* for June, 1908, embolden me to enter upon fuller discussion of the points at issue. The parallel with *Christmas Eve* quoted from Browning's letter of August 16th, 1846, is remarkably close, but I cannot accept one of the conclusions Professor Phelps bases upon it. It does not seem to me "proved" or even probable that the letter was "the source" of the poem—that "*Christmas Eve* sprang directly from this correspondence." Possibly the difference between my view and that of Professor Phelps is more a matter of phrase than of fact; but it seems worth while to set the issue forth in some fulness. Professor Phelps says that in the letter "Browning definitely if unconsciously, made a sketch which was later strictly followed in the poem." If Professor Phelps would extend his conditional clause, "if unconsciously," to the latter half of the sentence, I might accept his statement; but if he holds that in writing *Christmas Eve* in 1849–50 Browning had in mind the letter he had written to Miss Barrett in August, 1846, this seems to me a very rash conclusion. If this were established, the source of *Christmas Eve* would have to be assigned to Elizabeth Barrett, for it is in her letter of August 15th that the contrast is made between intellectualism and ceremonialism—the Unitarian and the Sistine Chapel—with the expressed preference for the simplicity of the evangelical dissenters. "There is enough to dissent from among the dissenters. . . . you feel moreover bigotry and ignorance pressing on you on all sides, till you gasp for breath like one strangled. But better this, even, than what is elsewhere." Obviously we have here the central thought of *Christmas Eve*, but no one, I suppose, would describe Miss Barrett's letter as the source of the poem. The

revulsion from "ignorance and bigotry" and the adherence in spite of it to traditional beliefs and forms of worship must have occurred thousands of times in the middle of the nineteenth century to thoughtful men and women, brought up, as were Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, in non-conformist families.<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be urged that this was preëminently a period of ferment and transition in the religious world; John Henry Newman was received into the Roman communion in October, 1845; in June, 1846, Strauss's *Life of Jesus* appeared in an English translation made by the writer who was afterwards to become famous as George Eliot. The position taken by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett—that of the evangelical *via media* between what they regarded as the extremes of Romanism on the one hand and rationalism on the other—was that taken by the vast majority of religious people in England at the time. There was nothing peculiar or extraordinary in Miss Barrett's statement of these issues in August, 1846; Browning very naturally, in answering her letter and expressing concurrence with her views, used the same symbols; and I find nothing surprising in the fact that when he came to deal with these issues in a poem, the same ideas should occur to him.

I am the less inclined to regard the letter of August, 1846 as the source of *Christmas Eve* because at that date Browning had had a poem on the subject and in the manner of *Christmas*

<sup>1</sup> See Elizabeth Barrett's letter of August 2, 1845:—"I used to go with my father always, when I was able, to the nearest dissenting chapel of the congregationalists—from liking the simplicity of that praying and speaking without books—and a little too from disliking the theory of state churches"; and Browning's reply on August 4:—"You confess this to me—whose father and mother went this morning to the very Independent Chapel where they took me, all those years back, to be baptised—and where they heard, this morning, a sermon preached by the very minister who officiated on that other occasion!" (*Letters*, v. I, pp. 145 and 147.)

*Eve* in contemplation for some years. At the very outset of his acquaintance with Miss Barrett, indeed in his very first letter after the complimentary one which opened the correspondence, he said (January 13, 1845):—

You do what I always wanted, hoped to do, and only seem now likely to do for the first time. You speak out, *you*,—I only make men and women speak—give you truth broken into prismatic hues, and fear the pure white light, even if it is in me, but I am going to try ; so it will be no small comfort to have your company just now, seeing that when you have your men and women aforesaid, you are busied with them, whereas it seems bleak, melancholy work, this talking to the wind (for I have begun)—yet I don't think I shall let *you* hear, after all, the savage things about Popes and imaginative religions that I must say. (*Letters*, v. I, p. 6.)

She replied on January 15 :—

Of your new work I hear with delight. How good of you to tell me. And it is not dramatic in the strict sense, I am to understand—(am I right in understanding so?) and you speak, in your own person ‘to the winds’? no—but to the thousand living sympathies which will awake to hear you. (v. I, p. 8.)

There is a reference to the topic—too long to quote in full—in Browning's letter of February 11, in which he says, after speaking of his dramatic work : “But I have never begun, even, what I hope I was born to begin and end—‘R. B. a poem.’” “You have not written the R. B. poem yet,” she commented on February 17th, and in answer to her inquiry for fuller information about himself “before the R. B. poem comes out,” he wrote (February 26):—

I have some Romances and Lyrics, all dramatic, to dispatch, and then, I shall stoop of a sudden under and out of this dancing ring of men and women hand in hand, and stand still awhile, should my eyes dazzle, and when that's over, they will be gone and you will be there, *pas vrai*? For, as I think I told you, I always shiver involuntarily when I look—no, glance—at this First Poem of mine to be. ‘Now,’ I call it, what, upon my soul,—for a solemn matter it is,—what is to be done *now*, believed *now*, so far as it has been revealed to me—solemn words, truly. (v. I, pp. 26–7.)

In response she says (February 27):—

My chief intention just now is the writing of a sort of novel-poem—a poem as completely modern as ‘Geraldine’s Courtship,’ running into the midst of our conventions, and rushing into drawing-rooms and the like ‘where angels fear to tread’; and so, meeting face to face and without mask the Humanity of the age, and speaking the truth as I conceive of it out plainly. (v. I, p. 32.)

His reply keeps still his own poem in mind (March 12):—

The poem you propose to make, for the times ; the fearless fresh living work you describe, is the *only* Poem to be undertaken now by you or anyone that *is* a Poet at all ; the only reality, only effective piece of service to be rendered God and man ; it is what I have been all my life intending to do, and now shall be much, much nearer doing, since you will along with me. (v. I, pp. 37–8.)

One more extract (from Browning's letter of June 14) makes his intentions clear :—

I must make an end, print this Autumn my last four ‘Bells,’ Lyrics, Romances, ‘The Tragedy,’ and ‘Luria,’ and then go on with a whole heart to my own Poem—indeed, I have just resolved not to begin any new song, even, till this grand clearance is made. (v. I, p. 98.)

We know then that, long before he met Miss Barrett, Browning intended to write a poem not strictly dramatic, in which he was to speak in his own person on the religious issues of the day, and to say “savage things about Popes and imaginative religions.” The composition of this poem was to follow the completion of the Bells and Pomegranates Series. Browning's plans were interrupted by his marriage and his settlement in Italy. *Christmas Eve* in the later edition was dated “Florence, 1850”; but it was evidently projected many years before. The true source of the poem must be sought in the religious controversies of the time and in Browning's attitude towards them, affected first by his early religious training, and later by his wife's influence.

The evidence I have adduced from the correspondence negatives, I think, Professor Phelps's first conclusion ; but it supports his second—“that *Christmas Eve* is not primarily a dramatic poem, as many have claimed, but that it is the deliberate expression of Browning's own religious convictions.” With this I agree, if sufficient evi-

phasis is laid on the word *primarily*, and it is borne in mind that the poem does contain dramatic elements. This, I take it, Professor Phelps will not dispute. *Christmas Eve* is not a direct expression of personal emotion in the same sense as *One Word More*, addressed "to E. B. B.," in which the poet says:—

Let me speak this once in my true person (l. 137).  
—Once, and only once, and for one only. (l. 60).

It does not, like *La Saisiaz*, deal with real persons and events, and recount the thoughts and emotions evoked by a personal experience gone through by Browning himself. Apart from the supernatural machinery of *Christmas Eve*, this is made clear by the fact that Browning was not in England in 1849, and his home was never in Mauchester (l. 251). Moreover, *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, published under this joint title, must be taken together, and it is evident that the "I" of the first poem is not the same person as the "I" of the second. *Easter Day* 372-5:—

On such a night three years ago  
It chanced that I had cause to cross  
The common where the chapel was,  
Our friend spoke of, the other day.

Browning still wears the dramatic mask, and at times, I think, he makes use of the resources the dramatic mask affords, although, in the main, he expresses his own religious convictions. I do not agree with Miss Naish that *Christmas Eve* is "essentially dramatic" in character. It appears to me to be superficially dramatic—in form—but essentially subjective—in content. Two years ago, I wrote that in *Christmas Eve* Browning "tries to be subjective and does not wholly succeed, so that it is often difficult to say whether he is speaking dramatically or in his own person"; and I do not feel able to carry the matter much further now. Substantially, I am sure, Professor Phelps is right on this point, but I do not think that we are justified in assuming that every expression of opinion on religious questions in the poem is to be taken as Browning's own view, or that he would have expressed his views in just that way if he had been actually speaking in his own person. Some deduction must be made for the dramatic setting—how much, it is impossible to say exactly, but not, I should think, a great deal.

On one other point raised by Professor Phelps I may be permitted a word of explanation. I agree with him that Browning's reply to Miss Barrett is quite definite, *as far as it goes*; my point was that it goes no further than concurrence with what Miss Barrett has already said. I agree that Browning is not "dodging": his answer bears the unmistakable accent of sincerity; but it is noteworthy that on the two occasions on which the religious issue was raised in the correspondence, it was raised by Miss Barrett, and Browning, while he gives satisfactory assurances, does not carry the discussion any further. If this fact stood alone, it would not amount to much, but taken in conjunction with the pronounced difference in tone between the poems written before Browning's marriage and those composed during his married life at Florence, it is, I think, significant. If Professor Phelps is right in his view of the paramount importance of the letter of August 15th in relation to *Christmas Eve*, this emphasizes Miss Barrett's influence: it was direct and immediate, instead of, as I have supposed, subtle and extending over the years which elapsed between Browning's avowal of his long-cherished poetic project in January, 1845, and his accomplishment of it in 1849-50.

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.

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#### DOPPELDRUCKE VON SCHILLERS JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS.

##### II. DIE ERSTE BUCHAUSGABE.

Für die erste Buchausgabe, welche das Datum 1802 trägt, wurde unter Weglassung des Kalendariums und der Genealogie nur der Titel neu gedruckt. Der Text stimmt seiten- und zeilen-gleich mit dem des Kalenders überein, und zwar kommen auch hier die Doppeldrucke a und b in Betracht, deren Text von dem stehengebliebenen Satze von ॥ abgezogen wurde. Sämtliche Druckfehler, schadhafte Lettern u. dgl. der Drucke ॥ treten in a resp. b wieder zum Vorschein. Mein Exemplar von a, sowie auch das von Vollmer

benutzte, trägt den Druckvermerk *Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1802.* (anstatt *Berlin. Bei Johann Friedrich Unger. 1802.*). Trömel kennt diesen Druck nicht, während Goedeke (V, 223, 9) denselben als Naehdruck bezeichnet.<sup>1</sup> Dass hier trotz des fingierten Druckortes der Originaldruck vorliegt, beweisen die von Vollmer angeführten Lesarten, so z. B. zu Z. 372, 4121, 4126 u. 4137. Über einstimmend mit  $\mathfrak{A}$  findet sich auch in  $\mathfrak{a}$  die falsche Seitenzahl 119 anstatt 219. Da der betreffende Bogen von  $\mathfrak{B}b$ , welche von demselben Satze abgezogen ist, die richtige Seitenzahl hat, so folgt, dass  $\mathfrak{a}$  früher als  $\mathfrak{B}b$  gedruckt ist. Dagegen gibt es Exemplare mit der Ungersehen Firma, welche nicht von dem Satz von  $\mathfrak{A}a$  abgezogen sind, obwohl sie in äusserer Einrichtung genau mit  $\mathfrak{a}$  übereinstimmen. Ich habe dieselben daher als  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  und  $\mathfrak{a}^2$  bezeichnet.

Während die zur Herstellung von  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  benutzten Typen denen von  $\mathfrak{A}a$  sehr ähnlich sind, so ergibt doch selbst eine oberflächliche Vergleichung, z. B. des Anfangs des Prologs, dass der Satz ganz und gar neu ist. Dies wird auch durch die später zu besprechenden Varianten bestätigt. Was Papier anbelangt, so besteht  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  bis einschl. S. 216 (Bogen I) aus demselben EBARTsehen Papier, während S. 217–260 (Bogen KI) auf anderem bläulichen Papier gedruckt sind. Das Format von  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  (und auch  $\mathfrak{a}^2$ ) ist Duodez, indem jeder Bogen die Bogenweiser  $X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, X_5$  aufweist, während sich die Naht zwischen dem 6. u. 7. Blatt findet. Dagegen wurde bei  $\mathfrak{A}Bb$  der Satz dergestalt in die Form gebracht, dass beim Binden jeder Bogen in zwei Hefte zerfiel, von je 8 u. 4 Bl. Auch finden sich hier nur die Bogenweiser  $X_1, X_2$ .

Der Druck  $\mathfrak{a}^2$  unterscheidet sich in mehreren Punkten von  $\mathfrak{a}^1$ . Erstens ist das Papier gerippt,

<sup>1</sup>Ganz ähnlich liegt die Sache bei der ersten, gleichfalls Ungersehen, Ausgabe von Goethes *Wilhelm Meister*. Der erste Band meines Exemplares trägt die Firma *Berlin. Bey Johann Friedrich Unger. 1795*; dagegen steht auf dem Titel von Bd. 2–4 einfach *Frankfurt und Leipzig. 1795(6)*, ohne Ungers Firma. Trotzdem liegt in allen vier Bänden der Originaldruck ( $N^1$ ) vor, und nicht etwa, wie man vermuten möchte, ein Doppeldruck ( $N^2 N^3$ ). In beiden Fällen hat also Unger nur ein neues Titelblatt drucken lassen. Was dabei sein Zweck war, braucht uns hier nicht weiter aufzuhalten: man vergleiche übrigens *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft Bd. XIII*, S. 104–5.

aber ansehnlich ohne Filigrane. Auch wurden andere Typen benutzt, was sich erstens an den grösseren Blattzahlen, und dann an der grösseren Kursivschrift leicht nachweisen lässt. Der auffallendste Unterschied besteht jedoch darin, dass in  $\mathfrak{a}^2$  das lange 'f' durchweg durch das runde 's' ersetzt worden ist, ausgenommen in der Verbindung 'fs.' Hierdurch ist der Druck  $\mathfrak{a}^2$  von allen anderen Doppeldrucken mit 260 Seiten zu unterscheiden, da sonst nur der Druck  $\mathfrak{C}$  (240 Seiten) dies Merkmal aufweist.

Das Verhältnis der Drucke  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  und  $\mathfrak{a}^2$  zu einander und zu den späteren Drucken kann durch eine Anzahl charakteristischer Lesarten genau bestimmt werden:

Auf S. 66 (1238) lesen  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$ :

*Nicht Hoffnung war zu siegen noch zu fliehn,*  
während  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  und anstatt noch haben.

Auf der folgenden Seite (1245) lesen  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$ : mit behelmtem Haupt, dagegen  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$ : mit behelmten Haupt.

Auf S. 152 lautet V. 2877 in  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$ :

*Und jeden acht' ich solches Preises werth.*

Hier setzen  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  solchen Preises.

Ähnlich die Stellen S. 175 (3304) wie  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$  = weil  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$ ;

S. 212 (3997) erzeigt  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$  = erzeugt  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$ .

Der schlagendste Beweis findet sich jedoch auf S. 227 (4284) wo sämtliche andere Ausgaben lesen:

*in den Schoß*

*Der heil'gen Kirehe reuend widerkchren?*

Hier fehlt in den Drucken  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  das Wort reuend.

Auf S. 213 (4026) ferner, wo die anderen Ausgaben gerichtet lesen, haben  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  übereinstimmend geheftet. Diese Stelle ist von Vollmer nicht vermerkt.

An all den genannten Stellen haben  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  den Text verschlimmert: in einzelnen Fällen jedoch hat Vollmer die Lesart von  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  aufgenommen, so z. B. S. 55 (1018): *einen*, wo  $\mathfrak{A}aBb$  einem lesen. Aus den angeführten Beispielen erhellt zur Genüge dass  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{f}$  als einheitliche Textgruppe zu betrachten sind. Das nähere Verhältnis derselben zu einander kann durch andere Stellen dargetan werden. Der Druck  $\mathfrak{f}$ , mit dem Datum 1804, ist natürlich das jüngste Mitglied

der Gruppe. Ebenso kann der Druck  $\mathbb{C}$ , mit 240 Seiten, nicht als Vorlage für  $\alpha^1\alpha^2$  gedient haben, da letztere, mit 260 Seiten, seiten- und zeilen-gleich mit  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}$  übereinstimmen. Folglich ist  $\mathbb{C}$  ein Abdruck von  $\alpha^1$  oder  $\alpha^2$ , und zwar von  $\alpha^2$ , wie aus folgenden Belegen erhellert:

S. 10 (114) ist das Wort *Ort* in  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  gesperrt; S. 15 (204) haben  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  auf den *Markt*, wo die anderen Drucke auf dem *Markt* lesen; S. 84 (1572) haben  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  den Druckfehler *La Tournell*, anstatt *La Tournelle*; auf S. 50 (915) findet sich in beiden der Druckfehler *Kloster* anstatt *Gloster*, und auf S. 205 (3850) erwährt anstatt *erwehrt*. Auf S. 260 (4938) haben  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  *Man*, anstatt *man*.

Da nun ferner  $\alpha^1$  an all diesen Stellen die ursprünglichen Lesarten von  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}$  bewahrt hat, so folgt, dass  $\alpha^1$  ein Abdruck von  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}$  ist, während  $\alpha^1$  als Vorlage für  $\alpha^2$  diente. Übrigens bewahrt  $\alpha^1$  treuer die Schreibweise des Originals als  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$ , so z. B. in dem Worte *jezt*. An mehr als 50 Stellen wird dies Wort in  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  so geschrieben, während  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  regelmässig *jetzt* schreiben. Dabei liegt schon die Vermutung nahe, dass  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  näher verwandt sind, welches durch weitere Belege bestätigt wird:

S. 46 (834) fehlt in  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  die Interpunktionsnach dem Worte *Schwert*; S. 208 schreiben  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  zweimal (3930, 3932) *Klaude*, während  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  richtig *Claude* haben; S. 102 (1928) haben  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  *heut'gen*, während alle anderen *heut'gen* lesen; S. 119 (2222) setzen  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  hinter *Schlacht* einen Punkt, der nicht dahin gehört; S. 249 (4724) lesen  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  mit dem *Gendarmen*, wo alle anderen *den* haben. Auf S. 159 schliesslich, (2852) wo  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}\alpha^2\mathbb{B}\mathbb{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathbb{H}$  *Angesicht* lesen, haben  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  *Angesichte*:

*Hier in dem Angesichte meines Königs.*

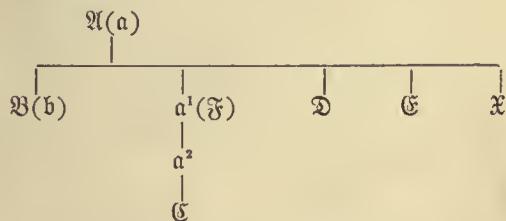
Diese Lesart hat Vollmer als die bessere anerkannt: „die Änderung von  $\mathfrak{F}$  ist unbedingt zur Herstellung des Verses nothwendig.“ Eigentümlich ist dabei nur, dass  $\alpha^1$  diese Lesart seiner Vorlage nicht aufgenommen hat. Eine ähnliche Stelle auf S. 162 (3081), wo  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}\alpha^2\mathbb{B}\mathbb{C}$  *arbeitvolles* lesen, während nur  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  *arbeitsvolles* haben. Da nun  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  sicher von  $\alpha^1$  abstammen, so wäre zu erwarten, dass auch hier die Lesarten von  $\alpha^1$  ebenfalls in  $\alpha^2\mathbb{C}$  auftreten würden, besonders da auch diese Drucke an anderer Stelle (2170) das 's' in *Himmelswagen* einführen, während alle anderen Drucke *Himmel-*

wagen habeu. Vielleicht gibt es einen anderen, bisher unbemerkten Doppeldruck, durch den die Vermittelung zwischen  $\alpha^1$  und  $\alpha^2$  hergestellt würde.

Übrigens stimmen  $\alpha^1\mathfrak{F}$  nicht nur Wort für Wort überein, sondern sie sind von demselben Satze abgezogen, wobei nur auf dem Titel von  $\mathfrak{F}$  die Jahreszahl geändert wurde. Man vergleiche z. B. auf S. 99 den Bogenweiser  $\mathfrak{F}$  anstatt  $\mathbb{C}^2$ ; S. 107 (2032) das Wort *alle*, dessen zweites 'l' etwa 1 mm. zu tief steht; vier Zeilen weiter, (2036) steht das Komma unter der Zeile; auf S. 218 schliesslich, in dem Worte *Zeichen* (4113) gehört das 'Z' einer falschen Schriftart an. Es unterliegt also keinem Zweifel, dass für die Ausgabe von 1804 der stehengebliebene Satz von  $\alpha^1$  benutzt wurde.

Ferner gibt es noch drei weitere Drucke aus dem Jahre 1802, möglicherweise auch noch mehr. Da diese Drucke aus Zufall dieselbe Seitenzahl (216) aufweisen, so führt Goedeke nur einen Druck mit dieser Seitenzahl an, obschon dieselben sonst gar nicht verwandt sind. Zwei derselben ( $\mathfrak{D}\mathbb{C}$ ) wurden von Vollmer verglichen, während der dritte ( $\mathfrak{X}$ ) bisher noch nicht bemerkt worden ist. Die Drucke  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{X}$  sind in Fraktur,  $\mathbb{C}$  dagegen in Antiqua. Nur  $\mathfrak{D}$  trägt Ungers Firma, wobei wohl anzunehmen ist, dass die beiden andern unberichtigte Nachdrucke sind, da zugleich die Kupfer neugestochen sind. Alle drei Drucke stammen unmittelbar von  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}$  ab, und nicht etwa einer von dem andern, wie man wegen der übereinstimmenden Seitenzahl annehmen möchte.

Der Stammbaum der zu Schillers Lebzeiten erschienenen Drucke lässt sich also folgendermassen darstellen:



Zum Schluss sei noch auf das Titelkupfer hingewiesen, welches einen Minervakopf darstellt. Die Drucke  $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{a}\alpha^1\alpha^2\mathbb{B}\mathbb{C}\mathfrak{F}$  haben genau dasselbe Kupfer, mit der mehr oder weniger deutlichen Inschrift *Fr. Bolt. sc. 1801*. Für die Drucke  $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{D}$  musste die Platte aufgefrescht werden, was z. B.

daran erkenntlich ist, dass dabei der vordere Rand des Visiers eckig wurde, anstatt abgerundet. Für den Druck  $\mathfrak{E}$  wurde dann das in  $\mathfrak{b}\mathfrak{D}$  befindliche Kupfer nachgestochen (*T. V. Poll sculp : 1802*). Für  $\mathfrak{Z}$  wurde das Kupfer wiederum neugestochen, und zwar von *J. G. Mansfeld*, der wieder die ursprüngliche, in  $\mathfrak{Aaa}'\mathfrak{a}''\mathfrak{BCE}$  vorliegende Form als Vorlage benutzte.

Nachstehend sind sämtliche bis jetzt bekannt gewordene Drucke verzeichnet :

$\mathfrak{A}$  KALENDER / AUF DAS JAHR 1802. / DIE / JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. / EINE ROMANTISCHE TRAGÖDIE / VON / SCHILLER. / (Kalenderstempel) / BERLIN. / BEI JOHANN FRIEDRICH UNGER. / (Titelkupfer, Titel, 14 Bl. Kalender, 260 SS., 37 Bl. Genealogie, 1 Bl. Verlagsanzeigen) 12°. Gerippes Papier mit dem Namen I. G. EBART. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Stuhle*. In einem zweiten, aus Goedekes Besitz stammenden Exemplare stimmt Bogen D mit dem folgenden Druck überein, was auch sofort an dem Papier zu erkennen ist.

$\mathfrak{B}$  Äusserlich mit  $\mathfrak{A}$  übereinstimmend, nur dass hier das letzte Blatt mit Verlagsanzeigen nicht vorhauen ist. Velindruckpapier, ohne Namen. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Throne*.

$\mathfrak{a}$  DIE / JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. / EINE ROMANTISCHE TRAGÖDIE / VON / SCHILLER. / Mit einem Kupfer / FRANKFURT UND LEIPZIG. / 1802. / (Titelkupfer, 260 SS.) 12°. Gerippes (billigeres) Papier mit einer Art Siegel als Wasserzeichen. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Stuhle*; S. 212, Z. 12 : *Ls* (anstatt *Es*); übereinstimmend mit  $\mathfrak{A}$  die falsche Seitenzahl 119 anstatt 219. Möglicherweise gibt es auch Exemplare die auf dem Titel die Ungersche Firma tragen.

$\mathfrak{a}^1$  DIE / JUNGFRAU VON ORLEANS. / EINE ROMANTISCHE TRAGÖDIE / VON / SCHILLER. / Mit einem Kupfer. / BERLIN. / BEI JOHANN FRIEDRICH UNGER. / 1802. (Titelkupfer, 260 SS., 2 weisse Bl.) 12°. Gerippes Papier, Bogen A—I mit dem Namen I. G. EBART, Bogen KL mit den Buchstaben

I. C. R. als Wasserzeichen. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Stuhle*; S. 249, Z. 7 : *mit dem Gendarmen*.

$\mathfrak{a}^2$  Titel wie  $\mathfrak{a}^1$ . (Titelkupfer, 260 SS.) 12°.

Gerippes Papier, mit drei Buchstaben, die beim Einbinden teilweise weggeschnitten worden sind. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Stuhle*; S. 50, Z. 20 : *Kloster*; S. 84, Z. 7 : *La Tournell*.

$\mathfrak{b}$  Titel wie  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2$ . (Titelkupfer, 260 SS.) 12°.

Velindruckpapier, ohne Namen. S. 12, Z. 2 : *Throne*. In einem zweiten Ex. zeigt das Papier den Namen DR LAAN ROGGE, ausgenommen die Bogen GH, welche den Namen I. G. EBART aufweisen, wie auch deren Satz mit dem Drucke  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  übereinstimmt.

$\mathfrak{c}$  Titel wie  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{b}$ . (Titelkupfer, 240 SS.) kl. 8°, doch ist die Blattgrösse annähernd wie bei den vorhergehenden Drucken. Gerippes Papier, anscheinend ohne Namen. S. 11, Z. 12 : *Stuhle*; S. 47, Z. 8 : *Kloster*; S. 77, Z. 13 : *La Tournell*.

$\mathfrak{D}$  Die / Jungfrau von Orleans. / Eine romantische Tragödie / von / Schiller. / Mit einem Kupfer. / Berlin, / bei Johann Friedrich Unger. / 1802. / (Ladenpreis zwölf Groschen.) / (Titelkupfer, 216 SS.) 12°. Gerippes Papier, mit einer Art Siegel als Wasserzeichen. S. 10, Z. 25 : *Stuhle*; S. 200, Z. 22 : *ich lasse*; S. 210, Z. 4 : *mir den Gendarmen*. Ein zweites Exemplar ( $\mathfrak{D}'$ ) unterscheidet sich von  $\mathfrak{D}$  nur durch den neugedruckten Titel, auf dem die letzte Zeile (Ladenpreis zwölf Groschen) fehlt. Die zum Titel von  $\mathfrak{D}$  gebrachte Zierleiste stimmt mit  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{BCE}$  überein, während die des Druckes  $\mathfrak{D}'$  neu ist. Sonst stimmen  $\mathfrak{D}$  und  $\mathfrak{D}'$  genau überein, da der Text von demselben Satze abgezogen ist. Das Papier ist mit demjenigen von  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  identisch.

$\mathfrak{E}$  Die / JUNGFRAU / VON / ORLEANS. / Eine romantische Tragödie / von / SCHILLER. / Berlin, 1802. (Titelkupfer, gestochener Titel, 216 SS.) kl. 8°. Gerippes Papier, anscheinend ohne Namen oder Zeichen. S. 132, Z. 2 : *als Weib*; S. 145, Z. 7 : *in meinem Busen*.

$\mathfrak{f}$  Titel wie  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{a}^2\mathfrak{b}$ , abgeschen von dem Datum : 1804. (Titelkupfer, 260 SS.) 12°. Von dem stehengebliebenen Satze von  $\mathfrak{a}^1$  abgezogen. Gerippes Papier, wie in  $\mathfrak{a}^1\mathfrak{D}$ , mit einer Art

Siegel als Wasserzeichen. S. 12, Z. 2 :  
*Stuhle* ; S. 249, Z. 7 : mit dem Gendarmen.

- X* Die Jungfrau von Orleans. / Eine romantische Tragödie / von Friedrich Schiller. / Berlin, 1802. (Titelkupfer, Titel (beide auf starkerem Papier, und bilden ein einziges Doppelblatt), 216 SS.) kl. 8°. Geripptes Papier, anscheinend ohne Namen. S. 10, Z. 15 : Stuhle; S. 14, Z. 20 : Nachen davon trug; S. 37, Z. 19 : deiner Freunde.

#### NACHTRÄGE UND BERICHTIGUNGEN ZU VOLLMERS VARIANTEN- VERZEICHNIS.<sup>2</sup>

##### PERSONEN :

8 : Du Chatel *X*—9 : Erzbischof *X*—13 : Lionel, *D* — englische *X* — 14 : Faftolf, *D* — Montgomery, *X* — 16 : und] fehlt *X* — 19 : Arc, *CfX* — 26 : Bertrand, *a'a'CF*.

##### PROLOG :

2 : Heiligenbild *X*—16 : Eukel] Engel *X*—19 : Pair ; *a'C*—29 : Schäfer) *D*—33 : Eh' band *C*—34 : zweyten *X* (ähulich hat diese Ausg. in der Regel zwey, drey, sey, u. dgl., was zukünftig nicht mehr vermerkt wird)—36 : Laison *a'a'F*—37 : zwei *D*—55 : drei *D*—57 : Geht machet *X*—92 : noch zu *a'a'CFX* — 99 : edlem *a'a'CF* — 114 : O r t (gesperrt) *a'C* — 133 : Raimond *a'C* (vgl. die Anm. Vollmers)—135 : segeureiche *X*—142 : Kön'ge *X*—144 : ihren *a'C*—147 : Erzbischöffe *X*—169 : alles, was sie schafft, *X*—172 : Glück.—*a'a'CF*—177 : der Gedaukenstrich ist in *a'F* nicht ausgefallen—196 : an.] an, *a'a'CF*—204 : dem] den *a'C*—209 : tritt] trifft *X*—213 : Geringes *X*—220 : mir, *a'C*—233 : dies *a'C*—248 : selion] fehlt *X*—253 : geschehen *X*—262 : belagert, *a'a'CF*—278 : erbraust *X*—281 : Lütt'cher *X*—286 : Meereswasser *X*—306 : Fürchterliche *a'C*—326 : auf) *Aa*—331 : reissend *a'a'CF*—336 : halten, *Bb*—375 : scheitern, *X*—381 : Roggen *X*—388 : Wunder.—*a'a'CF*—418 : Bertrand. *X*—420 : Offenbarung—*a'a'CF*—439 : aufsen *a'a'CF*—456 : Grossen (ohne Interp.) *a'C*—459 : Boden den *a'a'CF*—502 : letztes *X* — 511 : Eisen. *a'a'CF*.

<sup>2</sup> Es wurden nur die oben verzeichneten Drucke berücksichtigt. Die Stellen sind nach Vollmers Ausgabe angegeben.

##### ERSTER AUFZUG :

542 : auch. *X*—554 : Ein (nicht gesperrt) *X*—561 : diesmal *a'C*—563 : holen *DX*—568, Note : der Gute, *X*—613 : So lange *a'C*—Schwert *a'F*, Schwert, *a'C*—647 : Herrschaft (mit rundem 's') *a'F*—654 : ich (nicht gesperrt) *X*—694 : hatt *Bb*—695 : drin *a'C*—713 : lebte, *X*—723 : betoffen *X*—743 : jetzt . . . jetzt *a'F*, jetzt . . . jetzt *a'CF* (vgl. Vollmers Anm.)—762 : umher schauend *a'a'BbCF*—796 : Ja, *X*—Rasende, *X*—808 : Komm lasz *X*—821 : ausdauern *a'a'CF*—824 : Weissagung *a'C*—829 : im] in *X*—Feindes Lager *a'a'CF*—834 : Feinde] Freunde *X*—Schwert (ohne Interp.) *a'F*—854 : hab *X*—856 : mehr, *X*—870 : drauf, *X*—899 : Nachdem *X*—904 : engelländ'sche *X*—915 : Gloster] Kloster *a'C*—922 : hinanstieg *X*—943 : schlieszt ihm *a'C*—947 : Nach *X*—1018 : einen *a'a'CFX*—1027 : König. *a'C*—1031 : Glück (ohne Interp.) *Aaa'a'DCF*—1051 : Gut und Blut (gesperrt) *X*—1070 : anders (ohne Interp.) *Aaa'a'CDCF*, anders ; *X*—1095 : dasz] das *a'a'F*—1105 : zu Sorel *X*—1107 : die Rathsherren *X*—1110 : geht, *X*—1191 : ist's ! *a'a'CF*—1201 : des Wortes (gesperrt) *X*—1211 : edlen *a'a'CF*—1238 : noch] und *a'a'CF*—1241 : mit einander *a'a'CDCF*—1245 : behelmt eu *a'a'CF*—1271 : war's *a'a'CF*—1273 : gerechnet, *CX*—1316 : Gott (gesperrt) *X*—1318 : Gr ö fz eren (Gesperrt) *X*—1319 Anwesenden (mit rundem 's') *Aaa'a'C*—1324 : Gott (gesperrt) *X*—1336 : Gott (gesperrt) *X*—1338 : d re y Gebete (gesperrt) *X*—1339 : ich sie dir *X*—1353 : Bitte : *X*—1361 : der König *X*—1364 : So viel *a'C*—1406 : Rheims. *a'a'BbCECF*—1415 : Göttlichen *a'a'CF*—1426 : des Weibespflicht *X*—1431 : Königin *DX*—1446 : Sünd'ger *a'C*—1475 : Waffengetöse *a'C*—1503 : thue, *X*—1507 : Himmelskönigin *a'C*—1512 : so, *X*—1517 : knicet *X*—1536 : Nichtwürdiger *a'C*—1542 : engelländ'schen *DX*—1546 : jammert! *a'C*—1572 : La Tour nell *a'C*—1599 : geh, *X*—fort. *X*—1603 : Sie *X*.

##### ZWEITER AUFZUG :

1635 : dies *a'a'CDCF*—1642 : Lager schreiend *X*—1646 : nicht A *a'a'BbCDCF*—1654 : tragen? *X*—1681 zurück? *X*—1683 : Azinkourt *X*—1711 : der Britten *X*—1719 : Königin *X*—1739 : fieng *X*—1740 : Talbot.) *a'C*—1745 : noch, *X*—ihn, *X*—1746 : euch, *X*—Name. *X*

—1758: Wie,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1770: Dauphin,  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —1782: Königin  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1976: verloren,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1800: Schutz,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1814: Gutes (ohne Interp.)  $Aaa^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —1847: Sitten.  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1862: Gutes  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}\ddot{\chi}$ —hafte,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1863: Sohn,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1868: Schn  $a^2$ —1880: Recht,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1881: Erde,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1894: Königin  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1905: Böse (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —Gut (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1906: hassen,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1908: zeigen.)  $a^2$ —1914: Frankenknaben,  $Bb\ddot{\chi}$ —1928: heutg'en  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —1933: hlinder  $a^2$ —1958: fei's!  $\ddot{\chi}$ —1970 einen  $Aa$ —1975: Johanna.  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$   
—1978: Jezt  $Aaa^2\ddot{\chi}$ —1983: Alle.  $a^2$ —2009: ist,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2011: Krone (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2023: ZWEITFR  $Aa$ —2032: Banden  $Bb$ —alle] das zweite '1' heruntergesunken  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2036: fort,] das Komma unter der Zeile  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2039: Nüchterne  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2054: dies  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2058: öffnet  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}$ —2074: Ferne)  $Aa$ —2083: wuſs  $a^2$ —2102: Silberstrom.  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2103: fünfzig  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2131: Gesetz,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2138: Zwei  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2150: und  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2151: dieses Land  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2169: Gottes (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2170: Himmelswagen  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2198: seyn.  $a^2$ —2199: Höll  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2222: Schlaelit.  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ , Schlaeht,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2259: eueh  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2286: Naehdem  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2301: du,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2307: Streichen,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2350: anders, als von oben,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2356: bedarf,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2361: Burgund.  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2363: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2368: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ .

## DRITTER AUFZUG:

2387: Schiksalswechsel  $a^2$ —2405: Gerührt,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2409: Sehwur'  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2450: Sire (nicht gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2513: Preis  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2538: Erledigen (ohne Interp.)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2550: Ritter  $\ddot{\chi}$ —Burgund,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2556: Sorel,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2559: Arras,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2563: Markt,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2567: Himmelsstribchen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2578: Die (nicht gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2589; (Sorel)  $a^1$ , Sorel).  $a^2$ —2593: Ernst  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2599: Er  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2603: Burgund.  $a^2$ —2607: Ihre  $\ddot{\chi}$ —fassend.)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2615: zu,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —Für. | sten  $a^2$ —2638: zeigend)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2644: Erzbieshoff.  $a^2$ —2660: Gottheit (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2679: A'ns  $a^2$ —2694: Befriedigt,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2697 im segenvollen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2698: im blutrothdüsterm  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2709: nahen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —darf!  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2717: Ha' ich  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2719: verzeihen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2754: Johanna)  $a^2$ —2761: Sprich,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2763: menschlich,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2795: zwei  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2832: Namen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2836: dem | selben  $Aa$ —2847: edlen  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2848: vor).  $a^2$ —2852: Angesichtete  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2870: anerbiete  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2872: du,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —treffliche  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2877: solehen  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —2890: Wsa  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2919: gebieten  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —2925: benetzt  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2935:

in Einem Ex. von  $A$  ist der Gedankenstrich angeschlagen—2954: Taufende  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2959: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2964: Niehts  $\ddot{\chi}$ —2980: auf,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3019: wird in  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3029: eingeklammert in  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3035: Natur,  $Bb$ —3042: dahingefehmetter  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3070: Welt.— $\ddot{\chi}$ —3081 arbeitsvolles  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3091: ab.)  $a^1a^2Bb\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}\ddot{\chi}$ —3113: Hilfe  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3184: eingeklammert  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3239: der  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3247: Johanna (ohne Interp.)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3277: in ] In  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3304: wie ] weil  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —3313: Sie  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3379: entgegen.— $\ddot{\chi}$ .

## VIERTER AUFZUG:

: 409: Namens  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3412: dies  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3429: wiehe,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3457: fieng  $\ddot{\chi}$ —an,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3462: wiederholen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3479: Mache  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3497: Sorel.  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3498: zu, und  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3506: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3511: Krönungszug] Königzug  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3536: Weib,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3545: im heiligen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3561: Volk (ohne Interp.)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3593: Mauern  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —3609: Pest erfüllten  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3652: Himmelskönigin  $a^2$ —3655: Johanna (ohne Interp.)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3670: Namen  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3693: Krönungsmarsch)  $Aa$ , Krönungsmarfeh.)  $Bb$ —3699: eingeklammert  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3705: Anfang] Au-fang  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3725: itzt  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}\ddot{\chi}$ —3750, 7; Kruzifix  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3757: herging] fehlt  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3780: Kirehe (ohne Interp.)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3784: Vielleicht dasz  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3786: gefehn  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3809: Thibant, kommt schwarz  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3810: Raimond (ohne Interp.)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3821: du,  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3832: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3842: Gerieht (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —das] dasz  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3850: Er  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3853: Johanna.  $a^2$  (bei den andern Drneken fehlt Interp.)—3854: erwährt  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3886: Namen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3911: worden?  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3930: Klaude  $Aaa^2Bb\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}\ddot{\chi}$ , Clande  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —bleiben  $Aa$ —stehen (ohne Interp.)  $Bb$ —3932: Betrand  $Bb$ —Klaude  $Aaa^2Bb\ddot{\chi}\ddot{D}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}\ddot{\chi}$ , Claude  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3948: Rheims!  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —3952: Rkeins  $a^2$ —3982: erschallen)  $Bb$ —3987: Siebente (ohne Interp.)  $a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3988: erhö | benem  $a^2$ —3992: Dnreh's  $Bb$ —3993: benetzt  $\ddot{\chi}$ —3995: allen die  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}$ —3997: erzeugt  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —4000: Es] Ls  $Aa$ —4002: Gott (gesperrt)  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4004: Weife  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4006: Zur  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4012: der ganze Vers fehlt  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4026: Ein  $\ddot{\chi}$ —geriehet] geheftet  $a^1a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —4039: das?  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4043: Gottesmacht  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4054: fehlen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4059: Allgemeine  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4063: Namen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4070: unsterblich  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4092: Er  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4094: Siegesblick  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4095: niederblitzt  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$ —4115: König, fliehet  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4116: Johanna).  $a^2$  (von hier an in der Regel dieselbe Interpunktions)—4117: Namen  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4137: Er  $\ddot{\chi}$ —4144: schützt  $a^2\ddot{\chi}\ddot{E}\ddot{F}$

4145 : Ehre (ohne Interp.) a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4147 : Er gcht X—4148 : Raimond] Thibaut X.

#### FÜNFTER AUFZUG :

4176 : kommt's X—4222 : Bleibt, X—Bis das X—4228 : ab, X—4240 : Annet ? X—4241 : Köhlerbub (ohne Interp.) a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4242 : Hat X—4248 : Bekreuzen X—4253 : selber, X—4272 : pflegen, X—4284 : reuend] fehlt a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4353 : bewuszt ? X—4391 : Sie X—hervor, X—zurück, X—4392 : feh' a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4393 : Schnell X—4407 : Zur X—4423 : ins X—4426 : nnd X—4429 : empfängt.—a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4441 : nicht, X—4454 : Thut, X—4462 : Sie X—4464 : eingeklammert X—4467 : euren a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4468 : eurem a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4518 : tritt auf Uca<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>BbCDEJ, trit auf X—4521 : fordert a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4571 : ins a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4585 : Ziunen. a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJ—4590 : Wuth a<sup>2</sup>C—4622 : Geisseln a<sup>2</sup>C—4624 : Namen X—4665 : Wütende X—4680 : Wütenden X—4690 : ihr, X—4702 : ich (ohne Interp.) a<sup>2</sup>C—4718 : nieder, a<sup>1</sup>a<sup>2</sup>CJX—4722 : an einander a<sup>2</sup>C—4724 : dem Gendarmen a<sup>1</sup>J—4780 : Verwundeter X—4880 : eingeklammert X—4938 : Man a<sup>2</sup>C.

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#### UNE NOUVELLE SOURCE D'ATALA.

#### LES AVENTURES DU SIEUR LE BEAU, AVOCAT EN PARLEMENT.

Les travaux de M. Bédier sur le "Voyage en Amérique" ont suscité une foule de chercheurs ; grâce à eux, il est avéré, aujourd'hui, que Chateaubriand, prenant son bien où il le trouvait, a puisé à pleines mains chez presque tous les voyageurs qui de Charlevoix au marquis de Chastellux ont écrit sur le nouveau-monde. Jusqu'ici cependant on n'avait signalé que des emprunts de détails ; M. Baldensperger vient de publier, dans la Revue de Philologie,<sup>1</sup> un article où il montre que l'idée première de René a pu être inspirée à Chateaubriand par un certain Loaisel de Tréogate qui dès 1776 faisait voyager son héros dans les solitudes de l'Amérique ; c'est un emprunt du même genre que je voudrais signaler à propos d'Atala.

Chateaubriand affirme en maints endroits, et en particulier dans la préface de la première édition, qu'Atala fut écrite sous les "huttes des sauvages";<sup>2</sup> quand nous songeons que plus de huit ans s'étaient écoulés entre son voyage et la publication de son "poème," nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de penser qu'Atala a dû être quelque peu modifiée entre ces deux dates ; en tout cas, il nous paraît que Chateaubriand n'est pas tout à fait exact, quand il affirme qu'il ramena avec lui, d'Amérique, "deux sauvages d'une espèce inconnue, Chaetas et Atala."<sup>2</sup> Il oubliait volontairement, en écrivant cette phrase, un de ses devanciers modeste et bien oublié, mais qui lui avait fourni la trame de son roman et une première esquisse de son héroïne.

C'est seulement dans les bibliographies spéciales que l'on trouve mentionné les "Avantures du Sieur Le Beau, avocat en Parlement, ou voyage curieux et nouveau, parmi les sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale" (Amsterdam 1738) ; ces deux volumes aux illustrations naïves méritent cependant mieux qu'un tel oubli puisque Chateaubriand n'a pas dédaigné de s'en servir. Le Sieur de Beau a-t-il vraiment existé, ses aventures ne sont-elles qu'une compilation faite par quelque homme de lettres aux gages d'un libraire hollandais, il est assez difficile de rien affirmer. Nous ne connaissons Le Beau que par son livre, et je n'oserais me porter garant de l'authenticité de sa relation. Quoi-qu'il eu soit, Chateaubriand l'avait lu, avant même de s'embarquer pour l'Amérique ; nous en avons la preuve dans la lettre bien connue "écrite de chez les sauvages du Niagara." L'emprunt est ici flagrant ; il suffit de citer les deux passages :

CHATEAUBRIAND,

*Le Beau* II. 66.

*Voyage en Amérique*, p. 294.

Les mères indiennes quand elles reviennent des champs suspendent les berceaux à quelque branche d'arbre, où l'enfant est comme bercé et endormi par le vent pendant qu'elles travaillent.

Les Indiennes s'occupaient de divers ouvrages, réunies ensemble au pied d'un gros hêtre pourpre. Leurs plus petits enfants étaient suspendus dans des réseaux aux branches de l'arbre, la brise des bois berçait ces couches aériennes d'un mouvement presque insensible.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue de Philologie Française*, tome xv, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*. 1<sup>er</sup> vol.

Tout est de Le Beau, sauf la notation colorée du gros hêtre pourpre ; plus loin dans la même lettre c'est encore à Le Beau que Chateaubriand emprunte cette remarque "que malgré la douceur des procédés d'éducation, les sauvages sont assez dociles, ce qui prouve que la manière d'élever les enfants par la douceur est souvent plus efficace que les châtiments, et surtout que les châtiments outrés."<sup>3</sup>

La conclusion s'impose : ou bien nous devons admettre que Chateaubriand inventa de toutes pièces cette lettre à M<sup>r</sup>. de Malesherbes, au moment où il publia le *Voyage en Amérique*, ce qui ne va pas sans quelque difficulté ; ou bien, et cette hypothèse nous semble plus acceptable, nous admettrons que Chateaubriand avait lu Le Beau avant de s'embarquer, qu'il en avait noté des passages et qu'il puisait librement dans ses notes quand il écrivait à ses amis : il nous reste à établir qu'il y avait trouvé l'idée première d'Atala.

Le relation de Le Beau n'est pas dépourvue d'intérêt et mériterait par elle-même une étude à part, elle n'est point sans nous faire penser par endroits aux délicieux voyages de Regnard, ou aux Aventures du Chevalier Beauchêne ; c'est un de ces récits fantaisistes, mi relation de voyage et mi roman d'aventures comme on en a tant écrit au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Dès les premières pages de son livre, Le Beau nous racconte comment il fut conduit à visiter les peuplades du Nouveau Monde ; son père était né à Morlon, petit village du canton de Fribourg, venu jeune à Paris, il devint lieutenant dans la garde Suisse. Il eut trois enfants, René, Charles et Claude, c'est de ce dernier que nous nous occuperons. Après des études plus ou moins sérieuses, Claude reçut avocat au Parlement, mena la joyeuse vie que devait mener en ce temps un jeune avocat sans causes dont la poche est assez bien garnie. Un jour viut, où le lieutenant aux Suisses, fatigué de pourvoir aux dépenses de son fils, décida de l'envoyer chercher fortune au Canada, pensant qu'un voyage en pays lointain formerait le jeune homme. Le Beau fut embarqué par surprise sur l'Eléphant, commandé par le comte de Vaudreuil, le fils du gouverneur de la Nouvelle-France ; il n'était point seul de son espèce à bord, il retrouva un camarade de

collège, puis un autre, que les exempts avaient saisi au saut du lit et qui n'avait pour tout vêtement qu'une robe de chambre et des pantoufles bordées d'un galon d'argent ; en tout une douzaine de jeunes vauriens qui n'étaient point sans déshonorer quelque peu leurs familles. Quand ils arrivèrent à Québec le gouverneur, M. de Beauharnais, leur fit un long discours pour les exhorter à la sagesse ; après quoi, on les mit en liberté. Deux prirent du service dans l'armée royale ; d'autres se firent maîtres d'école, Le Beau, grâce à la protection d'un Père Récollet, fut nommé premier commis aux magasins du roi. Il ne tarda pas à s'ennuyer ; poussé par son humeur aventureuse, il se mit en relation avec deux Indiens qui lui procurèrent un costume de coureur des bois, et sous leur conduite se lança bientôt à la découverte, à travers les forêts du Canada. Son intention était de gagner les possessions anglaises et de s'embarquer pour l'Europe. Un tel voyage n'allait pas sans difficulté à cette époque. Le Beau eut la triste expérience ; il faillit mourir de fatigue et de faim, fut fait prisonnier par une baude d'Iroquois, et ne se tira d'affaire que grâce à ses lettres d'avocat que les sauvages prirent pour des papiers magiques. C'est à ce moment que nous trouvons chez Le Beau le premier épisode dont Chateaubriand semble s'être inspiré. Les Indiens après avoir exécuté devant lui quelques uns de leurs pas guerriers, demandèrent à leur prisonnier de danser à son tour. Le Beau refusa d'abord, mais dut bientôt céder ; "comme il était inutile de balancer davantage," dit-il, "je me levai et afin d'imiter en quelque manière leur anhourant, je me mis à chanter en moi-même : 'Nanon dormait sur la fougère' et à danser sur cet air une contre-danse française qu'on nomme le Pistolet. . . . Sur le champ, Antoine se mit à faire un saut de joie en disant : 'Allons, allons, l'Anon l'on fait' ; il voulait dire Nanou dormait. Je commençai d'abord par lui faire bien dresser la tête, dresser un bras, ensuite l'autre, tenir le corps droit. Ce qui apprétait assez à rire à ses camarades qui ne tardèrent pas à se lever pour que je leur en fisse autant. Il n'y eut même pas jusqu'au vieillard qui ne voulut être de la partie. Je prévis à ce coup tous mes disciples allaient me donner beaucoup d'ouvrage, c'est pourquoi pour avoir plus tôt fait, je les fis

<sup>3</sup>Le Beau, II. 68. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 296.

ranger tous en rond et après leur avoir levé à tous les bras, je leur fis dire par Antoine qui me servait d'interprète qu'ils n'avaient qu'à m'imiter en tout ce que je ferais. Ainsi me voilà donc devenu maître à danser chez les Iroquois." <sup>4</sup>

Il est difficile de ne point songer en lisant ce passage, au charmant épisode où Chateaubriand nous raconte, comment, attiré par le crin-crin d'un violon, il se trouva en présence de M. Violet, ancien marmiton du général Rochambeau, en train de donner une leçon de danse, "à messieurs les sauvages et à mesdames les sauvagesses." Plusieurs critiques, en particulier, M. Stathers,<sup>5</sup> ont mis en doute l'authenticité de cette anecdote ; ne serait-elle pas une simple réminiscence de Le Beau ?

Après bien des aventures, notre voyageur toujours conduit par ses deux Indiens, arrive à Narazouac, où il rencontre un bon vieux Jésuite, le Père Cyrène, qui vit depuis de longues années parmi les sauvages. Il n'est point sans présenter quelques points communs avec le Père Aubry ; comme lui il a été torturé par les Indiens, comme lui, il vit en plein désert avec son petit troupeau de fidèles. Sa cabane même ressemble de façon curieuse à la grotte du pieux missionnaire d'Atala : "Une peau d'ours étendue sur des écorces d'arbres et une bille de bois qui lui servait d'oreiller faisaient toute sa couche. Point de chaises, point de table, une seule écorce attachée de bout en bout à travers sa cellule faisait son armoire ; son garde manger et sa bibliothèque qui consistait en quelques livres de piété ou de dévotion." <sup>6</sup>

Il faudrait encore parler d'Antoine le sage et robuste Indien qui discute comme un docteur en Sorbonne sur l'âme et l'immortalité ; il faudrait citer dix ou vingt autres passages, que Chateaubriand avait certainement notés et dont il a fait son profit ; il nous faut négliger ces rapprochements de détails pour arriver aux amours de Le Beau et de sa jeune "sauvagesse."

Trompé par son guide Le Beau tombe entre les mains d'une petite troupe d'Abénaquis que se sont réunis pour manger un Anglais. Ravis de ce surcroît de provisions, les Indiens veulent d'abord tuer Le Beau et lui faire partager le même sort ;

<sup>4</sup> *Le Beau*, 296, 301.

<sup>5</sup> Stathers : *Les sources de Chateaubriand* (Thèse), p. 75.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Beau*, II, 33.

ils se bornent heureusement après des menaces terribles à lier leur prisonnier, et pendant qu'ils festoient, ils le confient à la garde d'une vieille femme et de sa fille. Cette dernière, Marie, touchée par la bonne mine du jeune homme s'approche de lui, et considère l'infortuné avec attendrissement. Le moment est bien choisi pour nous présenter l'héroïne ; ici encore il faut citer.

"Cette jeune fille n'avait pas encore dix huit ans accomplis. Elle était d'une taille un peu au dessus de la médiocre et assez déliée, ce qui est assez extraordinaire aux sauvagesses. Elle avait tous les traits du visage mignons et assez réguliers, le teint fin, la peau blanche et une chevelure d'un noir de jais qui en relevait encore l'éclat. Ses yeux noirs, bien fendus, à fleur de tête, joints à une voix douce et languissante étaient capables de toucher le cœur le moins sensible à l'amour. En un mot, selon moi, elle était ce qu'on appelle une beauté parfaite. Quoique simplement vêtue à sa manière, une chemise d'homme bien blanche et une couverture d'écarlatine bordée d'un large galon d'or lui donnaient encore un air tout à fait charmant. Elle avait appris à parler français chez une habitante des environs de Montréal." <sup>7</sup>

Une si aimable personne, avec ce costume si romantique et cette douce voix ne peut être bien cruelle ; elle se laisse prendre aux compliments du galant prisonnier, qui même dans cette situation désespérée est loin d'avoir un cœur insensible. Tous deux pendant la nuit prennent la fuite et se réfugient dans une île solitaire au milieu d'un lac ; tout n'est que silence autour d'eux, le lieu et le moment sont favorables aux amoureux aveux ; écoutons Le Beau nous peindre lui-même la scène de la déclaration ; "Ce fut alors que je lui parlai à cœur ouvert, dit-il, car je commençais, à l'aimer tendrement, je lui fis en peu de mots un portrait de l'inhumanité de ses parents. Cette jeune fille ne savait que trop la vérité de ce que je lui disais ; elle ne répondait rien, mais que ne me disaient point ses beaux yeux languissants et tout baignés de larmes ! Je les lui biaisai pour la première fois et assis à côté d'elle je la tins serrée dans mes bras et ne la quittai point qu'elle ne m'eût expliqué le mystère qui l'attristait, 'Hélas,' me dit-elle, d'une voix entrecoupée de sanglots, 'faut-il donc que je

<sup>7</sup> *Le Beau*, 118-9.

t'aime et consente à la mort ; Oh, non, c'est trop sonffrir !'"<sup>8</sup>

Le sieur Le Bean, dans son île déserte devait avoir quelqne souvenir du chevalier des Grienx, . . . mais ne lui cherchons pas chicane. Ne nous sembla-t-il pas entendre déjà dans ce passage la voix plaintive et harmonieuse d'Atala ; cette sauvagesse, si peu sauvage dans son ainstement et dans ses sentiments, ne nous fait-elle pas invinciblement penser à la fille de Lopez ? Le Beau et Marie dans leur île, c'est déjà Chactas et Atala errant dans la forêt, croyant à tout moment entendre les pas de leurs persécuteurs, et le danger ajoute à leur amour. Nous n'avons point toute l'atmosphère poétique qui baigne l'œuvre de Chateaubriand, Le Beau est souvent un écrivain maladroit ; il n'en est pas moins vrai, que pour la première fois, à ma connaissance, dans notre littérature, nous avons la transposition d'un amour raffiné dans une âme à demi barbare ; Chateaubriand, qui avait une bonne mémoire, devait se convenir en temps opportun de cette scène que son devancier avait à peine esquissée.

La suite de l'histoire de Le Beau est plus vraisemblable et moins tragique que celle d'Atala ; l'ex-avocat au Parlement est bientôt repris par les parents de Marie. Sa vie court de sérieux dangers, mais une sorte de compromis s'établit, Le Beau épousera la jenne indienne et partagera le sort de la tribu. C'est à sa fiancée seule que notre héros doit la vie ; c'est elle qui le soigne avec un dévouement tonchant, le protège contre un frère ivrogne et colère, une sorte de Lescant sauvage ;—c'est elle qui le soutient et le porte presque, quand il me peut plus marcher. Pourquoi faut-il qu'avec tant de dévouement elle soit jalouse, et sous des prétextes futilet mette en sang le visage de son fiancé ou même l'assomme à moitié à coups de pagaie ; ces traits s'accordent assez mal avec la voix douce et languiante de notre héroïne. Le Beau est fait une seconde fois prisonnier, par les Ononnantans qui vont l'enlever lui et toute sa nouvelle famille au poteau de torture ; il échappe, encore à la mort, sauvé cette fois par Henri, l'ex-fiancé de la belle Indienne. On n'est pas plus chevaleresque que cet Abénaki qui sauve son rival et sacrifice son amour

en disant à Claude et à Marie " Soyez heureux ensemble puisque vous vous aimez ! "

Le Bean profite de son séjour chez les différentes tribus, pour étudier leurs coutumes et cérémonies ; il nous les a retracées en des chapitres qui rompent quelque peu le cours de son récit ; parmi les nombreux passages dont Chateaubriand s'est servi nous en choisirons deux ou trois. Les fameuses "tripes de roches" qui avaient excité l'indigation de Sainte-Beuve, se trouvent chez Le Beau ; un détail sur la sépulture des enfants a été repris par Chateaubriand ; le rapprochement des deux passages nous permet de prendre sur le vif le procédé de l'auteur d'Atala :

*Le Beau*, II, 317.

*Atala*, p. 38.

À l'égard des enfants déçus peu après leur naissance, ils les enterront sur le bord des routes et des sentiers afin que leur âme qu'ils eroient vagabonde puisse encore entrer dans le sein de quelque femme enceinte à son passage.

Nous passâmes auprès du tombeau d'un enfant. On l'avait placé au bord du chemin suivant l'usage, afin que les jeunes femmes en allant à la fontaine puissent attirer dans leur sein l'âme de l'innocente créature et la rendre à la patrie.

La simple observation de Le Beau est devvenue chez Chateaubriand un tableau poétique. Enfin toute la description du *Festin des Ames*, ou *Fête des Morts*, d'Atala, se trouve déjà chez Le Beau qui montre les Indiens parcourant des centaines de lieues pour aller chercher les restes de leurs ancêtres et les réunir dans la " grande case de la nation. "

Malgré son amour pour Marie, malgré l'intérêt qu'il prend à étudier ces coutumes étranges, Le Beau est quelque peu effrayé de sa sauvagesse et de ses vues matrimoniales ; car on prétend le marier par devant missionnaire. Il se demanda s'il briserait un lien qui lui est encore cher, et redîtra au désespoir une infirmité qui lui a sauvé la vie tant de fois, ou s'il restera chez ses Abénakis au risque d'épouser Marie et de faire souche de petits sauvages. Après tant d'aventures, il souhaite une vie plus paisible et plus civilisée ; Marie elle-même va se charger de le libérer. Elle n'a gardé aucune reconnaissance à Henri de lui avoir si généralement pardonné, elle tente de l'assassiner ; mise en jugement elle est condamnée au bannissement et chassée du village. " Voilà

<sup>8</sup>*Le Beau*, II, 126-7.

done," dit Le Beau, "comment je me trouvai séparé de cette pauvre malheureuse."<sup>9</sup> Avec Marie a disparu tout l'intérêt de la relation; Le Beau ne s'attarde pas à des regrets superflus; quelques lignes lui suffisent pour nous raconter comment sous la conduite d'Henri, il partit sans regarder en arrière, gagna Boston et de là l'Europe.

Il est à peine besoin maintenant de montrer quelle est la dette de Chateaubriand à l'égard de Le Beau. Il lui a emprunté de nombreux détails de mœurs, et la première esquisse de son roman d'amour. Cette jeune sauvagesse, Marie, qui parle d'une façon si tendre et si plaintive, qui porte un costume si romantique est comme une première ébauche, encore maladroite et incomplète de l'amante de Chactas; Henri, ce jeune Indien, si généreux, est déjà un personnage des Natchez, et les Indiens de Le Beau nous font songer bien plus aux Indiens de Chateaubriand, qu'aux barbares décrits par le Baron de Lahontan. Le Beau, si toutefois il fit le voyage d'Amérique a dû embellir singulièrement ses personnages et ne doit pas être considéré comme un observateur des plus exacts; mais là n'est pas son mérite, à ne considérer sa relation que comme un roman, il est le premier à avoir pris ses caractères chez les Indiens du Nouveau Monde; si nous mettons à part les Turqueries du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il a écrit le premier roman exotique que nous ayons dans notre littérature. La pauvre Marie, malgré tout ce qu'il y a de bizarre en elle, nous semble réelle et nous intéresse. Ses relations avec les blancs, ses lectures avec la dame de Montréal, ont éveillé son âme primitive, raffiné sa sensibilité et l'ont rendue capable de souffrir. Trop cultivée déjà pour continuer à vivre avec sa famille, trop peu cultivée pour vivre de la vie civilisée, elle est à mi chemin entre la barbarie et la civilisation, également dépayée dans l'une et dans l'autre. C'est en réalité toute l'histoire d'Atala, devenue chrétienne de nom, mais restée trop Indienne pour saisir tout l'esprit du christianisme; c'est aussi l'histoire de Céluta; c'est un drame psychologique qui sera repris bien des fois après Chateaubriand. Pour avoir entrevu la beauté de ce thème, le Sieur Le Beau, avocat en Parlement, ou le pau-

vre hère qui rédigea sa relation, mérite d'être tiré de l'oubli; nous devons saluer en lui, un précurseur des romanciers exotiques, un ancêtre lointain, mais authentique de Chateaubriand et de Loti.

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### THE VERNON DISPUTISOUN BYTWENE A CRISTENEMON AND A JEW.

The title of the *Disputisoun bytwene a cristenemon and a Jew* in the Vernon ms.<sup>1</sup> leads one to expect a discussion of theology. But such theological argumentation as occurs in the poem amounts to but little, and is wholly without effect upon the action in the story. For the conversion of the Jew is not accomplished by argument but by a practical test in which the magic employed by the Christian proves stronger than his own. Stripped of its debate setting, the story is at once seen to be an interesting example of the well-known type, the magic fairy castle. Indeed, the reference at vv. 185-6 to Arthur and the Round Table is quite in keeping with the character of the narrative, in which appear (but slightly disguised) the familiar features of such other-world adventures as one would expect, for example, in a romance of Sir Gawain.

It is not, however, from any episode in the romances that the story in this *Disputisoun* has been taken. More than a century before the Vernon ms. was written this very story was told by Thomas Cantimpré in his *Bonum universale de Apibus*.<sup>2</sup> I quote the text from Colvener's edition, Douay 1627, p. 553:—

*De falso demonum apparatu, confessum Christi, & Sanctorum mentiente, per quem haereticis impone-*

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Horstmann, *Sammlung altengl. Leg.*, 1878, pp. 204-8; and Furnivall, *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S., pp. 484-93.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. II, cap. lvii, § 23. Cantimpré wrote this treatise at the Dominican priory in the suburbs of Louvain between 1256 and 1263 (cf. Elie Berger, *Thom. Cant. Bonum unir. de Apibus quid illustrandis sive XIII. moribus conferat*, Paris, 1895, pp. 15-6).

*bat; sed per præsentiam corporis Christi continuo euanauit.*

Quomodo etiam in montibus ijdem dæmones Dusij habitare dicantur, & seducere ac dementare deceptos, manifeste monstrabo. Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCXXXI. prædicante in Theutonia magistro Courado contra hæreticus quidam (vt per fratrem Conradum, Prouincialem fratum Prædicatorum per Theutoniam, ante multos annos accepi) seductus a demonibus, fratrem quemdam ordinis Prædicatorum ad hæresim inuitabat. Quem, cum videret instantissime renitentem, dixit fratri: "Pertinax es valde in fide tua nec tamen de hac, nisi per scripta quedam, aliquid certius inspexisti. Credere autem si velles dictis meis, Christum tibi & matrem eius, ac sanctos oculata fide monstrarem." Mox ille illusionem demonum suspicatus, volens tamen probare quid esset: "Non immerito," inquit, "tibi tunc ercerem, si promissa duceres ad effectum." Gauisus hæreticus diem fratri statuit. Frater vero pixidem cum sacramento corporis Christi clam secum sub cappa portauit. Duxit ergo fratrem hæreticus in specu cuiusdam montis in amplum valde palatium, quod claritate mirabili reucebat. Nec mora, vbi in inferiorem partem palatij perucnerunt, videbant thronos positos, quasi ex auro purissimo, in quibus sedebat rex fulgore corusco circumdatus, & iuxta cum regia sereno vultu pulcherrima, & ex vtraque parte sedilia, in quibus seniores, quasi Patriarchæ, vel velut Apostoli, astante permaxima multitudine angelorum: hi omnes luce siderea coruscantes, vt nihil minus quam demones putarentur. Hoc, mox vt vidit hæreticus, cadens in faciem adorauit. Dictus autem frater immotus stetit: sed tanto spectaculo vehementer obstupuit, & mox ad eum conuersus hæreticus: "Quare," inquit, "Dei filium intuens, non adoras? Pronus accedens adora quem vides, & ab ore eius fidei nostre secreta suscipes." Tunc frater accedens proprius, extraxit pixidem, & obtulit reginæ in solio residenti, dicens: "Si regina es mater Christi, ecce filius tuus, quem si suscepferis, te velut matrem Dei recognoscam."

Cum hac protinus voce totum illud phantasticum euanescit, & adnihilato fulgore, tantæ tenebæ densuerunt, vt vix frater cum ductore suo ad montis exitum regredi potuerint. Conuersus ergo hæreticus, ad fidem redijt, & miram demonis astutiam stupefactus expauit.

According to Cantimpré the disputants are a Dominican friar and a heretic instead of a Christian and a Jew, and the scene of the adventure is Germany instead of Paris. But in the two accounts the adventure itself is identical. The "Master Conrad" from whom Cantimpré had the story is none other than the Dominican Provin-

cial, Conrad von Marburg († 1233), who gained a place in history through his zeal in hunting down heresy throughout Germany.<sup>3</sup> Cantimpré's *Liber de Apibus* enjoyed wide currency in the Middle Ages; consequently the very fact that a story had been admitted to its pages would be sufficient to save it from oblivion. In fact, two centuries later this very narrative was copied (with slight abridgment) in the *Speculum Exemplorum*,<sup>4</sup> the great collection of "examples" made by the Carthusian, Ægidius Aurifaber († 1466).

The mention of the *dusii* in Cantimpré's text is distinctly interesting.<sup>5</sup> It confirms the impression created by the narrative itself, that we are dealing with material borrowed directly from folk-lore. The shining subterranean palace is transformed by the Christian narrator into a demonic illusion, in accordance with the general tendency of the Church to identify the fairies with the demons. Yet in spite of the fact that they are regarded as demons and are here pictured masquerading as patriarchs, apostles and angels, these dazzling creatures who inhabit the underground realm are easily recognized as the fairies of popular (and originally pagan) tradition.

In passing from the *Liber de Apibus* to the Vernon MS.—whether directly or through intermediaries I shall not undertake to say—the story was changed from an *exemplum* to a debate. It was a natural transition, for the essential germ of the debate was already present in the suggestion of a discussion between the friar and the heretic. All that remained was to develop it in accordance with the well-known literary type. It was probably in the course of this development of the story into the debate that the heretic and the friar gave way to the Jew and the Christian. For a debate between a heretic and a friar there was no literary

<sup>3</sup> See C. Winkelmann, "Deutschlands erster Inquisitor," *Deutsche Rundschau*, XXVIII (1881), pp. 220–34. For further bibliography cf. U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des Sources Hist. du Moyen Age*.

<sup>4</sup> Dist. v, cap. cxxix.

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere in the same chapter Cantimpré gives more details in regard to the *dusii*—§ 17: "De Dusij dæmonibus, & quomodo uno corpore sublatu aliud substitutu" (Ed. 1627, p. 548). For other references to these woodland spirits, who are first mentioned by Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xv, cap. 23, § 1), cf. Du Cange and Grimm's *Deutsche Myth.*

precedent. Jews and Christians, on the other hand, were repeatedly represented as engaging in doctrinal discussion. At the beginning of the fifth century Evagrius wrote a theological debate, the *Alteratio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani*.<sup>6</sup> And in England at the beginning of the twelfth century a similar treatise, the *Disputatio Iudæi cum Christiano*,<sup>7</sup> was composed by Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster.

Except in their titles, it is true, these theological treatises bear little resemblance to the *Disputisoun bytwene a cristenemon and a Jew*, and it is doubtful whether the author of the English poem made direct use of either of them. At the same time, the existence of such doctrinal discussions between Jews and Christians is sufficient to account for the debate setting given to the story in the Vernon ms., and serves to explain the displacement of the heretic and friar of the earlier form of the narrative.

The foregoing paragraphs were already in type when I discovered that Cantimpré's story is itself only a variation of an adventure related five centuries earlier in the Life of St. Wulfram, archbishop of Sens and apostle to Friesia. The similarity of Cantimpré's account to that in the *Vita* was first pointed out by de Vooy.<sup>8</sup> This story of St. Wulfram and King Radbod (which is told on the authority of Ovus, a priest who died about the middle of the eighth century) has been interpolated into the *Vita*, composed by Jonas of Foutanelles. I reprint it in somewhat condensed form from the text in the *Acta Sanctorum*:<sup>9</sup>

When King Radbod of Friesia lay sick and about to die, Satan appeared to him in the form of an angel of light, and reproached him for having been led astray by Wulfram. He begs the king not to abandon his native gods:

"Noli ita, obsecro, agere, sed in his quæ hactenus tenuisti culturis deorum permane: ibisque ad domos aurcas aeternaliter permansuras, quas tibi in proximo sum datus, ut mcorum verborum dictis astruam fidem. Quapropter eras accersiens Vulfrannum doctorem Christianorum, inquire ab eo,

ubinam sit illa mansio æternæ claritatis, quam ille pollicetur, si Christianum suscepereis dogma in cœlestibus habiturum: quam cum demonstrare non poterit, utriusque partis mittantur legati, eroque dux itineris et demonstrabo illis mansionem exiuiæ pulchritudinis ac fulgoris immensi, quam tibi post modicum sum daturus."

The king on waking tells the vision to St. Wulfram, who recognizes it as the work of the Devil and presses the king to receive baptism without delay.

Hæc et hujusmodi plura prosequente sancto pontifice, respondit prædicturus incredulus principes, omnia se facturum, quæ jubebat; si illa demonstraretur a suo Deo mansio, quam sibi largiturum spōnderat. Cumque insuperabilem iu cunctis sacerdos Christi animum illius cerneret, ne a Gentilibus alia fingerentur pro aliis, misit continuo cum quodam Frizione suum diaconum. Qui cum paullulum ab oppido processissent, obvium sibi reperiunt in humana effigie quemdam itineris comitem, qui dixit eis: "Properamini cito, nam ostensurus sum vobis mansionem eximiæ pulchritudinis, quæ præparata est a Deo suo Radbodo principi." Qui ducem ac comitem itineris persequentes, loca diu peragrant incognita, donec viam ingredientes latissimam, diversorum generibus marmororum eam ceruunt polito opere decoratam, videntque a longe domum auream, ac perveniunt usq[ue] ad plateam, quæ ante præfatam domum sita erat: et ipsa auro gemmisq[ue] strata. Intrantes quoque in domum aurei splendoris et incredibilis pulchritudinis, aspiciunt thronum miræ magnitudinis. Tunc dux itineris, "Hæc est," iuquit, "domus et ista est pulcherrima sedes, quam post mortem ejus Principi Radbodo Deus suus largiturum se spōndit."

Et diaconus obstupefactus in his quæ viderat, dixit: "Si a Deo cunctipotente facta sunt ista, perpetuo maneat; si autem a diabolo, cito dispereant." Et vallans se continuo sanctæ crucis munimine, dux itineris, qui videbatur homo, evanescendo transit in diabolum, et domus aurea versa est in lutum: remanseruntque biduo simul, Fresio videlicet et diaconus, in medio locorum palustrium quæ plena erant longissimis rauseis virgultis, triduoque immensi laboris iter conficientes, revertuntur ad oppidum, invenientes præfatum Dux Radbodus sine baptismatis sacramento mortuum, narrantque beato antisti, quantum a diabolo pertulissent illusionem: Fresio autem credidit in Christum, et baptizatus est.

There can be little doubt that Cantimpré's story owes its origin ultimately to this narrative

<sup>6</sup> Ed. A. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuch. zur Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.*, Bd. I, Heft 3, pp. 1-136.

<sup>7</sup> Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. 159, col. 1007 ff.

<sup>8</sup> C. G. N. de Vooy, *Middelnederlandse Legenden en Exempelen*, 's-Gravenhage, 1900, p. 173.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Parisii et Romae 1865, ix, 146-7.

in the *Vita*. At the same time, there are important differences between the two. In the *Vita* the scene of the adventure is not underground. Moreover, the Christian priest is shown a palace and throne, but not Christ, the Virgin and the apostles. Finally, the priest dissolves the illusion by adjuration and not by producing the Host. It is clear, therefore, that the author of the English *Disputisoun* depended rather upon the form of the story given by Cantimpré.

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### CHILD-LANGUAGE.

#### SOME MORE PRETERITE-FORMS OF CHILD-SPEECH.

In a previous number of *Modern Language Notes*<sup>1</sup> the writer treated of the peculiar forms of the preterite, etc., occurring in the language of his little daughter during the period from the 29th to the 53d month. Later records of her linguistic development contain other interesting examples, which, together with some omitted from the earlier list, may be given here :

1. *Cateh.* I haveu't *catchen* it (72d month).
2. *Dig.* See all they've *duggen!* (69th month).
3. *Drag.* I want to be *druggen* (66th month). Can I be *druggen* on my sled? (66th month). In the last instance she "corrected" *druggen* to *draggent*.
4. *Draw.* I've *drewn* something for you, tather (57th month).
5. *Dress.* I'm not *dressten* at *allen* (73d month). The -en of *allen* is doubtless due to the termination of *dressten*, a sort of accidental analogy.
6. *Drink.* I know I had *drinken* some of that water (68th month). I hav'n't *dranken* it all yet (59th month).
7. *Fly.* I guess it's *flewn* away (61st month).
8. *Know.* I'd *knew* you'd gone to dinner (73d month).

9. *Row.* I *rewed* in a ferry-boat (62d month). She "corrected" *rewed* to *rided*.
10. *Set (sit).* He (cat) won't cry when I get him *satten* down.
11. *Shake.* You haven't *shooken* it up enough, tather (81st month).
12. *String.* It's (Christmas-tree) *stringed* with pop-corn and cranberries (53d month).
13. *Sweep.* I havn't got it all *swepten* yet (75th month).
14. *Tell.* You would if I hadn't *telled* you (56th month).
15. *Undo.* Tather, do you want your vase *undid?* (44th month).

In this list will be noticed the great preponderance of -en; in *eatehen*, *dranken*, *dressten*, *drinken*, *druggen*, *duggen*, *satten*, *shooken*, *swepten*. The "double" preterites, or participles, *swepten* and *dressten*, are particularly interesting. *Catchen* and *satten* are also curious; likewise *druggen* and *duggen*, with -en and vowel-change.

#### GOOD, BETTER, BEST AND BAD, WORSE, WORST IN THE LANGUAGE OF CHILDREN.

The data here presented are from records of the linguistic development of the author's little daughter during the period from her 29th to her 73d month.

#### Good.

*Good.* The word *good* is naturally very prominent in the language of the child and it often has its own regularly formed comparative and superlative, employed not infrequently to the partial exclusion only of *better* and *best*. Little Ruth, e. g., used both series (*good*, *gooder*, *goodest*; *good*, *better*, *best*), apparently with indifference, during her fourth and fifth years at least. Examples of the use of *gooder* and *goodest* are :

*Gooder.* Fix 'em a *gooder* way (47th month). That's a *gooder* place than behind mama (56th m.). That's a *gooder* one (53d m.). These plums are *gooder* than milk (53d m.). I'll be all the *gooder*, if you only do this (65th m.). There's so *gooder* things at home (68th m.).

*Goodest.* These are the *goodest* strawberries I ever saw (48th m.). This is the *goodest* (48th m.). This is the *goodest* one (52d m.). O there's some *goodest* paper! (53d m.).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxiv, pp. 42-44.

*Better.*

*Better.* Her employment of *better* is indicated in the following : It look *better* like [*i. e.*, resembles more] a rabbit (41st m.). Won't zat be *better tather?* (29th m.). Shall I *better* cover up my eyes? (47th m.). I should say you *better* (53d m.). How many do you think I *better* have? (53d m.). You'd *better* shut tather's door, *betten't* you? (48th m.). Her *shall I better?* may be compared with our *had I better?* The negative *betten't*, *i. e.*, *better not*, is unique.

*Betterer.* Although the comparative *betterer* does not seem to have been recorded, it was, however, used by her.

*Betterest.* The superlative *betterest* was noted, as, *e. g.*, "This is the *betterest* one" (48th m.).

*Best.*

*Best.* She used *best* in quite the normal fashion, as, *e. g.*, "The *best* food a man could make" (57th m.).

*Bester.* This is once recorded, *viz.*, in her 73d month, "That was my *best* one, but this is my *bester*."

*Bestest.* Her use of this superlative was very frequent, *e. g.*, Mr. T. is the *bestest* man, tather is the *bestest* tather, mama is the *bestest* mother, Ruth is the *bestest* Ruth (37th m.). These are the *bestest* oranges I ever had (52d m.).

*Bad.*

*Bad.* Her use of *bad* was quite normal, as *e. g.*: O dear, my gracious, my heart has gone *bad!* (48th m.). An employment of *bad* adverbially is noted from the 42d month, "You must let me go out to-day, when I so *bad* want to go out."

*Badly.* I so *badly* want to play with M. (48th m.). O I so *badly* love you! (48th m.). The word *badly* was in quite common use by her as indicated.

*Badder.* This comparative form was used, but no exact record is available here.

*Baddest.* This was in rather common use by her, as, *e. g.*: It isn't the *baddest* hurt I've got inside of me (73d m.).

*Worse.*

*Worse.* Her employment of *worse* was normal so far at least as was noted.

*Worser.* This comparative of hers was in constant use : That's *worser* (64th m.). The grizzly bear's *worser* than the black bear (65th m.). Are lions *worser* than tigers? (56th m.). Mine is *worser* (61st m.). That's *worser* (73d m.).

*Worlest.* This superlative was very commonly employed : I guess the tiger is the *worlest* (56th m.). The tiger is the *worlest* (56th m.). Do you know who I want to play with the *worlest*? (65th m.).

*Worst.*

*Worst.* She seems to have used this word quite normally, whenever it occurred.

*Worlest.* From her 73d mouth is recorded, "That's the *worlest*."

It will be seen that besides the ordinary adult comparative series *good*, *better*, *best*, and *bad*, *worse*, *worst*, she employed these others : *Better*, *betterer*, *betterest*; *best*, *bester*, *bestest*; *bad*, *badder*, *baddest*; *worse*, *worser*, *worlest*; *worst*, [—], *worlest*.

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AN IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY CULTIVATOR OF THE VENETIAN DIALECT : ORLANDO ORLANDINI.

The dialect poetry of Attilio Sarfatti<sup>1</sup> is chiefly remarkable for its chasteness of tone. But Sarfatti was a scholar of special though private

<sup>1</sup>Bibl.: *Rime Veneziane*, Padova, Sacchetto, 1884-6; *Nuove Rime Veneziane*, Milano, Drucker e Tedeschi, 1885; *Dal Cuore*, Venczia, Tip. dell' Ancora, 1889; *A Spasso*, Venezia, Ongania, 1894. He has likewise written lectures on San Marco, Lodovico Manin, Fra Paolo Sarpi, Gondola e Gondoliere, and a well known catalogue of Italian MSS. in Parisian libraries. The significant features of his poetry seem to me the tenderness and delicacy of feeling with which he treats nature (especially the lagoons at night) and love. He is less in vein in studies of genre, though this capacity also is claimed for him by Arturo Calza, in a sympathetic article, *Nuova Antologia*, October, 1900; and by Molmenti in a favorable review prefacing the *Rime* of 1886. Precisely in the satire of manners it seems to me the dialects have their natural field : Sarfatti but incidentally enters this. Hence the importance of Orlandini. Of Sarfatti's production (*Nine Nane*, so far

training and a gentleman in all the senses of that word. If he caught, as a poet of sensibility, the naïve sweetness of the Venetian temperament, after all he descended to the dialect from a world of culture which uses Tuscan exclusively. So full of learned words is his vocabulary, that only in a superficial sense may it be termed vernacular at all. Certainly there is no gulf between his productions in the literary language and those in the dialect. His Venetian indeed while it portrays successfully one side of Venetian life, seems to me beyond this, as devoid of Venetian color as is Goldoni's Tuscan of Florentine. His dialect is not an indissoluble function of his expression.

Laudable at least was his attempt to elevate the dialect to really worthy themes. The trivial, the occasional, the obscene, the libellous, these have too constantly been the fields for Venice's vernacular poets. Cultivated merely as a pastime by a few important writers, it has been the natural medium only for the little men, who had no hope of eminence in the wider Italian public. So the dialect has been inevitably considered a secondary form and habitually addressed to an inferior taste. It has been used, adapting a phrase of Beaumar-chais, to sing what in Tuscan could not be said. This is perhaps the natural resultant of social forces. As Manzoni insisted, the traditions of Italian culture impose Tuscan as a natural form of expression ; and so, conversely, the dialects become the natural expression of what is extraneous to those traditions. If, as a result of this tend-

as I know, though announced in 1886, never was published), I prefer *Rime*, I-XIII : e. g. XIII,

Torna la luna in ciel, torna le stele,  
I fiori torna, mama, al so balcon ;  
Torna a so caro nio le rondinele,  
E a far l'amor le tose sul liston.  
  
Ma no torna mai piu la mia Nineta,  
Che soto tera da sie di me aspetta :  
In gimitero, mama, vogio andar :  
Co' la mia Nina vogio riposar.

Also *Dal Cuore*, "Nostalgia," 18 :

Vilma, che bel silenzio  
La su la mia laguna,  
Dove indorà drio l'isole  
Queto tramonta el sol.  
E al lume de la luna  
Che la inarzenta, alegro  
Passa, fantasma negro,  
Cantando el barcarol.

ency, to a man of Sarfatti's intellectual antecedents, the dialect perforce loses its spontaneous cogency, we still have a right to expect a search for decency and elevation in those who use only the vernacular. Sarfatti has made therefore a definite contribution to the cultural resources of this popular class.

Far and away superior to Sarfatti as a representative of Venetian color both in language and in substance is Orlando Orlandini.<sup>2</sup> Unquestionably "Nando" would have gained esthetically, if he had rigorously edited his extensive collection "*Salata e Rùcola*," "Salad and Colewort," in reference to the principles of Sarfatti's art and taste. Yet, while he has nothing in common with the purely illiterate inspiration of Beatrice degli Ontauzi, Nando represents with great completeness a vast portion of popular life. The censor must confess that the occasional unpleasant note is much less characteristic of his poetry than of those branches of society which it depicts.

Nando, who must now be approaching sixty, has a book-stall on the Terrà de Meloni. Its windows look out on that narrow but busy thoroughfare, running to the west of the Grand Canal, from Rialto to the Frari. Over the piazzetta is a wide patch of sky. Beneath sweeps a tide-run, strongly eddying around Palazzo Businello from the Grand Canal, and banked by hanging gardeus with their foliage and their birds. Around Nando thus is that strange blending of nature and humanity which gives Venice its unique charm : beauty, intelligence, efficiency, poverty, laziness, bestiality, types of the varied aspects of existence pass before him by the day and hour. Without formal education of the advanced grades, he has written a little in Tuscan, acquired some French, and possesses the apparent omniscience of his profession. He knows books and their contents. An authority on vernacular publications and usage,

<sup>2</sup> Reviewed in *Vita Nova*, Genova, Gianinazzi, 25 Nov. 1902 (Antonio Pilot); *Adriatico*, Venezia, Illustrazione Popolare, 31 Oct., 1902 (A. N.); *Gazzettino*, 5 Aug., 1908, Venezia (anon.).

<sup>3</sup> *Salata e Rùcola*, Poesie in dialetto veneziano de Nando, Tip. della soc. di M. S. fra Tip., 1902-3. *Rùcola* is a pungent plant used in salads, Eng. 'colewort.' Nando has also edited the *Villotte Veneziane* of G. Alburno (Venezia, 1902), with an introductory essay on the *Carattere della poesia popolare*, pp. i-xvii.

his business connections with scholars is wide. He adds to an acquiescence in the traditional features of Venetian life a passion for cycling "in terra-ferma." In manner he seems observant, naïve to very humility, conscious of the struggle for existence, philosophical as to any great eminence for himself in that struggle. Without any noticeable pride of authorship, he writes as a natural occupation when business is dull. The journals of the Veneto<sup>4</sup> welcome his observations from time to time : yet *Sior Tonin* has, especially in past years, afforded him the most extensive and acceptable public. With this historic paper, at once the most characteristic and popular of Venice, Nando likes to associate himself.

*Sior Tonin Bonagrazia* poses as an eighteenth century gentleman. Endowed with the incisive honesty of Aristarco Scannabue, he yet wears the broad smile of Goldoni's geniality. A satirist and a gossip, as every good Venetian ought to be, he is still rather the spectator than the judge. He assumes that we all have a rather large grain of selfishness, which we conceal more from necessity than from choice. However various our stations and work, there is not much variety in our motives and their manifestation. The acute observer can detect us at our little games of innocent hypocrisy. All have their petty conflicts with circumstances, where their pride suffers, and where their hit of malice, which, because they are not conscious of it themselves, they ingenuously think they have concealed, reveals itself. Tonin's weekly sheet is the record, brief, pictorial, non-partisan, of these conflicts. It consists of details of life, drawn to give saliency to the observer's analysis. He is free from pose and from tendenz. The unifying forces are humor and good nature. The governing ideal is realistic truth.

Nando has never gone beyond the limits of this sphere. He likewise has no militant doctrine to enforce ; no special revolution to create in morals or in taste. He is the spectator pure and simple ; from his shop window he looks out upon the passing throng. In the piazza, on the water, in the country, he seizes on the every-day occurrences

which after all for the multitude are life. In point of art and substance none of his poems constitutes a work of even relative importance. Taken as a whole, they form a wide and faithful canvass of contemporary manners and of popular ideas. The lyrical note is but rarely in evidence ; for in his temperament lyrism is not the characteristic trait. Music there is in abundance, for his verse brings out the peculiar naïveté of the Venetian tongue, expressing itself in languishing cadences, but full of sprightly movements and flippant turus. His method of composition is likewise determined largely by the style of *Sior Tonin*. Every poem and nearly every title has its point, its pun or its refrain, which give force to the individual stanza or serve as the connecting link between a series of pictures. The result is therefore an epigrammatic style. This is unfortunate in so far as it subordinates substance to point, depth to cleverness. While in journalistic work this is not necessarily a vice, it makes the impression of a whole volume somewhat thin and uneven. Though all the freshness of the style returns if we read in casual hits. His metres are of the light, rollicking movement, affecting very frequently the impertinence of truncated rhymes and that humorous jerky rhythm which has in Italian poetry always associated the sdruc ciolo with satire. Nothing stately therefore, nothing pompous—and this is quite in harmony with the tone of the poems.

Nando is most attractive in his placid moments of contemplation, when he views the confusion of existence as it is lived in detail. There is a genial philosophy, the philosophy of resignation, behind these trivialities which are recorded with so much charm and wit. In "Phonographic Cinematography—A Vignette of Twilight,"<sup>5</sup> what is the scene ? A back yard, with a bird-cage, a cat, a flock of hens, an old woman. The cat eyes the cage, the woman is chasing the hens ; a countryman comes along with a dog : at once dog, hens, cat, bird, woman in a pandemonium of rushing, cursing, and general uproar :—in the doorway, with indifferent silence—el naso un fio se fürega coi dei. Who—again—does not remember the crowded Merceria, with its difficulties of locomotion ? Nando sees this throng surprised by a sud-

<sup>4</sup>E. g.: *Pantalon*, Venice, 1907 ; *In Vaporetto*, Milano, 1905 ; *Gazzettino*, Venice, 1908 ; *L'Aquila*, Venice, 1907 ; *Gazzetta Balneare*, Venice, 1908-9 ; *Il Corriere Illustrato*, Venice, 1908 ; etc.

den shower,<sup>6</sup> then a scuffle of feet, headlong collisions, tangling umbrellas unable to pass each other in the narrow streets, hats knocked off by the attempts to compromise with the umbrellas at different levels, curses, rage, discomfort—Madona, che pocio—Paron, la capela—El diga, un fià de ocio—Più sù quel'ombrela ; in a nearby doorway a gossip and her landlord discussing the weather. So we have the Feast of the Redentore : jollification—for a fatigue of the two next days;<sup>7</sup> the festival of Christmas—to be cheated at bargains;<sup>8</sup> an autumn pleasure trip by train—to be jostled and begrimed at one's own expense.<sup>9</sup> So these situations often issuing from the peculiar conditions of Venetian life itself, pass before us in endless and rapid succession.

Touchingly pathetic too another class of verses, those which with an equally vivid realism disclose the interior of the dark dwellings of the populace in the depths of Santa Croce and Dorso Duro. "Christmas"<sup>10</sup> brings a little child, saluting his newly found brothers and parents with the greeting of the season—but naked—cold—hungry ; "Cossa ! ve manca quelo che più preme—Cibo, caldetto . . . Corpo de la luna !—Invidio el bon Gesù nela so stala." In another we have the breadless home-comer, who goes to a friend across the city to borrow enough for a meal, but meets the friend coming to him for a similar purpose.<sup>11</sup> There is doubtless the personal note in some of the poems of this class : Nando describes himself as trying to pass the collector at the Mask theatre without the money for his ticket, offering instead as an excuse for entrance his connection with *Sior Tonin*.<sup>12</sup> He receives for a welcome the vulgar epithet of "pantaloons." "Why not then," he answers, "how can the play go on without Pantaloons?" There is the satire on the unambitious career—"I don't care for the corruption of high life, the race for great positions, the cares of wealth—because I have never been 'asked'!"<sup>13</sup> There are also the pictures of degradation and coarseness—the snuff-taking fiancée, the avaricious gondolier who sells his wife's respect, the wife-

beater, the ne'er do well, the thief, the vagabond. "Le mansion d'una serva,"<sup>14</sup> "The day's work of a scullion" recalls with something of Zola's power the ever present dependence of immorality and poverty. And the very fact that this is an untutored realism—I doubt if Nando has heard of the realistic school—gives to this side of his work the mute appeal which misery has itself.

Though *Salata e Rùcola* contains over two hundred and fifty poems, it represents only a fraction of Nando's complete production. One might almost wish that he had carried the strictures a little farther : we could very well have spared most of the poems on love and women. Doubtless here too, constant depiction of cruelty and crudeness in the relations of the sexes has its justification in the facts of popular life. Yet in this respect somehow the lack of idealism is specially offensive. And aside from the fact that Nando admits even in those verses which we might call "love poetry," only the element of desire and physical beauty, we are not so sure of his condemnation of that spirit of the fabliau and the picaresque novel, which regards lust and interest as the main motives of affection, and fear of vengeance the sole restraining force of guilt. Yet around his women there is a certain charming atmosphere of sensuous humility, that indefinable quality which the Venetians call "morbin." And this Nando, with his superb control of the dialect, itself endowed with that very quality, renders to perfection. Further, it is here that Nando gives expression to his intense delight in nature, that love of the birds, the flowers, the sea, the sky, the hills, which the Venetian, from out of his dark streets and ill-lighted houses, manages to keep free from all the deadening influences of municipal life.

Venice has produced a vernacular literature of no mean extent, and that production is coextensive with the whole period of modern Italian culture. It is significant that the most efficient vernacular work has been in the satire of the realistic type. Andrea Calmo, Gian Francesco Busenello, Pozzobon, Buratti, these were born realists—of a realism verging on gossip, so minute often are its details. Busenello was a veritable *médisant*,—and to men like him we owe in large part Mol-

<sup>6</sup> In *Sior Tonin Bonagrazia*, 14 Mar., 1905.

<sup>7</sup> Page 55.

<sup>8</sup> Page 107.

<sup>9</sup> Page 113.

<sup>10</sup> Page 111.

<sup>11</sup> *Conti Falai*, 313.

<sup>12</sup> *Quo Vadis*, 170.

<sup>13</sup> *La volpe e la sariese*, 'sour grapes,' 91.

<sup>14</sup> Page 33.

meuti's fine reconstruction of Venetian life. Nando connects himself directly with this tradition of satirists. From the very fact that his muse is exclusively popular, he has a special importance which is not surpassed by that of any previous or contemporary dialectical writer : he has kept his dialect rigidly pure. Francesco Gritti was strongly influenced by the hybrid Tuscan of the Piazza ; Buratti was a Venetian by accident. Bartolomeo Dotti has retained very few of the Venetian words. The region of Santa Croce, however, has not been much polluted by the tourist and the Piazza shopman ; and among the partially or wholly illiterate the dialect there sounds as nowhere else in the city. Nando has drawn on the dialect of Santa Croce ; and he has made his observation count in a systematic way in selecting even in the hybrid elements of popular speech the features which are most primitively Venetian. For this and for his thorough observation of the details of humble life in Venice, Nando seems to us the contemporary most completely representative of the spirit of the Venetian populace.<sup>15</sup> He is deserving of more attention than he has received from those interested in local phases of Italian culture.

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#### ON OTHELLO V. II. 154 ff.

In 'Note O' to his volume on *Shakespearean Tragedy* (p. 438), Professor Bradley quotes the following lines, which I repeat in the spelling of the Variorum edition :

- 'Æmil. Oh who hath done this deed ?  
 Des. No body : I my selfe, farewell :  
     Commend me to my kinde Lord : oh farewell.  
 Oth. Why, how should she be murdere?  
 Æmil. Alas : who knowes?  
 Oth. You heare her say her selfe, it was not I.  
 Æmil. She said so : I must needs report the truth.  
 Oth. She's like a Liar gone to burning hell,  
     'Twas I that kill'd her.'

<sup>15</sup> We must not forget in making such a generalization the work of Richard Selvatico. The complete edition of Selvatico's poetry, which has but lately appeared, was too recent to be available for this note.

"This is a strange passage," continues Professor Bradley. "What did Shakespeare mean us to feel? One is astonished that Othello should not be startled, nay thunderstruck, when he hears such dying words coming from the lips of an obdurate adulteress. One is shocked by the moral blindness or obliquity which takes them only as a further sign of her worthlessness. Here alone, I think, in the scene sympathy with Othello quite disappears. Did Shakespeare mean us to feel thus, and to realize how completely confused and perverted Othello's mind has become? I suppose so."

One may well feel reluctance to confess to seeing no difficulties where so keen and sane a critic is perplexed ; but to me the harsh speeches of Othello seem infinitely far from showing that he is unstartled or that he takes Desdemona's last words as "a further sign of her worthlessness." They appear to me even the directest proof that he is startled out of the composure, the 'heavenly sorrow,' engendered by conviction of her guilt. Of course, the revulsion from total error to perfect understanding of Desdemona's character cannot in Othello's case be instantaneous, and till realization is forced irresistibly upon him, all the instincts of self-preservation and self-reverence join in defense of his fatal error. Only a few lines later he says :

'O, I were damn'd beneath all depth in hell :  
 But that I did proceed vpon iust grounds  
 To this extremity.' (171-173.)

The brutal shortness of Othello's speeches to Emilia measures exactly the degree to which his self-approval has been shattered by Desdemona's last words, and by his own intuitive feelings now that the deed is done. Amid the sickening anarchy of his uncertainty, his subconscious intellectual *ego* tries savagely to justify itself ; and it is surely significant of the extent to which the experiences of the last few minutes have enlightened Othello that the first charge against his wife upon which his groping mind can stumble is the ineffably futile one of mere verbal untruthfulness. Is it not almost an instinctive, unconscious confession that the lie, pure white as it is, is after all the worst of her offending? Assuredly he needs not Emilia to tell him that she was the more

angel in it; much less can he be preaching an uncompromising puritanical gospel of hell-fire—he who can justify to himself murder and suicide. A moment later Othello's mind has somewhat recovered itself and he can repeat, albeit vaguely and without great conviction, his definite accusations ('She turn'd to folly: and she was a whore'; 'She was false as water,' etc.).

Throughout the passage Othello's mind is burdened and it moves slowly. Desdemona's last words make no immediate impression, for Othello is still hearing the echo of her earlier speech, 'O falsely, falsely murder'd' (l. 147), and his question 'Why, how should she be murder'd?' is addressed more to himself than to Emilia. He is pondering on the horrible mystery of Desdemona's non-existence, as earlier in ll. 123 ff., and not, as Emilia assumes, on the manner of her death. His next speech, 'You heare her say her selfe, it was not I,' is full of dull wonder at Desdemona's last words, whose import he has apparently only just taken in and can hardly believe. Emilia, like certain critics, believes Othello to be trying to escape the consequences of his deed, and by her matter-of-fact cynical answer awakes his mind to a wild effort at self-justification, a forlorn attempt to restore the *status quo* of right and wrong, which the developments have hopelessly upset.

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*La Vida es sueño. Comedia famosa de D. Calderon de la Barca.* 1636. Edited by MILTON A. BUCHANAN, Ph. D., Lecturer in Italian and Spanish in the University of Toronto. Vol. I. University of Toronto Library, 1909.

Since the appearance of MacColl's *Select Plays of Calderon* in 1888, this is the first edition of *La Vida es sueño* representing a serious attempt at giving the lovers of the Spanish drama a trustworthy text of this play. Let it be said at once that the attempt here offered us by Dr. Buchanan is in the main entirely successful. The first volume of his work, which we have now before us, contains the text accompanied by an appendix,

the variants, and a brief discussion of the date and the more important previous editions of the play. The second volume, the publication of which is promised in the course of this year, is to contain a literary introduction, a critical commentary, and details regarding previous editions.

In regard to the date of our play, the editor comes to the conclusion that "it had not appeared in print or on the stage by August 1, 1631, and that the only posterior date that can be fixed with any degree of certainty is the date of the approbation of the First Part of Calderon's plays, Novenuher 6, 1635."

The oldest editions of plays of Calderon in which *La Vida es sueño* is preserved, are 1) the just mentioned *Primera parte de comedias de don Pedro Calderon*, first printed 1636 (=A) and reprinted 1640, 2) the *Parte Treynta de comedias famosas de varios autores, En Caragoça*, also from 1636 (=B), of which a reissue appeared two years later, and 3) the *Primera parte de comedias . . . de don Pedro Calderon . . . que nueuamente corregidas publica D. Juan de Vera Tassis y Villaruel . . . Madrid, 1685* (=C). It is from C that previous editors of our play took their text, including among these even MacColl, though the latter had the 1640 reprint of A before him.

In regard to the first print of A (1636), Dr. Buchanan tells us that the copy in the Royal Library at Munich is the only one recorded. Another copy, formerly the property of the late Professor W. I. Knapp, is now in the Museum of the Hispanic Society of America at New York, whose Librarian, Dr. W. R. Martin, kindly informs me that this copy has a late title-page of 1640. Dr. Buchanan has the merit of being the first to have based the text of our play upon an exact reproduction of A, deviating from it only in some forty cases in which an emendation, mostly supported by B, appeared necessary. The careful and judicious manner in which this principle of text-constitution has been applied, has produced an edition which may be regarded as practically final.

Only a few remarks in regard to details need be made at this time, others being reserved for a discussion of the expected second volume of this work.

L. 138. Schuchardt's interpretation of *humana*

as *benigna* is supported by the usage of later Latin, as in the *Itala* and *Vulgata*, edit. by Rönsch (p. 339), and in the same author's *Semasiologische Beiträge*, II, p. 18 (= πιστός, εὐσεβής). L. 239. The substitution of *vida* for *muerte* (*ABC*) is demauled not only by l. 241, but still more by ll. 237–238.—L. 1218–19. The *estribillo* of the *letra* here quoted should be put in italics.—L. 2023. *Parta* must be an error for *para*.—L. 2027. Inasmuch as the passage in the auto entitled *La vida es sueño* contains no contrast to *sombra*, it can hardly be quoted in support of *imagen* instead of *llama* here.—L. 2329. In retaining the transmitted reading *al soplo menos ligero*, which gives no satisfactory sense, the editor seems to have overlooked the excellent correction suggested by Morel-Fatio (*Revue Critique*, 1882, p. 271), and quoted by Krenkel in his *Nachträge* (p. 24): *al menos soplo ligero*, an emendation based upon the fact that adverbial (*i. e.*, neutral) forms like *menos* in Spanish and Portuguese, *meglio*, *peggio* in Italian, are frequently used as adjectives.

Wherever the punctuation of the original gives good sense, the editor has, as he himself informs us (p. 106), preserved it, supplying it in other cases according to the modern system of pointing, and the result of this procedure is quite satisfactory. In the employment of the marks of parenthesis, however, one may be inclined to differ with him here and there. Thus l. 2460 where *Estrella*, addressing King Basilio, says:

Si tu presencia (gran señor) no trata  
de enfrenar el tumulto sucedido . . .

*gran señor* need no more be in parenthesis than *señor* in l. 2444:

Suspendase, señor, el alegría.

Or again, ll. 2544 and 3210 whose imperatives *advierte*, *escuchadme* require separation by commas rather than by marks of parenthesis.

Assuming that the editor intended to follow the common rule of enclosing within parentheses only such explanatory or other additional words or clauses inserted in another sentence as are not grammatically connected with it, we should expect commas instead of marks of parenthesis in lines 1103–06, 2201, 2447, 2503, 2602, 2841, 2974–75, and conversely parentheses instead of commas in lines 181, 678–9, 940, 1178–81, 1906, 2805–07, 2935–36 for the same reason for which they

are used in lines 70, 136, 723, 924–5, 958, 1091, 1100, 1794–97, 1901–02, 2113, 2164, 2307, 2519, 2531.

In a few passages greater pains might have been taken to indicate the allotment of speech, either by using the direction *aparte* where the words of an actor are not intended to be heard by the other characters on the stage, or by putting on the margin the name of the character to whom a given remark is exclusively addressed. Thus the first four lines of Clotaldo's speech (1178–82) should have been marked as an *aparte*, the fifth line being the only one directed to Clarin. Or again, ll. 1591–92 where Rosaura's words: *Dissimular me importa* are an aside, while the following *Soy de Estrella una infeliz dama* is the only thing intended as a reply to Segismundo's question.

A similar case is found in l. 1571 and perhaps also in ll. 1716–17.—Ll. 1957–59: Upon Astolfo's aside: *Aquesta es Estrella*, Rosaura speaks as follows:

Deme,  
para cobrar mi retrato,  
ingenio el amor; siquieres  
saber lo que es, yo, señora,  
te lo diré.

Neither the direction (*aparte*) placed against *Deme*, nor the punctuation makes it clear that Rosaura's aside extends to *amor* and that the rest is a direct answer to Estrella's question: *Astrea, Astolfo, que es esto?* Cf. the editions of Krenkel and MacColl.—L. 2004: *Aunque*, beginning the direct address to *Estrella*, should be written with a capital letter.—Ll. 2079–81 are meant for Clotaldo and should have been so marked.—Ll. 2383–5, which Segismundo evidently addressed to himself alone, should be marked so by the word *aparte*.—L. 2993. The command *al arma toca* needs to be marked as directed *a un soldado*.—L. 3146: After addressing two lines to Clotaldo, the King now turns to Segismundo, which fact it is desirable to indicate.

It need scarcely be said that such few errors as have here been noted do not in the least affect the excellent character of Dr. Buchanan's work which everywhere bears witness to his accurate scholarship and sound critical method.

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## THE ENGLISH DRAMA.

*The New Inn or The Light Heart*, by BEN JONSON, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by GEORGE BREMNER TENNANT, Ph. D. New York : Henry Holt & Co., 1908. (Yale Studies in English, A. S. Cook, editor, No. 34.) 8vo., lxxiii + 340 pp.

Dr. Tennant's is the seventh elaborately edited play of Ben Jonson to appear in The Yale Studies since 1903. If we take into account Miss Woodbridge's *Studies in Jonson's Comedy* and three other numbers dealing with the Elizabethan drama, we observe that one-third of the series had been devoted to this one field, and one-quarter of it to Jonson alone. Reckoning in some unpublished work on Jonson, already done at Yale, we might in a few more years reasonably expect a complete treatment of Jonson in the volumes of this series ; but probably the definitive edition of Jonson by Herford and Simpson, which I suppose we may expect in a year or two, will put an end to these special studies.

Dr. Tennant has done his work with care and good judgment. In summarizing his conclusions, I shall point out a few errors. Certain misprints and self-evident slips I do not think worth mentioning ; in the main I have but commendation to offer.

Following the example of earlier editors, Dr. Tennant has included some lexical notes no longer necessary, such as make = mate (p. 156), skink (170), hale of dice (166), ging (179), say (259). The meanings of these words are not now in doubt ; entry in the glossary is enough.

I see no ground for thinking, as Dr. Tennant does, that Tiptoe's enumeration of the articles in his wardrobe, all drawn from foreign markets, his Savoy chain, his Naples hat, etc., was intended by Jonson to "awaken the audience to the shameful condition of English manufactures" (p. 201, note to 2. 5. 62 ff.). Fine clothes and the aping of foreign customs are common subjects of satire with the dramatists.

The expression, "I'll set him up" (2. 5. 43), naturally means, "I'll set the top on its point (and spin it)." Such an interpretation continues the figure in which the host is compared to a top.

Dr. Tennant's interpretation, "I'll test him," altho getting the sense, seems to lose the figure.

It would perhaps have been worth while to explain that when the host says, "All my fresh guests shall stink" (1. 5. 34), he means "shall be offensive to me," i. e., unwelcome. Reall (2. 5. 45) = royal, and duizes (1. 3. 106) = deuces, are not in the glossary.

A bibliography to such a book as this should be either a simple reference list of complete titles of books referred to in the course of the work or a complete bibliography of the subject treated, preferably annotated. Dr. Tennant, like some other editors in the Yale Series, seems to have adhered to neither conception. He gives 7½ pages of titles, but fails to mention, e. g., Baker, *History of the London Stage*, 1904 ; Fairholt, *Tobacco* (referred to pp. 145 and 221, respectively) ; or Hallam, quoted from at p. 166 without reference to any hook. Nor does he mention anywhere Symonds, J. A., *Ben Jonson*, 1886, whose discussion of the literary merits of the *New Inn* is by no means unworthy of notice. On the other hand, he includes titles uncalled for by a mere reference list and apparently but remotely related to the play. It seems to me that a bibliography such as Professor Schelling has given us in his edition of *The Alchemist* and *Eastward Hoe* is far more likely to prove useful to students.

In discussing previous editions Dr. Tennant makes two statements which need supplementation : (1) "The catalogue of the British Museum shows that Jonson's works were printed in two volumes at Duhlin in 1729" (p. i). This edition is *Ben Johnson's Plays in Two Volumes . . .*, and contains eight plays, of which *The New Inn* is not one. I have a copy of this edition, and there is now one in the Yale Library. (2) Again (p. ii) it is stated that only two copies of the octavo edition of 1631 are known, a defective one, lacking one leaf, in the British Museum, and a perfect one in the Bodleian. Dr. Tennant's text is intended to be an exact reproduction of that of the British Museum copy, with the variants in form (not in spelling and punctuation) of all later editions of importance. The one leaf lacking in the British Museum copy is reproduced from the Bodleian copy. There is a perfect copy of this edition in the library of Mr. W. A. White

of Brooklyn. By the kindness of Mr. White, I have been enabled to collate Tennant's text with this copy. Dr. Tennant has kindly compared my list of divergencies with the photographs from which he worked. The comparison discloses some not very important errors in Tennant's text, and a number of variants between Mr. White's copy and the British Museum copy. Some of Tennant's more important errors are<sup>1</sup>:

Title-page,	<i>Ben Jonson / B. Jonson</i>
Arg. 20	morths / months
39	estate / estate,
19. 15	the pnrse / a purse
22. 2	yon / your
32. 11	sports / sport
52. 50	repnlte / repulse
58. 191	Soneraignty / Sonerainty
60. 268	the / omit
67. 172	now Gamester / now a Gamester
73. 117	qnite / quiet
94. 147	<i>Lad. / Lat.</i>
102. 22	bot / both

In his collation Tennant says that 1631 runs from B to G in eights. It runs B-G<sub>7</sub>; there is no G<sub>8</sub>.

The principal variants between the British Museum copy and Mr. White's are<sup>1</sup>:

p. 36, l. 140	<i>Howres / Howres</i>
37. 158	N'ere / Nere
37. 166	sparke / sparkle
40. 69	it, <i>Pru, / it Pru.</i>
41.	8 him, / him, host. 9 Ho Ser. <i>Anone. / om.</i>
10	<i>Anone / anone</i>
13	It is his / Is his
15	design'd / desin'd
15	to by / to doe, by
18	<i>emphased / emphasized,</i>
20	<i>Yes. / Ycs madame.</i>
44. 24	<i>vnknow / vnknown</i>
45.	25 in, / in, still. 30 roomes : / roome, 6 thy / the
7	and ha' thee a Doctor / and I'le ha' thee a Doctour
47. 71	What / That

<sup>1</sup> I give Tennant's reading first.

- 48. 73 Sir, / Sir he has the father
- 74 W. reads Of swords, within a long sword ; Blade cornish stil'd
- 75 W. reads Of Sir *Rud Hughdibras.*
- 76 And, why / And with
- 85 what are / what's
- 87 hath / had
- 49. 111 At / A
- 115–116 parentheses om. W.

It will be observed that in certain of these variants the folio of 1692 agrees with the reading of White, *e. g.*, 37. 158 ; 41. 9 ; 44. 24 ; 45. 25 ; 45. 6 ; 47. 71 ; 48. 76 ; 48. 85. It would seem probable that the text of *The New Inn* in the folio of 1692 was printed from a copy like Mr. White's rather than from one like that in the British Museum.

With the text of the play Dr. Tennant reprints Jonson's *Ode to Himself*, "Come leave the loathed stage," as printed by Jonson in the 1631 edition of the play. In the introduction is reprinted a version of this ode which he has found in ms. Ashmole 38 at the Bodleian. This ms. version is in the main identical with the version printed in the 12mo of 1640, entitled *Q. Horatius Flaccus his Art of Poetry*, but is probably the earlier of the two. Both are pretty certainly earlier than the 1631 version. Apparently Jonson revised the ode before printing it, improving the construction, and softening the somewhat savage reference to Brome. This ode, Dr. Tennant thinks, was written immediately after the failure of the play, and not, as was assumed by Gifford, at the time of publication in 1631.

In an appendix are printed five rejoinders to Ben Jonson's ode, among them the *Cuntry's Censure on Ben Johnson's New Inn*, here printed entire for the first time from ms. Ashmole 38, together with several excerpts from seventeenth century authors referring to the failure of *The New Inn*.

Of the merits of *The New Inn* as an acting play there has never been any dispute. It is clearly impossible. But in other respects, opinion has not been unanimous. Dryden classified the *New Inn* with Jonson's other late plays as "dotages"

(*Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, Wks. ed. Scott, 15. 353); Swinburne takes it as an evidence of mental decay (*Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 79); on the other hand, Lamb cites from the play "to show the poetical fancy and elegance of mind of the supposed rugged old bard" (*Specimens*, ed. Bohn, p. 276); Symonds, after conceding the preposterousness of the plot, records his opinion "that *The New Inn*, in many important respects, is one of Jonson's best comedies" (*Ben Jonson*, p. 177); and Castelain, (*Ben Jonson, L'Homme et l'Œuvre*, Paris, 1907, p. 428), after calling attention to the faults of the play, says "n'y trouvera-t-on rien à louer? Il reste le style; et si c'est un mérite secondaire et même dangereux pour une comédie, d'être bien écrite, il faut rendre cette justice à Jonson que la *Nouvelle Auberge* est peut-être le mieux écrite de ses comédies."

Tennant rightly traces the failure of *The New Inn*, not to collapse of the author's powers, but to the application of Jonson's satiric humor-comedy idea to romantic material. It is no "lusus naturae" but a natural development of the poet's characteristic method of writing. Tennant finds no evidence that Jonson's personal enemies had anything to do with the failure, nor does he find anything to justify Gifford's assertion—followed by Ward (*Eng. Dram. Lit.*), and Herford (*D. N. B.*)—that the play was not heard to the end.

Besides noting the parallel episode in the *Widow*, Dr. Tennant traces Lovel's speech on love to Plato's *Symposium*, and that on valor to Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*. For the machinery of the court of love, before which Lovel makes his speeches, the *Arrêts d'Amours* of Martial d'Auvergne is offered as a probable source.

Tennant thinks that the passages common to *The New Inn* and Fletcher's *Love's Pilgrimage* were probably adapted from Jonson's play to the other—by whom he does not suggest. Certain apparently useless changes of phrase would be more explicable if we were to assume that the adaptation was made, not from the 1631 text, but from the original players' copy, whose text may have been revised by Jonson before publication. Of course existing evidence justifies nothing more definite than a hypothesis.

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#### FRENCH LIBRARIES.

EUGÈNE MOREL, *Bibliothèques: Essai sur le développement des bibliothèques publiques et de la librairie dans les deux mondes*. Paris: Mercure de France, 16 Rue de Condé, 1908-1909. 2 vols. 8vo., xiv, 390; iv and 475 pp.

Written in an attractive, popular style, these two volumes set forth the decadence of France in library matters and point out the superiority of the German, English and American library systems. The author himself deeply deplores this state of affairs and endeavors to suggest a variety of remedies, the sum and substance of which is that the French libraries should be made more popular, and not be almost exclusively devoted to the interests of scholars.

While referring more or less incidentally to libraries in many parts of the world, as well as in the provinces and in Paris itself, the author's chief concern is the Bibliothèque Nationale. While admitting that it is now the greatest library in the world, he thinks that this supremacy is not destined to last long because of the rapid strides that the great libraries of other countries are making, and because of the absurd system under which the Parisian library is managed.

What seems to have stirred the author's wrath most of all is the catalogue of printed books which the Bibliothèque Nationale is now issuing. He claims that the librarians are spending valuable time and money on trivialities, while neglecting the really important problems before them; that the rate of progress is so slow that the accessions are actually coming in faster than the catalogue incorporates them; that in any case only about half of the contents of the library are supposed to be described in the catalogue; and finally, that a subject catalogue is needed, and not an author catalogue such as is now being published by the French government.

He thinks furthermore that the vital interests of the French nation are being neglected, that no serious effort is made to acquire new and important books, that the great mass of books already in the library are practically inaccessible, and that the general public is all but excluded from the reading-rooms.

In Mediaeval, Renaissancee, and more modern times France as a whole was well supplied with libraries; but about the year 1850 a period of decadence set in. The Second Empire cut down the credits, destroyed all initiative, turned the libraries over to the archaeologists and shut out the general public. The Republic which followed continued the same general policy, and matters have gone from bad to worse.

The libraries in the provinces lead a somnolent existence. Centralization carried to its extreme limit has stifled all intellectual life by the endless red tape of officialdom. One thing alone is done thoroughly—the manuscripts, incunabula and other old and rare books are being catalogued minutely, and the catalogues are being published by the government.

M. Morel passes over the libraries of Italy with a few general remarks devoted especially to Rome and Florence. The libraries of Spain and Portugal receive even less consideration at his hands, while the other European countries aside from England and Germany are treated in the same fashion. These latter countries and the United States come in for a larger share of his attention, America being styled the Land of Libraries. The following expression of the author's opinion in regard to the metropolis of the Western World is of interest, though perhaps not wholly justified: "New-York vient de terminer les constructions géantes qui lui assurent le premier rang parmi les centres intellectuels des capitales du monde." The libraries of Boston and Washington also fill him with wonder at the material progress made in the past few decades.

While M. Morel's two large volumes contain a host of interesting comments and suggestions in regard to library management, the reader cannot help but feel that the work was on the whole rather hastily written and the subject-matter not fully digested by the author in his hurry. Though doubtless familiar enough with the French libraries from the standpoint of a French journalist who has made use of their facilities for many years, yet it seems evident that in speaking of the libraries of other countries the author has often failed to appreciate the fundamental difference in the conditions under which they have grown up.

So, too, the author does not seem to fully

appreciate the difficulties with which the librarians of any large public library have to contend, and hence he is doubtless somewhat unfair in his criticism of them. While his book is perhaps not a valuable work of reference on libraries and library management, yet it is so full of ideas and so apt in spicy comment that it may safely be recommended as interesting reading for all persons having to do with masses of books as found in a large library.

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*Beowulf. Mit ausführlichem Glossar herausgegeben von Moritz Heyne.* Achte Auflage, besorgt von LEVIN LUDWIG SCHÜCKING. Paderborn, Schöningh, 1908.

It is a pleasure to record the satisfaction of using an edition of *Beowulf* on the whole so admirable as this. While the title-page announces it as a revision of the familiar Heyne text, it is almost as truly an independent piece of work as though Dr. Schücking had started an edition of his own. The labors of Socin had proved totally inadequate to keeping the book up to date, and much that was useless and inconvenient had been allowed to stand. Conservatism which persistently lags behind the times deserves a harsher name. The seventh Heyne-Socin edition was very unsatisfactory indeed. Sweeping changes were necessary, and they have here been faithfully carried out. The antiquated and confusing method of marking quantities both by the circumflex and the acute accent has been given up, and the macron substituted. The printing of *æ* and *ā* as *ä* and *æ* has been abandoned, and the arrangement of the vocabulary according to vowel-quantity rather than alphabetical sequence discarded. The notes have been thoroughly revised and brought up to date, with due attention to the latest critical conjectures. This alone must have been a difficult and wearisome task. The glossary has been revised, and changes have been made in the index of proper names. Dr. Schücking has had the courage to discontinue the old

*fytte* sections—probably the work of an unintelligent scribe—and indicate the natural divisions of the narrative by paragraphing. The four main parts of the story, the Fight with Grendel, the Fight with Grendel's Mother, Beowulf's Return, and the Fight with the Dragon, are clearly brought out. The sentence-sequence is differently conceived than in other editions, with a resultant change in punctuation. This is a point on which the editor can claim the weight of his own authority, and refer to his monograph, *Die Satzverknüpfung im Beowulf*. The effort has been made to preserve the readings of the ms. as far as possible, even in the face of brilliant conjectural emendations.

The reviewer has used this book with a graduate class of some thirty students, and has found it superior, at least for advanced work, to the editions of Wyatt and Holthausen. Comparisons are odious, but inevitable. Wyatt needs revision,—there are few critical notes, the text is not particularly satisfactory, and the glossary is meagre. Holthausen's edition, while excellent in many ways, suffers from over-condensation; his critical notes, while they give a large number of references, are not free from superfluous material, and often involve a tedious search through learned periodicals which are not always close at hand, when a word or two would give the needed information. His scheme for registering vowel-quantities is wearisome to the student trained in the usual system, and the advantages to be gained from the change are not important enough to make it worth while.<sup>1</sup>

A considerable number of textual errors are registered at the end of the *Vorwort*, in the edition at present under consideration. These must, of course, be expected in the first impression of a revision as thorough as Dr. Schücking's. Human fallibility is illustrated by an error in the *Druckfehler* themselves,—p. xi, tenth line from the bottom, read 1829 for 1828. Certain other mistakes of this sort may be noted.

TEXT. *hehēold* 494, read *behēold*; *bredgan* 708, read *bregdan*; *sīð* 766, read *sīð*; *sundes* 1437, correct last letter; *Healfenes*, 1653, read

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed review of Holthausen's edition, cf. the discussions by the present writer, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vii, 125–129, 1908.

*Healfdenes*; *gē* 2259, read *ge*. ANMERKUNGEN. *Ifeil*, p. 116, 24th line from bottom, read *Pfeil*; *J. W. Hart*, p. 118, read *J. M. Hart*; *glänzenderm*, p. 118, 14th line, read *glänzendern*; 2541, p. 126, line 20, read 2451. P. 142, *Heāðo-bear-dan*, last line, read 2070 for 2700; p. 187, *feax*, line 3, 1537, read 1538. P. 199, *fyhtum* 467, not registered; p. 296, read *unsynnum*.

These are clearly misprints, the result of oversight. A number of other places giving occasion for criticism admit of some difference of opinion. A few of these may be discussed here, although it is of course impossible to venture any general attack in a region which bristles, as this does, with the armed phalanxes of critics.

601 *swefeð ond sendeð*. *Sendan* is explained in the glossary as meaning 'schmauseu' in this passage, on the authority of a gloss *sanda* = *ferculorum*, *epularum* (*Haupt*, ix, 144). The word *sand* undoubtedly meant 'victuals,' 'course at dinner,' etc., but this is no evidence that *senden* means 'feast,' any more than German 'gang,' 'course at a meal,' justifies making 'gehen' mean 'eat.'

811 *mōdes myrðe*. Schücking follows Holt-hausen in glossing *myrðe* here as 'Schädigung, Beträbnis,' by reference to OHG. *merrida*, Goth. *marjan*. This seems a great fuss over a common word which makes excellent sense here. *mōdes myrðe* is parallel to *fyrene*, both depending on *fela*. 'He who in times gone by had accomplished much of the joy of his heart, of crime against the race of men.' This is more in accordance with Anglo-Saxon idiom, too, than to translate *mōdes myrðe* 'de gaité de cœur,' as Wyatt does.

902. Heremod is stated (p. 143) to have been 'nicht zur Dynastie der Scyldinge gehörend.' This is open to question, see Gering, *Beowulf*, p. 106, note to passage.

1033. *frēcne* is registered in the glossary as nominative plural. This is impossible, if the text is to stand in other respects without change. It should be construed as an adverb.

1069 ff. In this difficult passage Schücking puts no period between 1064 and 1071. His construction of *eaferan* 1069 is not plain. The glossary registers it as *eaferum*, not agreeing with the text. There must be a period after *begeat*, if

the lines are to be read as bere indicated, and without assuming a lacuna. Cf. Klaeber, *Anglia*, xxviii, 433.

1107. It is bigly doubtful if *syððan* can mean 'strafen, räcken,' (cf. p. 281). This seems to be another instance of giving an nnnsual significance to a common word. A gap must be assumed after 1107, cf. Holthausen, i, p. 36. The authority of *Gen.* 1525, where we have *seðe*, for making a verb out of this common adverb, is weak. Cf. other readings in Grein-Wülker, ii, 2, p. 388.

1169. *ärfaest*. Is this to be rendered 'barmberzig, gnädig'? Schücking refers to l. 588, but it would seem doubtful whether from that passage Unferth is to be considered a murderer, as in the glossary under *bana*. Perhaps his kinsmen perished because he failed to give them assistance at a critical moment in a fight. If he had actually murdered his kinsmen he could hardly be enjoying a position of such distinction at court. Killing of blood-relations was one of the unpardonable sins in Germanic society.

1195. The text has *earm-rēade*; the Glossary, p. 179, *earmhrēade*.

1799. Schücking explains *heaðo-liðend* (p. 218) as 'Kampffahrer,' 'Krieger,' yet marks the diphthong in his glossary long. If the first element of the compound is the rare word *hēaðo*, 'sea,' (not *heaðo*-) it should be defined, as it is by Wyatt, to mean 'seafarer.' Holthausen, it may be noted, renders it thus, yet retains it among the *heaðo*-compounds. There is a typographical error in Schücking's text in this line.

*Finnzburg*, l. 18. Schücking here prints *Gāruf*. The ms. has *Gārulf*. Is this a misprint, or an intentional change, which the editor has forgotten to explain? A difficulty has been felt in reading *Gārulf* here, since he is stated to be the son of *Gūðlāf* (31-33). *Gārulf* would appear, on the usual interpretation of the Fragment, to be one of the men of Finn; while *Gūðlāf* is a Dane. (Cf. l. 16 and *Beow.* 1149, also Schücking's notes to passage.) Möller proposed to alter the name in l. 33 to *Gūðulfs*; Trautmann, to *Gūðheres*. Of the two, the latter conjecture seems more plausible. The young warrior in l. 18, who is impatient of restraint, and eager to attack, must almost certainly be the one who is the first to fall (l. 31). Is it necessary, however, to connect him with the

Dane *Gūðlāf*? It must be remembered that *Gūðlāf* was a common name, and that caution is desirable in removing seeming inconsistencies in epic poetry.

If space permitted, many instances of ingenious and valuable text-comment due to the present editor might be pointed out, such as the explanation of the 'Thrythro' passage (ll. 1932 ff.). In the selection and arrangement of the critical material in general, Dr. Schücking has been almost uniformly successful.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### TRANSLATION OF OLD ENGLISH VERSE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Gummere makes excellent play with the jokes in my letter; his allusions do not meet its serious contentions. Goethe's famous line and Kant's "pretty figure of the dove" may be gently lifted and set aside; the statement they assail is unshattered. Mistranslations inevitably result from the metre he defends—explicit errors, and iufelicities almost as serious. His own translation was my text. Take it in the matter of alliteration. *Sceaþena þréatum*, 4, is rendered "squadroned hosts," that "Scyld" and "squadroned" may rhyme. *Æghwylc [þāra] ymb-sittendra*, 9, becomes "the folk far and near," and *gomban gyldan*, 11, "gave him gifts." What account is taken of historical, not to speak of verbal, accuracy, when *þær at hýƿe stōd*, 32, becomes "In the roadstead rocked" the vessel of Scyld? These, as the book lies open at the beginning of the poem; turn the pages at random. *Hof mōdigra*, 312, is rendered "burg-of-the-boldest"; *fýres feng*, 1764, "fang of fire"; *heofenes wynne*, 1801, is sentimentalized into "rapture-of-heaven," and *swā hē ær dýde*, 1891, though a mere statement of fact, into "trusty as ever." A prose translator has his own share of errors to lament, but they are not conscious mistranslations, due to the medium employed.

To turn to the second point. I meant literally what I said—the modern imitation does not sound like old verse. The commonplaces of literary history to which Professor Gummere alludes, the use of the long line in the fourteenth century—which assuredly crossed no “chasm in speech and song made by the Norman Conquest” for there was no such chasm, and which as surely was not a “genuine case of atavism,” for it had an unbroken tradition and merely came then to record in works of note—the use of the long line at this time has nothing to do with the matter. Its use by Langland, in his single or multiple personality, and by the author of *Pearl*, is no warrant for its use by the modern translator. And neither the fourteenth century verse, though in an unbroken tradition, nor Professor Gummere’s, though a deliberate imitation, sounds like the old epic verse. *Expertus crede*—the physical ear, sensitive to the characteristic qualities of verse. Admittedly, the strict metrical scheme is not followed—only the “essentials” are kept; as well say one’s blank verse sounds like Milton’s because the “essentials” of blank verse are observed. The modern verse is diluted with small words and weakened by their subordinate accents. With its endless trains of A’s and B’s, it substitutes monotony for variety. Where sound meets sense, it misses the compactness of phrase of the old line. Light and even-accented, lacking the thronging of strong consonantal sounds, the repetition and contrast of vowel sounds, it entirely fails to attain the echoic effect demanded in really adequate translation; none of the clangor and reverberation of the old line reappears. Read aloud

ob-bet him æghwylc [þāra] ymb-sittendra  
ofer hron-rāde lyran scolde,  
gomban gyldan; þēt wās god cyning!

and then read the translation,

till before him the folk, both far and near,  
who house by the whale-path, heard his mandate,  
gave him gifts: a good king he!

It is idle to defend the use of a metre that emphasizes its unlikeness to its original by the very fact of the rote character of its imitation, and all the more culpably misrepresents its pattern by pretending to reproduce it—especially when, demonstrably, it is a source of conscious

inaccuracy. The prose translator is not the *tradutore* who is *traditore*. It is the translator that uses this verse, with its specious pretense, who is the “smyler with the knyf.”

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### ANTIGONE’S SONG OF LOVE.

*To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Antigone’s song of love, in Chaucer’s *Troilus*, II, 827–875, is not from the *Filostrato*. It was, I think, inspired by the *Paradis d’Amour* of Guillaume de Machaut.<sup>1</sup> This is not a case of translation, or even of imitation, but rather an example of adaptive mastery. I need not occupy space by quoting “parallel passages,”<sup>2</sup> for the test consists in examining the two pieces side by side and from beginning to end. Still, there can be no harm in remarking that Machaut’s lay, like Chaucer’s, is a woman’s song of happy and loyal affection, and that there is hardly an idea in either that does not recur in the other. Since Troilus’s song is taken from Petrarch, we surely need not be surprised that Antigone’s song should have been suggested by *Le Paradis d’Amour*, which is one of the best of Machaut’s minor poems.

In conclusion, I venture to file what I hope may seem to everybody an otiose caveat:—Chaucer’s “originality” is in no way attacked in the present note. Indeed, to run over the two poems, one after the other, is to get a new impression (or to renew an old one) of the freshness and vitalizing power of our incomparable poet.

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<sup>1</sup> Published by Tarbé, *Agnès de Navarre-Champagne*, pp. 39 ff., and by Chichmaret, *Guillaume de Machaut, Poésies Lyriques*, II, 345 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Chaucer, 827–836, with Machaut, 1–19, 33–36; 837–840 with 20–24, 38–50; 845–846 with 51–58; 848–850 with 115–122; 851–854 with 133–152, 165–169; 855–861 with 123–132; 869–873 with 33–41, 183–198. These comparisons are meant to be suggestive, not to exhaust the subject.

## MILTON AND ROGER WILLIAMS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Has anybody called attention to the following passage in Dr. Edmund J. Carpenter's "Roger Williams" (Grafton Press, N. Y., [1909], p. 201)? The italics are mine:

"In a letter to John Winthrop, written after Williams's return to New England, in the summer of 1654, the latter wrote: 'The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages.' From this passage it may be inferred that Williams, having naturally formed the acquaintance of the Council's secretary, and *being familiar with the Dutch language, translated for Milton the treatise of Salmasius.*'"

By "the treatise of Salmasius" Dr. Carpenter means what he himself calls "a defence of Charles I" by "Salmasius, a Dutch professor." I pass over the fact that Milton's reply to Salmasius was finished before Roger Williams reached London. The really interesting thing is Dr. Carpenter's discovery that to read Salmasius's *Defensio Regia* requires an acquaintance with the Dutch language.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

## THE TIME OF NOON.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The first definition of the word *noon* in the *New English Dictionary* is the following, marked obsolete: 'The ninth hour of the day, reckoned from sunrise according to the Roman method, or about three o'clock in the afternoon.' The examples of the use of the word in this sense are taken, for the most part, from accounts of the crucifixion, and the last one given is dated c. 1420. The use of *noon* in its present sense, according to this same authority, dates from the fourteenth century. The earlier sense of the word seems, however, to survive in a curious use of the compound *forenoon* in a letter written by Hume during the time when he was Under-Secretary of State in London, between 1767 and 1769. He writes: 'I have all the forenoon in the Secretary's house, from ten till three, when there ar-

rive from time to time messengers that bring me all the secrets of the kingdom, and, indeed, of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.' (Quoted by Huxley in his essays: *Hume, with Helps to the Study of Berkeley*, London, 1894, p. 43.) And a similar usage appears in the following passage: 'Theocles was now resolv'd to take his leave of the *Sublime*: the Morning being spent, and the Forenoon by this time well advanced.' (Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, 1732, 2. 391.)

Such instances may perhaps show that the earlier thought as to the time of noon persisted later than the fifteenth century.

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## CHANTECLER.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In connection with Mr. J. M. Clapp's note of February 17 in the *Nation* on "Rostand and Tom D'Urfey," the lyric drama, "La Forêt mouillée," of Hugo may be interesting. It was written in 1854 and published in his "Théâtre en liberté" in 1866 (Hetzell-Quantin).

Like Rostand in "Chantecler," Hugo uses animals and birds as characters, and in addition gives the power of speech to trees, flowers, clouds, drops of rain and even pebbles. They talk a humorous and picturesque language which offers much analogy to that of Rostand.

For example, compare Chantecler's description of the "moineau de Paris," in the third act, with what the "moineau" himself says to the "paon," in the "Forêt mouillée":

Je suis gamin ; autrefois, j'étais page.  
Je m'ébat, cher seigneur. Si je n'étais voyou,  
Je voudrais être rose et dire : I love you.  
Je suis l'oiseau gaîté, rapin de l'astre joie.  
A nous deux nous faisons le printemps, etc.

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GUILLAUME DE DEGUILLEVILLE AND THE  
*Roman de la Rose.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In his study of the fourteenth century French poet, Guillaume de Deguileville, Hultman

considers the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*.<sup>1</sup> He notes the correspondence of *Ame*, vv. 2139–2142 with *Rose*, vv. 4595–4599 and vv. 5616–5617; and *Ame*, v. 7082, with *Rose*, vv. 13225–13226, but overlooks the following :

*Roman de la Rose*,<sup>2</sup> vv. 8157–8164 :

Ele est si crueuse et si gloute,  
Que tel chose vuet avoir toute,  
S'ele en lessoit à chaceun prendre,  
Qu'el ne la troveroit jà mendre.  
Moult est fox qui tel chose esperne,  
C'est la chandele en la lanterne ;  
Qui mil en i alumeroit,  
Jà mains de feu n'i troveroit.

*Pèlerinage de l'Ame*,<sup>3</sup> vv. 3439–3449 :

Commune est a tous Charite  
Si com est exemplefie  
De la chandoile alumee  
La quelle, quant ell est portee  
Devant .i. pour esclairer li,  
N'est pas doubté que ceux aussi  
Qui li tiennent societe  
N'aient partie en la clarite,  
Et mains n'en a mie cellui  
Pour qui fu alumee ainsi.

STANLEY L. GALPIN.

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#### ON AN ACROSTIC IN VILLON.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—Among the several acrostics contained in Villon, one at least has remained either unnoticed or unexplained : I refer to the one contained in the second octave of the Ballade a s'Amye, p. 63 (I quote from the last edition of Villon : *Bibliotheca Romanica*, No. 35–36).

Bijvanck (*Specimen d'un Essai Critique*, etc., p. 148) says : “L'acrostiche de la 2e. strophe enfin, ne peut elle aussi se rapporter à Maistre Ythier Marchant” . . . (mentioned by Longnon, *Etude Biograph. sur Fr. Villon*, p. 117).

This hypothesis seems to be “ganz ohne Be-

<sup>1</sup> *Guillaume de Deguileville, En Studie i Fransk Litteraturhistoria*, Upsala, 1902, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Francisque Michel, 2 vols., Paris, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. J. J. Stürzinger, London (Roxburghe Club), 1895.

gründung” (Wurzbach : *Die Werke Fr. Villons*, p. 498, note). Jannet in his edition (*Additions et Corrections*) mentions the acrostic, saying : “. . . le second huitain donne MARTHEOS, sans doute par l'effet du hasard.”

Longnon (*Oeuvres Complètes de Fr. Villon*) supposes that the ballad is addressed to a certain Rose (Item, m'amour, ma chiere Rose (LXXX)) and G. Paris (*Fr. Villon*) speaks of Rose as one of Villon's friends. Wurzbach rejects that idea “. . . da der Taufname Rosa im 15. Jahrh. noch nicht vorkommt . . . auch hiess Villons Geliebte nicht so,” and prints accordingly rose (young maiden); the *Biblioth. Romanica* follows the same reading.

The fact that this ballad “. . . se termine tout par R” (LXXXIII) does not prove anything : then, if “rose” is not a proper name the acrostic MARTHEOS is not due to “l'effet du hasard” as Jannet says, but to Villon's desire to name the woman in the case, viz., Marthe.

The two letters OS following the name, do not seem to offer any great objection, as many of Villon's acrostics show one or two additional letters (Villon + E (A sa Mère, A la Grosse Margot); V. + S (A s'Amye); V. + P (Bon Conseil); V. + J (Jargon VII); Delore + DE (a un gentilhomme, etc.).

This information does not add much to our knowledge of the unhappy love affairs of our self-styled “amant martyr,” but merely introduces an hitherto unknown MARTHE into the worthy company of Macée, Margot, Isabeau, Catherine . . . and probably many others.

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<sup>1</sup> Wurzbach's statement is not quite correct : Cf. Rose, Roze, Rozine (E. Langlois: *Table des noms propres*, etc.); Renaud's *Galeran de Bretagne* (ca. 1230) in which appears Rose, friend and companion of Frene (4261–4279–6533–. . .), also under the form of Rosain (6654–6979–7801) and Rouse (4269–6682–7722). Rose, cousin of Pepiù (*Le Comte de Poitiers* (ca. 1168), v. 434), and also : Rose la biele (*Richard li Biaus* (ca. 1275), v. 4677) . . . etc. The name, it is true to say, was not very common before the XVth century. Surely not as common as “Marie, Madeleine or Marthe.”

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## A WORLD CENSUS OF INCUNABULA.

When the art of printing was invented towards the middle of the fifteenth century a profound impression of the importance of the discovery was quickly made upon the general public, and in the course of a few score years presses had been established in almost every country of Europe. The early printers seem to have worked with surprising zeal and rapidity, and the result was an enormous number of editions published in many different places before the close of the century.

But with the passing of time people inevitably lost interest in these early productions of the press, and they in consequence soon fell into almost complete oblivion. It was therefore not until several centuries had elapsed that any one began to think the earliest printed books worthy of serious attention. By degrees the book collectors and bibliographers became interested in the older literature in printed form, and thenceforth early books came more and more into public favor in educated circles.

During the whole of the eighteenth century the efforts at cataloguing old books were rather desultory, and no very sharp distinctions were drawn between them and other literary curiosities. After a time, however, both librarians and bibliographers began to consider fifteenth century books as a separate and distinct portion of a large library. A movement arose in consequence which was designed to gather such books together under the name of incunabula, and to consider them as next in importance to the Mediæval and Classical manuscripts.

Bibliographers now set to work in earnest to describe and catalogue such incunabula as they were able to find, and this new departure in the book world has continued to meet with such favor that at the present time many enterprises of this sort are under way.

It would seem, therefore, to be an opportune

moment for the taking of a preliminary World Census of Incunabula in order to make our ideas as to the extent and importance of this sort of literature more definite and precise.

In the taking of a census various kinds of information may be taken into account. In the present instance we may limit the inquiry to the following questions :

1. How many editions were published ?
2. How many copies are extant ?

It should, of course, be stated at the outset that a definite answer to either of these questions is entirely impossible. The most that can be hoped for is a reasonably plausible estimate based upon such pertinent facts as may be ascertainable at the present time. The answer to the second question, it may be remarked, is much the harder of the two owing to a general lack of sufficient data.

### 1. *Editions Published.*

The first task which incunabulum bibliographers have commonly set themselves has been the drawing up of a list of all the editions published in the fifteenth century. It has been customary to limit such an investigation oftentimes to a town or country, but Ludwig Hain appears to have been the first bibliographer to undertake such an enumeration for all the countries of Europe.

His world-famous *Repertorium Bibliographicum* was published between the years 1826 and 1838, but the author did not live to complete his great undertaking, and the last volume was published two years after his death from his unfinished manuscript. This bibliography lists 16,311 editions, and it was based chiefly on the large collection of incunabula in the Staatsbibliothek at München. If the author had been asked to estimate the entire number of editions published in the fifteenth century it seems likely that he would not have placed the figure above 20,000 ; but we shall see presently how both the actual figures and the estimates have kept steadily rising as time went on.

Dr. Copinger in his *Supplement to Hain* pub-

lished from 1895 to 1902 added 6832 titles, and thus brought the total number up to 23,143. Since 1902 Dr. Reichling has published four *Appendices* describing 1427 further editions, and bringing the total up to 24,570.<sup>1</sup>

In 1904 the Prussian government appointed a Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegen-drucke, and at the outset it was estimated that there were 30,000 fifteenth century editions.<sup>2</sup>

In 1908 Mr. G. K. Fortescue, Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum, in speaking of the matter said: "It is by no means improbable that the total number extant may be about thirty thousand."<sup>3</sup>

Likewise in 1908 Mr. R. A. Peddie of St. Bride Foundation, London, began the publication of a new conspectus, which he estimates will contain about 30,000 entries.<sup>4</sup> The letters A-B have been completed and contain 7128 entries (without addenda). Now as Hain has 4186 for A-B (without addenda), and Copinger adds 1397 (without addenda), it follows that at the same rate Mr. Peddie's bibliography will have 29,547 entries (without addenda).

To arrive at a proper estimate of the entire number of editions there must still be made a certain allowance for omissions. A great many libraries the world over have not yet been thoroughly searched for incunabula, and it is likely that they contain quite a number of editions not known to the bibliographers mentioned above. Then, too, it is quite probable that some of the fifteenth century editions have completely disappeared by this time, if we are to judge from the rather large number of apparently unique copies of incunabula that are now on record. Further

<sup>1</sup> For these statistics see R. A. Peddie, *Fifteenth Century Books: An Author Index*, in *The Library World*, N. S., Vol. xi (1908), p. 43. Nos. 5 and 6 (1910) not included.

<sup>2</sup> Direktor Prof. Dr. Häbler, *Der Incunabelkatalog der Bibliotheken Deutschlands*, in *Mitteilungen des Oesterr. Vereins für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. xiii (1909), pp. 74-87. See p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> See prefatory note to the *Catalogue of Books printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, Part I. London: 1908.

<sup>4</sup> The following is an extract from a personal letter dated Mar. 30, 1910: "I estimate that my work will contain about 30,000 entries. The first volume which will be out in a few days contains A-B with 7128 entries."

search will doubtless show some of these to be extant in more than one copy, yet all of these cases will certainly never result thus; and in the other direction a similar state of affairs must exist.

The various special bibliographies now in course of publication will keep on adding new titles to the general lists, and we will probably not be far from the truth in estimating the total number of editions published in the fifteenth century to have been 35,000.

## 2. Copies Extant.

In attempting to estimate the number of copies of incunabula extant in all the libraries of the world we are at once confronted by the fact that in a large majority of the libraries probably the incunabula have never been counted. To give an idea of the number of libraries containing incunabula it may be stated that Germany, Austria, Italy and France together have considerably over a thousand such libraries, without reckoning the rest of the world.

In taking a census we are thus forced to avail ourselves of a series of estimates with which to supplement the actual counts of incunabula in certain libraries. In the following attempt at a census the counts and estimates will most conveniently be grouped by countries in accordance with the usual kind of information that is at present available. The various countries will be taken up in the decreasing order of the number of copies which they probably contain.

### a. Germany.

Information concerning the number of incunabula in German libraries has been available to a certain extent for a long time past. To go no further back than the year 1875, we find in the fifth edition of Dr. Julius Petzholdt's *Adressbuch der Bibliotheken Deutschlands*<sup>5</sup> statistics given which indicate the presence of 36,190 copies in but 23 libraries whose contents were estimated in round numbers.

In 1893 Dr. Paul Schwenke published a more

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Julius Petzholdt, *Adressbuch der Bibliotheken Deutschlands mit Einschluss von Oesterreich-Ungarn und der Schweiz*, neu herausgegeben von —. Dresden: G. Schönfeld's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1875. 8vo., xii and 526 pp.

complete *Adressbuch*<sup>6</sup> for the libraries of Germany, and in this statistics are given for 374 libraries with 113,860 copies. These figures are partly due to actual counts, and partly to estimates, but there were besides a large number of libraries that were cited indefinitely in the matter of incunabula.

Dr. Häbler states in the article previously cited that the Prussian commission originally estimated that the public libraries of Germany contained about 100,000 copies, but that after several years of work in this field they were obliged to raise their estimate to 120,000 copies. Up to April 1, 1909, the commission had inventoried 347 libraries containing about 60,000 copies.

In a personal letter to the author of the present article dated April 7, 1910, Dr. Häbler reaffirms this estimate of 120,000 copies for the public libraries, to which he would add 12,000 copies for the private libraries of Germany.<sup>7</sup>

But as we must recognize the practical impossibility of attaining to a complete enumeration, especially in the case of private libraries, it would seem reasonable to place the total figure for Germany at 140,000 copies, by far the largest for any country in the world.

The latest edition of Trübner's *Minerva*<sup>8</sup> gives

<sup>6</sup>Dr. Paul Schwenke, *Adressbuch der Deutschen Bibliotheken*, bearbeitet von —. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz 1893. 8vo., iv, xx and 411 pp. (Zehntes Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen.)

<sup>7</sup>Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Berlin W. 64, Behrenstr. 40, d. 7. April 1910.

#### SEHR GEEHRTER HERR!

Bei Begründung der Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke hatte man angenommen, dass es in Deutschland, ausser im Besitz von Privatpersonen, etwa 100,000 Exemplare von Inkunabeln gäbe. Die Inventarisierungsarbeiten, die jetzt ihrem Ende nahe sind, haben aber gezeigt, dass es in Wirklichkeit etwa 120,000 Exemplare sein werden. Wie viel man für privat Sammlungen dazu rechnen darf, ist schwer zu schätzen. 10,000 wird zu niedrig, 20,000 entschieden zu hoch gerechnet sein. Ich schätze annähernd 12,000; also Summa 132,000.

Zu weiterer Auskunft gern bereit . . . bin ich  
Ihr sehr ergebener

K. HÄBLER.

<sup>8</sup>Dr. K. Trübner, *Minerva: Jahrbuch der Gelehrten Welt*, begründet von —. Neunzehnter Jahrgang, 1909-1910.

a total of 65,943 copies for German libraries, but only some 52 of the larger collections are listed.

#### b. Italy.

Italy was the second home of the art of printing in the fifteenth century, and hence it is not surprising to find a very large number of incunabula still preserved in its libraries.

In the years 1893-1896 the Italian government published a detailed *Statistica delle Biblioteche*,<sup>9</sup> which lists the collections of incunabula in 247 libraries with a total of 64,337 copies. To this figure should be added the collection in the Vatican Library numbering about 2500 copies,<sup>10</sup> and perhaps those of other church libraries not investigated by the government officials. Allowing for some omissions we would have the number 75,000 for the public libraries, and with perhaps 15,000 for private libraries not included above, we would have the final figure of 90,000 copies for all the libraries of Italy.

Trübner's *Minerva* gives 35,297 copies for only 43 libraries.

#### c. Austria.

Austria occupies the peculiar position in the library world of having still preserved its old monastic libraries largely intact, and it is quite possible that the official statistics are on that account not as complete as they are for the other countries near by.

Already in 1875 Dr. Petzholdt listed in his previously cited work 75 libraries in Austria with collections of incunabula totaling 36,285 copies. In the fuller catalogue of Austrian libraries published by Drs. Johann Bohatta and Michael Holzmann in 1900<sup>11</sup> this total has been raised to 53,134

Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1910. 12mo., ii, lviii and 1512 pp.

<sup>9</sup>Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio (Direzione Generale della Statistica), *Statistica delle Biblioteche*. Parte I, Volume I. Roma: Tipografia Nazionale di G. Bertero, 1893. 8vo., xlvi and 208 pp. Parte I, Volume II. Roma; 1894. 8vo., iv and 295 pp. Parte II. Roma: 1896. 8vo., xvi and 154 pp.

<sup>10</sup>See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., s. v. Libraries (Vol. XIV, 1882, p. 529).

<sup>11</sup>Dr. Johann Bohatta und Dr. Michael Holzmann, *Adressbuch der Bibliotheken der Oesterreich-ungarischen Monarchie*. Wien: Carl Fromme, . . . 1900. 8vo., viii, 576 and 5 pp. (Schriften des "Oesterreichischen Vereines für Bibliothekswesen.")

copies preserved in some 181 libraries. Allowing for omissions and judging partly by the case of Germany, we may assume the figure 70,000 for the copies in the public and monastic libraries. Of private libraries in Austria we know but little, but we can safely credit them with 15,000 copies considering their proximity to Germany on the one hand and to Italy on the other, thus giving a total for Austria of 85,000 copies.

Trübner's *Minerva* gives a total of 36,920 copies for only 29 libraries.

#### d. England (U. K.).

It seems very strange that so little is known concerning the statistics of the collections of incunabula to be found in English libraries both public and private. The British Museum contains more than 10,000 copies,<sup>12</sup> but beyond this pertinent information was found to be difficult to obtain. Mr. R. A. Peddie, in the letter previously drawn upon for editions, says : "It is impossible to say how many 15th. century books there are in this country. No statistics are available."

The universities are, however, known to have large collections of incunabula, and many other public libraries are doubtless also well supplied with them. We may, therefore, assume the number 50,000 for the public libraries of the United Kingdom.

English private libraries appear to be particularly numerous and important, and the collecting of incunabula and other rare books in England has at times assumed the proportions of a craze. We can, therefore, posit the number 25,000 for the private libraries of the country, and thus reach a total of 75,000 copies for England, including Scotland and Ireland.

Trübner's *Minerva* gives statistics for only one library, the Rylands Library at Manchester with its 2500 copies.

#### e. France.

The smaller public libraries of France appear to have been carefully catalogued as regards incu-

<sup>12</sup> Reginald Arthur Rye, *The Libraries of London: A Guide for Students*, prepared on the instruction of the Senate of the University of London. London: published by the University of London, 1908. 8vo., 90 pp. See p. 14.

nabula, and fairly complete statistics are available; but in regard to the number of incunabula in the larger public libraries there still seems to be room for doubt. For the semi-public and private libraries no information is at hand.

In 1897 M. Léopold Delisle stated<sup>13</sup> that Mlle. Marie Pellechet had examined four large libraries in Paris and 176 libraries in the provinces, all of which presumably contained incunabula. He stated further that she records in her first volume the existence of some 6272 copies. At the same average rate for the remaining volumes the completed work will record 34,346 copies. Making allowances for some omissions, especially in the larger libraries, and for others not examined by her, we may estimate the total number of incunabula in the public and semi-public libraries of France at 50,000 copies.

As the French are enthusiastic collectors of rare books we may estimate the number of incunabula in private libraries at 20,000, thus bringing the total for all the libraries of France to some 70,000 copies.

Trübner's *Minerva* gives statistics for 118 libraries, most of them actual counts, which total 18,861 copies.

#### f. Spain.

The only available statistics for incunabula in Spanish libraries appear to be those given by Trübner's *Minerva*, which lists only eight libraries with 4679 copies. But Dr. Häbler in the letter previously cited states that the Prussian commission has an expert now in Spain, and that he has been reporting quite a large number of incunabula in the Spanish libraries. When his investigation is completed the results may show from 40,000 to 50,000 copies in the public libraries.

Adopting the smaller figure, and allowing 10,000 copies for the private libraries, we would arrive at a total of 50,000 copies for all the libraries of Spain.

#### g. Russia.

Library statistics for Russia have been largely inaccessible, but through the kindness of Mr. Babine of the Library of Congress in Washing-

<sup>13</sup> See his review of Mlle. Pellechet's *Catalogue Général des Incunables des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, Tome I, in the *Journal des Savants*, Année 1897, pp. 613-627. (Letter from M. Louis Polain received too late to use.)

ton it has been ascertained that the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg contains 7000 incunabula.

It seems likely also that many libraries in Russian territory near the Western frontier contain large collections of incunabula, so that we may estimate 40,000 copies for all the libraries of Russia.

#### *h. America.*

Of late years many small collections of incunabula have been finding their way to American libraries, and under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America an effort is now being made to compile a checklist of them both for public and private libraries.

Through the kindness of Miss Margaret W. Righter of the Free Library of Philadelphia it has been learned that on May 6, 1910, the contents of 71 public libraries with 4841 copies and 61 private libraries with 3366 copies had been listed.

Allowing liberally for collections not yet catalogued, we may estimate that 20,000 copies exist in all the libraries of America.

#### *i. Minor Collections.*

There are also a few statistics available for other countries whose libraries contain a certain number of incunabula. Basing our estimates on these meagre data, and taking into consideration the importance of their libraries, we may add somewhat to our totals in the summary statistical table which follows.

Incunabula in small numbers are probably scattered far and wide, as the colonization of many countries by European peoples has tended to disseminate the products of the early printing presses.

#### STATISTICAL TABLE.

Countries.	Estimates.
a. Germany, . . . . .	140,000
b. Italy, . . . . .	90,000
c. Austria, . . . . .	85,000
d. England, . . . . .	75,000
e. France, . . . . .	70,000
f. Spain, . . . . .	50,000
g. Russia, . . . . .	40,000
h. America, . . . . .	20,000
i. Switzerland, . . . . .	10,000
j. Belgium, . . . . .	10,000

Countries.	Estimates.
k. Holland, . . . . .	10,000
l. Denmark, . . . . .	5,000
m. Portugal, . . . . .	5,000
n. Sweden, . . . . .	5,000
o. English Colonies, . . . . .	10,000
p. Other Countries, . . . . .	25,000
Grand Total, . . . . .	650,000

As the present World Census of Incunabula would appear to be the first attempt in this field, its imperfections and inexactitudes are probably many, but no one will watch with greater interest than its author what the results of later investigations by the incunabulum specialists will be as compared with the above forecast.

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#### CAXTON REPRODUCTIONS : A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

American students of Caxton are dependent for the materials of their study almost wholly upon reproductions, since the number of original Caxtons owned by public institutions in America is extremely small. It has therefore seemed to me that a list of these reproductions may be of service to present or future students of the subject. I have included in this list all of the works of Caxton's press of which reproductions are known to me. But in the case of a few works of which the reprints are rather numerous, I have not tried to include every edition. Nor have I tried to give more in the way of bibliographical detail than will suffice for practical purposes.

Caxton's works are here referred to by means of the numbers and titles given in Blades' list, as set forth in his *Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, L. 1877, pp. 165 ff. Blades' list, tho not perfect for all purposes, is very accurate, perfectly definite, and well known, and it furnishes the simplest means of defining with exactness a given work of Caxton's press. In the case of works of which Caxton published several editions, the numbers denoting the later editions are set down side by side with the

number that denotes the first edition. A list of Caxton's works, with the numbers of Blades' list, is printed in Flügel's *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 359-361. Blades' larger work, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, L. 1861-'63, 2 vols., is referred to below as Blades, I or II, according to the volume cited.

## Blades' list.

1	The recuell of the histories of Troy.	35	Reprint, ed. Edward Arber, L. 1895. " Percy Society, 1844. " Kelmscott Press, 1892.
	Reprint, ed. H. O. Sommer, L. 1894, 2 vols. " Kelmscott Press, 1892, 2 vols.		An advertisement.
3, 34	The game and play of the chess moralised.	36	Facsimile, ed. E. W. B. Nicholson, L. [1892].
	Facsimile, ed. Vincent Figgins, L. 1860, from 2 <sup>o</sup> ed.	35	Facsimile, Bibliophile, March, 1908. Reprints in Blades, II, p. 101, and elsewhere.
	Reprint, ed. W. E. A. Axon, L. 1883, from 1 <sup>o</sup> ed.	36	Directorium, seu Pica Sarum.
8, 28, 89	The dictes and sayings of the philosophers.	36	Reprint in Tracts of Clement Maydeston with the remains of Caxton's Ordinale, ed. Chr. Wordsworth, Henry Bradshaw Soc., L. 1894.
	Facsimile, ed. W. Blades, L. 1877.	36	The history of Godfrey of Boloyne; or the con- quest of Jerusalem.
9	Fragment of a "Horme."	36	Reprint, ed. M. N. Colvin, E. E. T. S., L. 1893.
	Reprint in Blades, vol. II, p. 42-43.	36	Reprint, Kelmscott Press, 1893.
11	The moral proverbs of Cristyne.	36	Letters of indulgence from Johannes de Lei- gliis, etc.
	*Facsimile (?), ed. W. Blades, 1859.	36	Facsimile in Blades, II, p. 184.
14, 15, 30	Parvus Catho.—Magnus Catho.	36	Polyeronicon.
	Facsimile, Camb. Univ. Press, 1906.	36	Printed from mss., with the variants of Caxton's edition, in Rolls Series, ed. Churchill Bahington, L. 1865-86.
16, 17	The horse, the sheep, and the goose, etc.	36	Liber ultimus is reprinted in Blades, I, p. 197-265.
	Reprint, Roxburghe Club, 1822.	36	The pilgrimage of the soul.
18	Infancia Salvatoris.	36	Reprint, ed. F. Holthausen, Halle, 1891.
	Reprint, ed. F. Holthausen, Halle, 1891.	36	"The parts omitted," says the editor, "re- late entirely to Mariolatry . . . and con- tain quaint descriptions of purgatory and abstruse metaphysical doctrines, which it was felt could neither be of advantage nor interest to the general reader."
19	The temple of glass.	36	A vocabulary in French and English.
	Facsimile, Camb. Univ. Press, 1905.	36	Reprint, ed. Henry Bradley, E. E. T. S., L. 1900.
20, 21	The chorle and the bird.	36	Four sermons, etc.
	Facsimile, Camb. Univ. Press, 1906.	36	Reprint, Roxburghe Club, 1883.
	Reprint, Roxburghe Club, 1818.	36	Sex perelegantissimæ epistolæ per Petrum Car- melianum emendatae.
22	The temple of brass, or the parliament of fowls, etc.	36	Facsimile, ed. G. Bullen, L. 1892.
	Reprint, in Parallel Text of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Chaucer Soc.	36	The book which the Knight of the Tower made, etc.
23, 94	The book of courtesy.	36	Reprint, ed. Thomas Wright, E. E. T. S., 1906, revised ed.
	Facsimile, Camb. Univ. Press, 1907.	36	This edition is made in part from Harl. ms. 1764, and in part from Caxton's print. The original issue of 1868 is not trust- worthy.
	Reprint, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., L. 1868.	36	56, 69, 101 The golden legend.
24	Queen Anelida and false Arcyte, etc.	36	Facsimile, ed. Alfred Aspland, L. 1878.
	Facsimile, Camb. Univ. Press, 1905.	36	This facsimile reproduces a very imperfect copy.
	Reprint in Parallel Text of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Chaucer Soc.	36	Reprint, Temple Classics, L. 1900, 7 vols. " Kelmscott Press, 1892, 3 vols.
25	Boethius De consolacione philosophiae . . . hy Geoffrey Chaucer.	36	
	Collation by L. Kellner, Eng. Stud. 14. 1-53.	36	
29	Letters of indulgence issued by John Kendal in 1480, etc.	36	
	Facsimile in F. C. Price's Facsimiles il- lustrating the labors of William Caxton, L. 1877, privately printed.	36	
	Reprint in Blades, II, p. 79.	36	
32, 84	The history of Reynard the fox.	36	

- 57 Death-bed prayers.  
Facsimile in Blades, II, Plate xxxvii.
- 58 The fables of Æsop ; of Avian ; of Alfonse ; and of Poge, the Florentine.  
Reprint, ed. Joseph Jacobs, L. 1889, 2 vols.
- 59 The order of chivalry.  
Reprint, ed. F. S. Ellis, Kelmscott Press, 1892.
- 61 The book of fame.  
Reprint, in Parallel Text of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Chaucer Soc.
- 62 The curial.  
Reprint, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., L. 1888.
- 64 The life of Our Lady.  
\*Reprinted, according to Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge, 376, in Early English Religious Literature, [L. 1871-79.] From ms. or from Caxton's print?
- 65 The life of the holy and blessed virgin St. Winifred.  
Reprint, ed. C. Horstmann, Anglia, vol. 3.
- 66 The noble histories of king Arthur, etc.  
Reprint, ed. H. O. Sommer, L. 1889-91, 3 vols.
- This is much the best edition of Malory.  
There are, of course, many others.
- 67 The life of the noble and christian prince, Charles the Great.  
Reprint, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, E. E. T. S., L. 1881.
- 68 The knight Paris and the fair Vienne.  
Reprint, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, Roxburghe Library, [L.] [1868].
- 75 Image of Pity.  
Facsimile in E. G. Duff's William Caxton, Caxton Club, Chicago, 1905, Plate xiv.
- 82 Statutes of Henry VII.  
Facsimile, ed. John Rae, L. 1869.
- 83 The governal of health.—The medicina stomachachi.  
\*Reprint, ed. W. Blades, 1858.
- 85 The history of Blanchardin and Eglantine.  
Reprint, ed. Leon Kellner, E. E. T. S., L. 1890.
- 86 The four sons of Aymon.  
Reprint, ed. Octavia Richardson, E. E. T. S., L. 1884-85.
- 88 Eneydos.  
Reprint, edd. W. T. Culley and F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S., L. 1890.
- 92 The fifteen Oes, and other prayers.  
Facsimile, ed. Stephen Ayling, L. 1869.
- 93 The art and craft to know well to die.  
Facsimile, L. Lumley, L. 1875.
- 97 Ars moriendo, etc.  
Facsimile, ed. E. W. B. Nicholson, L. 1891 (?)
- 100 Facsimile, no place, no date.  
\*Reprint, ed. W. Blades, 1869.
- The life of St. Katherine.—The revelations of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.  
Reprint, ed. C. Horstmann, Herrig's Archiv, vol. 76.
- Caxton's translation of six books of Ovid's Metamorphoses, ms. 2124, Pepysian library, Camb. (see Blades, '77, p. 364).  
Reprint, ed. G. Hibbert, Roxburghe Club, 1819.
- Indulgence of 1489 (not recognized by Blades as a work of Caxton).  
Facsimile in E. G. Duff, op. cit., Plate xviii.
- Facsimile in Seymour de Ricci, A census of Caxtons, Oxf., 1909.
- Caxton's prologs and epilogs are all reprinted by Blades, I, 131-196.
- A reprint of Caxton's translation of the Vitæ patrum, finished at the very end of his life (see Blades, '77, p. 85), is referred to in Jahresbericht, 1895. I have not been able to identify the reprint.
- \*These books I have not seen.

A comparison of this list with Blades' full list of 103 numbers shows that up to the present time a little more than half of the whole extant number of Caxtoniana has been reproduced in some way or other. Nearly forty works, not including second or third editions which are mere duplicates of the first issues, are still inaccessible to students unable to consult the originals in the great libraries of England. The works which have not been reproduced are probably on the whole not less valuable than those which have been reproduced. They include the following works:—7, The history of Jason (the only Caxton romance not reprinted); 31, The mirrour of the world; 55, Caton; 74, The royal book; 81, The fayts of arms and of chivalry; 91, A book of divers ghostly matters. It should be noted also that most of the facsimiles and some of the reprints have appeared in limited editions and are now difficult to procure. It is to be hoped therefore that the work of reproduction will continue and that good reprints will speedily be made of all Caxtons that have not been reproduced in any form, and also of all those which are accessible only in scarce, out-of-print facsimiles.

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A PARACELSIAN PASSAGE IN  
GOETHE'S EPHEMERIDES.

In February, 1770, before leaving his native city to attend the University of Strasburg, Goethe copied in his notebook *Ephemerides* a number of quotations from Paracelsus, to one of which I wish to call attention. It runs :

"Darnm ich wohl mag reden, dasz die Artzt, so die *Cadaverum Anatomiam* für sich nchmen, nichts als unverständig Lent sind, dann nicht der *Cadaver* zeigt die *Anatomey*, danu sie giebt allein die Bein, und des Beins Nachbaaren, noch ist aber die Kranckheit nicht da."<sup>1</sup>

Although at that time Goethe was interested in the neo-Platonic mystical phases of medicine, nevertheless it may, with a reasonable degree of certainty, be inferred from the point at which his quotation begins, and the point at which it ends, that it was not so much Paracelsus's mystical distinction between the anatomy of the "cadaver" and that of the "corpus" of a particular disease that interested him, as it was the bold statement that an anatomical dissection reveals the bones and the adjacent parts of the body, but not the disease, since the disease is not among the remaius.

Perhaps it should be our first aim to make as clear as possible what Paracelsus means in the above quotation. To do this it will be necessary to give the context, besides quoting an earlier passage. The latter first :

"So ich nuhn soll vom *Corpus* reden des Zippelins / so wissen anfenglich in dieser Vorred dass alle ding die uns peinigen oder wolhnndt / nicht anss dem *Corpore*, aber im *Corpore* ihr werck verbringen : Dann die kranckheit ist unsichtig niemandts hats nie gesehen / das *Corpus* aber dasselbige ist sichtig / das ist das / dass wir klagen / das nns peinigt."<sup>2</sup>

Goethe's passage is from the chapter "De Podagrīcīs, Liber Secundus," and I quote the context : "also sollen ihr an dem ort auch wissen und erkennen / dass das *Podagra*, so es in sein

*Corpus* genommen soll werden und geformiert in sein Anatomey unnd in sein *proprietates*, dass ihr nicht anderst verstanden / dann das der Leib / der von Vatter und Mutter geboreu wirdt / dieser Leib nicht ist / auch nichts in ihn zu handlen. Dann den *Flamen* sieht man anfsteigen / aber sein *corpus* nicht anss dem er kompt. Also den Schmertzen empfindt man / aber sein *corpus* sieht niemands. Auff das soll ein ander Grnd gefürt werden in erkanntnuss des Podagram / dann von allen diugen soll sein Anatomey stehn / uud welcher der ist / der nicht der Kranckheit Anatomey weist / kan der ein Artzt seyn ? [Here follows Goethc's quotation.] Ich rede von der Anatomey der Kranckheiten / nit des Leibs : darnmb führe ich hie die *Astra*, allein anss denselbigen auzeigungen die Anatomey der Kranckheiten / dass ich für das höchst und dz erst acht zu scyn einem jeglichen Artzt : ohn welche Anatomey nie nichts warhaftigs geschrieben ist worden."<sup>3</sup>

Paracelsus believed that the processes of life are independent of the physical structure of the organs of the body and he was willing to apply the term anatomy only to what he considered the necessary foundation of medicine, viz., a knowledge of the ultimate substance of life. It was only the whole full life of nature and man that had any significance for him.<sup>4</sup>

A disease, considered as to its ultimate substance, did not mean to him a material thing, but a spiritual, living thing.<sup>5</sup> While we should not venture to assert that Goethe accepted this doctrine with its consequences, nevertheless there is embodied in the short passage which he copied an idea which became with him a fundamental principle, namely the all-importance of studying an organism as a living thing, not as a mechanism. There is a passage in the *Urfaust* (367-372) that suggests itself in this connection :

"Wer will was lebigs erkennen und beschreiben,  
Muss erst den Geist herauser treiben,  
Dann hat er die Theil in seiner Hand,  
Fehlt leider nur das geistlich Band.  
Encheiresin naturae nennts die Chimie !  
Bohrt sich selbst einen Esel und weis nicht wie."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Schöll, *Briefe und Aufsätze von Goethe*, 76; *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in Neudrucken*, XIV, 8; Weimar ed. of Goethe, xxxvii, 87.

<sup>2</sup>Opera, ed. Huser, Strasburg, 1603, I, 569.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 573.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medicin*, 3d ed., ii, 87.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

Schröer and Steiner, the former in his preface, the latter in his introduction to vol. XXXIII of the D. N. L. edition of Goethe's works, interpret these lines as referring both to chemistry and anatomy. The lines are frequently quoted as embodying a general principle of quite broad bearing, and this may well be done without doing any violence to Goethe's belief, though we shall see later that he was thinking specifically of chemistry, or perhaps alchemy, when he wrote the passage. Back in Leipsic, before he had read Paracelsus, he wrote the little poem, *Die Freuden*, ending with the line,

"So geht es dir, Zergliederer deiner Freuden."

As has been pointed out by Schröer,<sup>6</sup> Goethe's main idea in this poem, confirmed by the passage from Paracelsus, was more clearly and more fully stated in a letter to Hetzler Jr., on the 14th of July, 1770, "... der Leichnam ist nicht das ganze Thier, es gehört noch etwas dazu, noch ein Hauptstück, und bei der Gelegenheit, wie bey ieder andern, ein sehr hauptsächliches Hauptstück : das Leben, der Geist der alles schön macht. . . . lassen Sie mir die Freudenfeindliche Erfahrungssucht, die Sommervögel tödtet und Blumen anatomirt, alten oder kalten Leuten."<sup>7</sup>

Schröer's quotation of the Paracelsian passage as a parallel to lines 1936 ff. of *Faust* has lost some of its weight since Lippmann's discovery of Goethe's source for the chemical terms employed in these lines of *Faust*,<sup>8</sup> though it is easily conceivable that Goethe may have had the general principle in mind in the first four lines, even though the words "den Geist heraus zu treiben" be clearly (al)chemical, and the last two lines contain a stinging gibe at a pretentious, albeit rare, specimen of chemical terminology. However, it should not be deduced from what has been said that Goethe thought little of chemistry or despised anatomy, for his many experiments in the one and his important discoveries in the other prove exactly the opposite.

The fact that Goethe seems to have been fond

<sup>6</sup>Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins, VII, Nr. 8, p. 31; and *Faust, mit Einl.*, etc. 3te Aufl. 1892, p. 124f.

<sup>7</sup>Briefe, I, 238 f.

<sup>8</sup>Chemiker-Zeitung, 1907, Nr. 36, "Encheiresis Naturae." See also G.-J., XXIX, 163f.

of the idea common to all these passages leads me to venture the opinion that he, and not Schiller, was the author of the xenion, *Der Sprachforscher, Anatomieren magst du die Sprache, doch nur ihr Cadaver ; Geist und Leben entschlüpft flüchtig dem groben Scalpell.*<sup>9</sup>

The only authority, so far as I know, upon which this distich has ever been attributed to Schiller, is the fact that Schiller's wife wrote "Sch." after it in her *de luxe* copy of the *Xenien* volume of the *Musen-Almanach*.<sup>10</sup> Even Hoffmeister, who proudly boasted that the possession of that "Prachtexemplar" enabled him to name the author of each of the *Votivtafeln* and most of the *Xenien*, was nevertheless in fact very skeptical of the results with respect to some of the *Votivtafeln*, though still cocksure with regard to the *Xenien*.<sup>11</sup> The scientific value of that "Prachtexemplar" was soon attacked by certain scholars, though still defended by others.<sup>12</sup> The discovery and publication of the old manuscript that had wandered back and forth between Weimar and Jena, growing with each journey, seemed to have considerable weight in the problem of dividing the literary ownership,<sup>13</sup> since for the most part the distichs are in the hand of one or the other of the poets. But even such manuscript evidence has not been universally accepted as convincing. For example, Erich Schmidt makes it appear highly probable that Goethe was the author of three of the distichs that appear in this manuscript in Schiller's hand.<sup>14</sup> Seeing that the xenion here under discussion does not even appear in that original manuscript, and the evidence of the passage from Paracelsus, the letter to Hetzler, the lines from *Faust*, and the peculiarly Goethean tendency of the distich, all oppose the conjecture of Charlotte v. Schiller, it would seem permissible to claim for Goethe the authorship of the lines, the more so as no documentary evidence has ever been brought forward to substantiate the claim of Lotte Schiller.

<sup>9</sup>Musen-Almanach für das Jahr 1797, hrsg. von Schiller, p. 234. No. 353 in the edition of Schmidt and Suphan, *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, viii.

<sup>10</sup>Hoffmeister, Nachlese zu Schillers Werken, III, 72, 104.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 74 ff., 104 ff.

<sup>12</sup>Boas, *Schiller und Goethe im Xenienkampf*, I, 41 ff.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Boas-Maltzahn, *Schillers und Goethes Xenien-Manuscript*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup>Charakteristiken, Berlin, 1886, p. 318 f.

Goethe's contempt for the mirth-provoking, rather than respect-commanding perpetrations of philologists, especially dictionary etymologists, of the time, needs no new demonstration. Suffice it to refer to the poem *Etymologie*, supposed to be spoken by Mephistopheles, and to the lines in *Faust* (7093 ff.) in which the Greif gives vent to his displeasure at being wrongly called "Greis":

" Nicht Greisen ! Greifen ! — Niemand hört es gern  
 Dasz man ihn Greis nennt. Jedem Worte klingt  
 Der Ursprung nach wo es sich her bedingt :  
 Grau, grümlich, griesgram, greulich, Gräber, grimmig,  
 Etymologisch gleicherweise stimmig,  
 Verstimmen uns.

#### MEPHISTOPHELES.

Und doch, nicht abzuschweifen,  
 Gefällt das *Grei* im Ehrentitel *Greifen*.

#### GREIF.

Natürlich ! die Verwandtschaft ist erprob't,  
 Zwar oft gescholten, mehr jedoch gelobt ;  
 Man greife nun nach Mädchen, Kronen, Gold,  
 Dem Greifenden ist meist Fortuna hold.

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#### THE WEAVERS' INSCRIPTION IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CHARTRES.

In the chapel of the Sacred Heart of Mary, on the North side of the cathedral of Chartres, is a window given by the "métier des tisserands" of that town and dedicated to Saint Vincent. Underneath it, near the medallions where the weavers are represented, this inscription<sup>1</sup> can still be read:

TERA : A CEST : AVTEL : TES : LES : MESSES :  
 QEN : CHARE : SONT : ACOILLI : EN : TO  
 ERET : CESTE : VERRIE : CENT : CIL : QVIDO :  
 LI : CONFRERE : SAINT : VIN

This inscription has greatly puzzled the archæologists who have discussed it. M. Mâle speaks of it as an "inscription très obscure, dont on ne

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile by F. de Méry in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1888, p. 422. See also E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 367 f.

peut qu'entrevoir le sens." De Lasteyrie<sup>2</sup> suggested the following interpretation: "A cet autel, toutes les messes qui en charge sont accueillies . . . et donnèrent cette verrière . . . ceux qui sont confrères de Saint Vincent." This reading is far from giving a clear meaning or an exact interpretation of all the letters of the inscription. All that follows from it is that a "confrérie" of Saint Vincent gave the window; their connection with the altar and the masses is not apparent.

I believe that it is possible to reach a more precise and literal rendering of the inscription. When we adopt the usual method, as de Lasteyrie evidently did, beginning at the top and reading down, it appears confused, full of gaps and inversions. Suppose, however, that we apply the method used in reading the pictures in the "vitraux." It is well known that the mediæval glass-workers, when preparing a window, began at the bottom and worked up. It is thus that most of the "vitraux," whether historical, mystical or dogmatic, are to be read.<sup>3</sup> Adopting this method for the inscription and numbering the words as follows:

TERA : A CEST : AVTEL : TES : LES : MESSES :	17      18      19      20      13      14      15
QEN : CHARE : SONT : ACOILLI : EN : TO	16      17      10      11      12      13
ERET : CESTE : VERRIE : CENT : CIL : QVIDO :	7      8      9      4      5      6      7
LI : CONFRERE : SAINT : VIN	1      2      3      4

we get this result: "Li confrere saint Vincent cil qui doerct ceste verrie sont acoilli en totes les messes q'en charerera a cest autel."

Thus read, everything is in order except for the words *charerera* and *verrie*. And it becomes almost self-evident that the letters RE of the former belong with *VERRIE* of the line below, forming *verrière*, and that they should be replaced by an N or a nasal bar, forming *chanterera*. The whole inscription would then read: "Li confrere saint Vincent, cil qui donerent ceste verrière, sont acoilli en totes les messes q'en chantera a cest autel." Or, in Modern French: "Les confrères de saint Vincent, ceux qui donnèrent cette ver-

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la peinture sur verre*, p. 527.

<sup>3</sup> See Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

rière, sont accueillis en toutes les messes qu'on chantera à cet autel."

In this way we obtain a perfectly legible and grammatical Old French sentence, making good sense and accounting for every letter of the inscription. I have been unable to ascertain whether weavers' guilds elsewhere had any special relations with Saint Vincent, but it is evident that at Chartres the "tisserands" had formed a fraternity under his patronage, had dedicated a window to him and in it asserted also the right to be present at all the masses celebrated on the neighboring altar.

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### THE TEXT OF SHERIDAN'S *THE RIVALS.*

On its first presentation *The Rivals* was a failure. Most conspicuous among its objectionable features, as noted by the newspaper critics, was its extraordinary length: "The play itself is a full hour longer in representation than any piece on the stage.—This last circumstance is an error of such a nature as shows either great obstinacy in the Author, or excessive ignorance in the managers."<sup>1</sup> Sheridan at once withdrew the play for revision. Since the manuscript of the play as originally performed has been lost, the extent of this revision can only be guessed at. A comparison, however, of the rather detailed criticism in *The Public Ledger* (January 18, 1775) with the present text of the play gives us a notion of how sweeping some of the alterations were. Moreover, the first edition misnumbers the scenes (in Act III omitting scene 4, in Act IV omitting scene 3) in such a way as to suggest that Sheridan possibly suppressed two whole scenes, and forgot to renumber the following ones. In order to reduce the play by one-third, something like the suppression of certain scenes may have been necessary.

After the success of the play on its second production, Sheridan made ready the manuscript for

the press, and added a modestly-worded Preface, in which he defended himself and the manager of the Covent Garden Theatre against certain charges occasioned by the first night's failure. Sheridan prepared this edition, in all probability, with care, for, in a certain sense, his reputation as a playwright was at stake. It was published in London, by John Wilkie, in 1775, and is now one of the rare books in our language, fetching on the market from \$50 to \$250. In the same year appeared the second edition. In reality this is nothing but a later issue of the first edition, from the same setting of type, and differing merely in having inserted on the title page the words "The Second Edition."

In the following year, however, Wilkie issued "The Third Edition, Corrected." This seems to represent the stage version of the play as then acted. It contains the old Serjeant-at-Law prologue in a slightly modified form; prints for the first time the "Prologue Spoken on the Tenth Night"; makes a few verbal changes in the text; and, most noticeable of all, omits a large number of passages. These omissions, doubtless, represent actual "cuts" made by the actors. As such they may have had the sanction of Sheridan, though in matters of this kind he was notoriously careless.

In 1821 Murray published Sheridan's plays in two volumes. Moore furnished an introduction, and Wilkie, it seems, acted as editor.<sup>2</sup> In this edition *The Rivals* was printed from the third, or "truncated" edition, but with modernizations and some minor changes made by the editor. All subsequent reprints of *The Rivals* (with two exceptions to be spoken of in the following paragraphs) have been made directly, or indirectly, from this Murray edition of 1821.

In 1902 Fraser Rae issued *Sheridan's Plays, Now Printed as He Wrote Them*. (The title on the cover runs *Sheridan's Plays First Printed from His MSS.*) In his Prefatory Notes Rae says: "Sheridan's grandfather gave much time and care to arranging the manuscript of 'The Rivals,' 'The Duenna,' 'The School for Scandal,' and 'The Critic,' and he had them bound in handsome volumes." The word "grandfather"

<sup>1</sup> *The Morning Chronicle*, January 20, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> See Rae, *Sheridan's Plays*, p. xiv.

was obviously a slip of the pen, for both of Sheridan's grandfathers were dead long before *The Rivals* was written. Mrs. Algernon Sheridan writes me : "What Rae can have in mind when he spoke of Sheridan's grandfather arranging the manuscripts, one does not know — possibly he meant that his grandson did so, which is undoubtedly true of every other play except *The Rivals*." And that Rae did mean 'grandson' is conclusively shown on p. xxxviii. Rae adds : "The only important manuscript of which there is no trace is that of 'The Rivals,' which was acquired by Mr. Harris, the manager of Covent Garden Theatre, the manuscript being probably destroyed when that theatre was burnt to the ground." Without further explanation he prints a text of *The Rivals* which differs from that of all previous editions.

Now, although Rae does not actually say so, and probably did not intend to deceive the public, the inference from his statements and from his whole edition is that although one manuscript of *The Rivals* (the original manuscript put into the hands of the manager, Mr. Harris) was destroyed, another manuscript (possibly the manuscript of the revised play as rewritten for the second performance, or possibly that prepared for the printer) still exists ; that it was, as were the other extant manuscripts, handsomely bound by Sheridan's grandson, and is preserved with them at Frampton Court ; and that it is reproduced "with absolute fidelity in this volume."

When Professor Nettleton issued his admirable *The Major Dramas of Sheridan* (in *The Atheneum Press Series*, 1906), he accepted Rae's text as having reproduced "the original manuscript." In his introductory note on "The Text of *The Rivals*," he says : "The text of *The Rivals* in this edition is taken, by Mr. Fraser Rae's generous permission, from his *Sheridan's Plays now printed as he wrote them* (London, 1902). Of this book he once wrote me : 'I copied Sheridan's text in order that a reader might have it before him, just as he would do if he had the original manuscript.' This text—'Sheridan's version, printed with absolute fidelity,' as his Prefatory Notes describe it—I have tried to reproduce with like fidelity."

But absolutely no manuscript of *The Rivals* exists. Rae himself says in his *Sheridan*, A

*Biography* (London, 1896), i, 287 : "Moore makes a remark which I regretfully confirm :— 'Strange ! that *The Rivals* should be the only one of his pieces of which there appears to be no trace in his papers.' " Mr. Sichel, in his recent biography (*Sheridan*, i, 495), is even more specific : "The autograph of 'The Rivals' is said to have been burned at Covent Garden Theatre, and no manuscript is known to exist." I have, furthermore, a definite statement from the Sheridan family that no manuscript of the play is at Frampton Court ; nor, indeed, is one known by them to exist anywhere.

There is, however, preserved at Frampton Court a copy of the first edition "with annotations—apparently in his [Sheridan's] wife's handwriting—on the margin."<sup>3</sup> Thus, opposite Mrs. Malaprop's misquotation from *Hamlet*, is written : "Overdone—fitter for farce than comedy." And on Acres's classification of oaths, the comment is made : "Very good, but above the speaker's capacity."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the play is timed for "three hours," the first act for "28 minutes."<sup>5</sup>

Rae does not mention this copy, and has not attempted to reproduce either its text or its annotations. He seems to have prepared his edition by pasting down some modern reprint, which, like all modern reprints, reproduced the third, or "truncated," edition, as printed by Murray with modernized punctuation, spelling, and stage-directions, and not a few corruptions of text. Then, from the first edition he inserted the omitted passages. Finally, he introduced here and there corrections from the first edition. In general, however, his text, with the exception of the inserted passages, represents some modern text, with modern stage-directions and punctuation, and accumulated verbal errors.<sup>6</sup> In printing, too, he carelessly dropped out a number of words, and allowed additional errors to creep in.<sup>7</sup> Obviously such a text has no

<sup>3</sup> Sichel, *Sheridan*, i, 489. This copy, however, belonged to Sheridan's brother-in-law, Tickell, and Moore asserts that the annotations are in the handwriting of Tickell.

<sup>4</sup> Fitzgerald, *The Lives of the Sheridans*, i, 123.

<sup>5</sup> Sichel, *Sheridan*, i, 496.

<sup>6</sup> For purposes of comparison one may use the edition by G. G. S., or the Temple Edition.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of Rae's carelessness in reprinting, the reader is referred to Sichel, *Sheridan*, i, 492, where Mr. Sichel shows, with quotations, that Rae's reprint of Mrs. Sheridan's *A Journey to Bath* is "full of inaccuracies."

scholarly value, and Professor Nettleton took useless pains in reproducing it.

The inconsistencies and inaccuracies of Rae's text are too numerous to be given here in full; for the purposes of this article a few illustrations will be sufficient.

Prologue (p. 7, l. 5)<sup>8</sup> The first edition reads :

How's this! The Poet's Brief again! O ho!

The third edition reads :

Hey! how's this?—Dibble!—sure it cannot be!

Rae combines the two, to the destruction of the metre, as follows :

Hey! how's this? The Poet's Brief again. O ho!

This, it will be observed, represents one of Rae's attempts to introduce the reading of the first edition : it contains three errors. The next five lines (ll. 6-10) are from the third edition. Why should Rae alter line 5 to the reading of the first edition, yet leave lines 6-10 unchanged? Line 6 contains the error common to modern reprints, of "Yes" for "Yea."

For further illustration I will quote a few passages, chosen almost at random. I give first the reading of Rae's text, and secondly the reading of the first edition and of the annotated edition.<sup>9</sup>

Page 3, l. 7. by the public: as public.

Page 12, l. 50. easily: easy.

Page 13, l. 61. we got: he got.

Page 16, l. 61. absolutely fallen: fallen absolutely.

Page 16, l. 65. really: absolutely.

Page 27, l. 52. I should: I shall.

Page 50, l. 49. fixed: had fixed.

Page 53, l. 36. Oh! it gives: It gives.

Page 64, l. 2. a St. Lucius: a Sir Lucius.

Page 71, l. 60. my Aunt must be: my Aunt is.

Page 74, l. 166. like to have a little fooling: like a little fooling.

The conclusion is obvious: the only complete and authoritative text of *The Rivals* is the first edition; this has never been reprinted.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For the sake of convenience the page and line-numbers are given to Professor Nettleton's reprint of Rae: in Rae's edition the lines are not numbered.

<sup>9</sup> The readings of this edition were kindly furnished me by Mrs. Algernon Sheridan.

<sup>10</sup> It should be observed, however, that Professor Nettleton has given in foot-notes the more important variants in the first three editions.

### RICHARD III, IV. 4 AND THE THREE MARYS OF THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA.

At the opening of *Richard III*, iv. 4, Margaret of Anjou, the figure of a Nemesis that spreads its shadow over the whole tragedy, reappears upon the scene, in company with Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of York. These three wretched women, wives and mothers of murdered husbands and of murdered children, in utter woe and abandoned hope, at once take up a common burden of lamentation for the slain and of execration of "hell's black intelligencer," King Richard the Third.

The singularity of this scene in English drama —its lyric and choric rather than dramatic nature —has not escaped notice. Professor Schelling<sup>1</sup> sees in its lyricism a resemblance to Marlowe's work; further, he says: "It would be difficult to find in the whole range of English drama a scene reproducing so completely the nature and function of the Greek choric ode." There is, without doubt, enough of a general resemblance between this scene and the classical choric ode to warrant Professor Schelling's statement. I know of no scene, however, in classical tragedy that closely resembles Shakspere's situation in subject or in construction. From classical sources, a much nearer parallel than any the drama can furnish is the lament of Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen in Book 24 of the *Iliad*.

There is a still more striking likeness, however, so far as one or two points of resemblance are concerned, between *Richard III*, iv. 4 and a scene in the earlier miracle plays. I refer to the *plancus* of the three Marys before the tomb of Christ in the "Resurrection" of the cycle plays.<sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenient comparison, I quote here that part of the York Resurrection play which is similar in situation to *Richard III*, iv. 4.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The English Chronicle Play*, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *York Plays*, xxxviii; *Townley Plays*, xxvi; *Chester Plays*, xix; *Ludus Coventriæ*, xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama*, i, p. 160, from *The York Plays*, edited by L. T. Smith. This part of the Resurrection play was contained in the early dramatic office for Easter, of which two versions are printed by Manly, *loc. cit.*, pp. xxii and xxxi.

[Enter the three Marys going to the Tomb.]

I. MAR. Allas ! to dede I wolde he dight,  
So woo in worlde was neuere wight ;  
Mi sorowe is al for that sight  
That I gune see  
Howe Criste, my maistir, moste of myght,  
Is dede fro me.

Allas, that I schulde se his pyne,  
Or yit that I his liffe schulde tyne,  
Of ilke a myschene he is medycyne  
And hote of all,  
Helpe and halde to ilke a hyne  
On hym wolde call.

II. MAR. Allas ! who schall my hallis bete,  
Whanne I thynke on his woundes wete ?  
Jesu, that was of loue so swete  
And neuere did ill,  
Es dede and grauen vnder the grete  
Withouten skill.

III. MAR. Withowten skill the Jewes ilkone  
That louely lorde has newly slone,  
And trepasse did he neuere none  
In no-kyn steede.  
To whome nowe schall I make my mone,  
Sen he is dede ?

The similarity in situation is apparent. In each instance, three bereaved women chant their sorrow for the dead ; in each instance, the complaint is pitched in a lyric key. No verbal similarities appear.

In calling attention to the parallelism between these two scenes, I have no disposition to claim that Shakspere had the religious drama in mind when he wrote *Richard III*, iv, 4. The situation may have called up a reminiscence of the Resurrection play ; or, on the contrary, the agreement may be entirely accidental. There have been indicated a sufficient number of references in Shakspere's dramas<sup>4</sup> to miracle plays and playing to make it more than probable that Shakspere, as a boy or young man, saw performances of these plays, although as an institution they had prac-

<sup>4</sup> *Hamlet*, III. 2. 16. The references to Herod in *Antony and Cleopatra* are undoubtedly only biblical allusions. *Hamlet*, v. 1. 299. (Cf. Tolman, *Hamlet and Other Essays*, pp. 191 ff.) *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 4. 163 ff. & *Henry IV*, III. 2. 300 and 345. (Cf. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, xlvi.) *Henry V*, II. 3. 37. (Cf. Rolfe's edition. Note.) *King John*, iv. 3. 121. (Cf. Rolfe's edition. Note.)

tically come to an end by the sixteenth century. Evidence is not wanting to show that it was possible for Shakspere to have seen miracle play performances.<sup>5</sup> And yet if we were certain that Shakspere was familiar with the miracle plays, the conclusion would not necessarily be that the scene in *Richard III* is another instance of religious play reminiscence.<sup>6</sup> The agreement between the two scenes is, however, unusual ; and the three weeping queens may have been suggested to Shakspere by his recollection of the three mourning Marys.

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### WORDSWORTH'S "MAIDEN CITY."

One of the noblest of Wordsworth's sonnets is unquestionably that "On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic," and among the best lines are :

"She was a maiden city, bright and free ;  
No guilt seduced, no force could violate ;  
And, when she took to herself a Mate,  
She must espouse the everlasting Sea."

Of the innumerable readers of this sonnet it would be interesting to know how many have taken the exquisite term, 'a maiden city,' to be Wordsworth's own invention, stimulated by the recollection of the well-known ceremony of wed-  
ding the Adriatic and throwing the Doge's ring into the sea. As a poetic feat this is certainly not beyond the reach of Wordsworth's imagina-

<sup>5</sup> *The Leopold Shakspere*, xii. Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, I, 46-7; 50. Tolman, *Hamlet and Other Essays*, 191 ff. In his largely increased list of the performances of mediæval plays in England, Mr. Chambers (*The Mediæval Stage*, II. Appendix W) mentions no performances at Stratford-upon-Avon. He finds notices of performances at Worcester in 1576 ; at Northampton in 1581 ; at Coventry in 1584 and in 1591.

<sup>6</sup> Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, VI), p. 94, note 18, calls attention to similarities between the "Process" at the time of Christ's agony in Gethsemane in Arnout Grehan's *Le Mystère de la Passion* and the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice*, and contends that the similarities are "too striking to be dismissed as mere coincidences."

tion, but there is some reason to believe that in this case he was reproducing, perhaps unconsciously, a phrase suggested by an older writer.

The mere term 'maiden city' is ancient enough. It was indeed applied to the city that afterwards became Naples—the early name of which was Parthenope. But this name was due to the tradition of the siren who placed her affections on Ulysses and showed her grief when he deserted her by drowning herself. Obviously this is a very different sort of maiden city from Wordsworth's. Not uncommon in mediæval romance is the term 'maiden castle,' or rather 'castle of maidens.' Note, for example, Geoffrey of Monmouth's mention of Mount Agned, "quod nunc Castellum Puellarum," (*Hist. Regum Brit.*, II, 7) identified by Madden with Edinburgh. Other maiden castles are mentioned in the prose *Merlin* (E. E. T. S.), pp. 135, 151, 212, in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, XIII, 15, and a considerable number are still scattered about England. On these maiden castles the *Oxford Dictionary* remarks: "Several ancient earthworks in England are also called 'Maiden Castle': the sense may possibly be a fortress so strong as to be capable of being defended by maidens, or there may have been an allusion to some forgotten legend. Cf. the equivalent Ger. name *Magdeburg*."

Shakespeare uses the term 'maiden cities' in *Henry V*, Act v, sc. 2, where the English king is negotiating to make the French princess his queen:

"K. Hen. . . . you may, some of you, thank love for my blindness; who cannot see many a fair French city, for one fair French maid that stands in my way.

*Fr. King.* Yes, my lord, you see them perspectively, the cities turned into a maid; for they are all girdled with maiden walls, that war hath never entered.

*K. Hen.* Shall Kate be my wife?

*Fr. King.* So please you.

*K. Hen.* I am content; so the maiden cities you talk of may wait on her: so the maid that stood in the way of my wish shall show me the way to my will."

We see from the examples cited that any one of these sources might have suggested to Wordsworth the mere term 'maiden city,' but not improbably he picked it up in some of his reading

about Venic. Specific application of the term to Venice occurs in Coryat's *Crudities*, which was published in 1611, eleven years after *Henry V* was printed. Coryat does not pretend to have invented the epithet,<sup>1</sup> but he seems in a measure to imply that in his use of it for Venice he is a pioneer, and this notwithstanding the fact that the well-known ceremony of wedding the Adriatic was instituted about 1177, and that the wedding implies a maiden. He uses it in two passages<sup>2</sup> in which he brings in Venice. In the first passage he is commenting on Dort or Dordrecht:

"It is a very famous, opulent and flourishing towne, and memorable for many things, especially one above the rest which is worthy the relation. For it is called the Mayden City of Holland, (in which respect it may be as properly called Parthenopolis, as Naples is in Italie, and Maydenburg in Saxonie) and that for two causes. First, because it was built by a Maide. . . .

"Secondly, because Almighty God hath privileged this towne with such a speciall favour and prerogative, as no City or Towne that I ever read or heard of in all Christendome, saving only Venice. For it was never conquered, though all the circumjacent Cities and townes of the whole territorie of Holland have at some time or other beeene expugned by the hostile force."

*Crudities*, II, 364, 365.

The other passage, which occurs earlier in Coryat's book, is the heading of the account of Venice:

"My Observations of the most glorious, peeresse, and mayden Citie of Venice: I call it mayden, because it was never conquerd."

*Crudities*, I, 301.

The obvious implication of the words, "I call it maiden," is that Coryat is taking credit for a

<sup>1</sup> We may note that J. G. Keysler, in his *Travels* (translated from the German), third edition, London, 4 vols., 1760, says, IV, 47, that he has seen "a very curious medal, struck in honour of the republic of Venice, but without any particular marks to show on what occasion it was struck." . . . The inscription reads:

"Inclite

Andriacæ[sic] Virginī, etc." i. e.,

"To the renowned virgin city in the Adriatic," etc.

<sup>2</sup> In another passage, I, 2, he mentions "that most glorious, renowned, and Virgin Citie of Venice, the Queene of the Christian World."

peculiarly happy phrase that he thought he had been the first—in English, at least—to apply to Venice. Of course, what is possible to one like Coryat we cannot deny to one like Wordsworth, but in any case we must admit that Coryat anticipated the poet by about three centuries.

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### THE ORDER OF RIMES OF THE ENGLISH SONNET.

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Every student of the English Sonnet, whether interested as critic or writer, has felt the need of some scheme for concentrating results of study so that they might be held before the mind. In striving for some such method, some plan that would visualize by graphic presentation the rime-order of the sonnet, I contrived the accompanying table, by means of which all the octaves and sestets used by the entire body of English sonnet writers, together with all the various individual combinations of octave with sestet, may be presented on one page. In this table appear all the octaves and sestets found in five thousand nine hundred and forty sonnets. Here one may see at a glance any and every combination of octave with sestet that occurs in the sonnets under consideration, and just how many sonnets of any particular combination have been found.

This study is intended to cover all the sonnets of representative sonnet writers from Wyatt and Surrey up to the present time. Its deductions may therefore be looked upon as fairly conclusive. It shows that thirty-five different octaves and twenty-nine different sestets have been found combined in two hundred and sixty-two ways. Other forms of octave and of sestet have been found, but here only such as occur in the work of at least two sonnet writers are set down.

If a sonnet be cast in the Petrarchan or legitimate mould, there will be but two rimes in the octave. In this study there are three thousand seven hundred and forty-six such sonnets, while there are seven hundred and eight having three,

and fourteen hundred and eighty-six having four rimes. There may, therefore, be two, three, or four rimes in the octave,—never more than four. There may be two rimes, or three, in the sestet. Now, because there may be as high as four rimes but no more in the octave, with three but never more in the sestet, the first four letters of the alphabet, always in capitals, are reserved as rime symbols for octave rimes, and the next three, *e*, *f*, *g*, always in small type, for the sestet rimes. It must be borne in mind that *C* and *D* are never used to represent sestet rimes, except where these are carried over from the octave into the sestet. Where there are but two rimes, *A* and *B*, in the octave, the first rime in the sestet is still *e* and not *C*. Where any of the octave rimes, *A*, *B*, *C*, or *D*, are carried over from the octave into the sestet, they are still printed in capitals, this being always the sign of an octave rime. In rare cases the *e* rime of the sestet is drawn forward into the octave, and is still printed a small letter.

In classifying octaves, first come those with two rimes, next those with three, and last those with four. It is probably not so well to classify sestets on the same basis, still, first place is given to those with two rimes.

These six thousand two hundred and eighty-three sonnets are taken from the works of Wyatt and Surrey, from the Elizabethan writers Spenser, Drayton, Daniel, Fletcher, Constable, Barnes, Watson, Sidney, Griffin, Lodge, Linch, and Percy, from Wordsworth, Austin, Tennyson-Turner, Lee-Hamilton, Rossetti, the DeVeres, Watts-Dunton, and many other individual writers;—also from a number of sonnet anthologies,—and, to bring this investigation strictly up to the present, from the entire number of sonnets published by three important magazines,—*The Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Monthly*, and *The Century Magazine*. I have also gathered from the files of *The Athenaeum* of the years 1830–1850 inclusive, and 1900–1908 inclusive.

Of these six thousand two hundred and eighty-three sonnets, only five thousand nine hundred and forty are reduced to the formulas found in this table. Some of the remaining three hundred and forty-three are in blank verse, some are with more or fewer than fourteen lines, and some with the octave rime carried over into the sestet. A few of these oddities are—*ABBA ABCD-DCD*

*Cgg, ABAB BAAC ACCAAA, ABBA ACDD-*  
*Cff Cgg.* In the years 1833, 1834, and 1836, the *Athenaeum* published ten sonnets by Sir Edgerton Brydges, all of the form *ABCD ABCD-efe fgg*. The sestet of the first of these examples is in the Shakespearean form, *DCDC* answering to *egef*. The second is alone in form, while the third answers to form 14, *eff, egg*.

Octaves and sestets are represented individually in two ways : by numbers and by symbol letters. When the table is once mastered, the number formula is the ultimate of ease and simplicity. The first octave is *ABBA ABBA* or number 1. The first sestet is *efe gef*, or number 1. The two ways of writing and printing the formula for octave one united with sestet one, are—*ABBA ABBA-efe gef*, or 1-1. Hereafter 1-1 will always mean octave one combined with sestet one. Octave *ABBA ACCA* is 13. 13-1 means octave 13 combined with sestet 1. We are now ready for the following rule : In writing out the formula of any sonnet by symbol letters, separate the quatrains of the octave and the tercets of the sestet by spaces ; separate the octave from the sestet by a hyphen, using for octave rimes the symbols *A* and *B*, or *A, B*, and *C*, or *A, B, C*, and *D*, according as there are two, three, or four rimes ; and using the symbols *e, f*, or *e, f, g*, for sestet rimes. In cases where the octave rime is carried over into the sestet, still represent it by its proper capital.

The formulas most in use are 1-1, 1-6, 1-7, 1-14, 1-20, 1-24, 24-20, and 33-20. The octaves most in use are 1, 13, and 33 ; the sestets most in use, 1, 20, and 24. Here we have what would seem to be an anomaly : the sestet that is far and away the favorite is the Shakespearean, *efe fgg*, ending with a couplet, contrary to the law that in the sestet "any arrangement of rimes is permissible, save that of a couplet at the close." However, this closing couplet is defended by good authority. This sestet has even been appended to three hundred and sixty-six sonnets with octave 1, and seventy-three with octave 13. On the other hand the two approved Italian types, *efe gef* and *efg efg*, have been appended to both Shakespearean and Spenserian octaves. Sonnet form 1-1 is represented by eight hundred and twenty sonnets, 1-6 by two hundred and thirty-nine,

1-7 by one hundred and seventy-one, 1-14 by one hundred and fifty-eight, 1-20 by three hundred and sixty-six, 1-24 by seven hundred and seventy-five, 24-20 by one hundred and ten, and 33-20 by twelve hundred and seventy-nine. Sestet 1 occurs nine hundred and fifty-six times, sestet 24 eight hundred and seventy-two times, and the Shakespearean sestet nineteen hundred and fifty-two times. The anomaly is that while English writers show a large loyalty to the Petrarchan octaves, they cling with pertinacity to the Shakespearean sestet. These six forms yield much more than half of the sonnets.

At the right of the table are two columns of totals. Any figure in the right hand of these columns, under the word "octaves," shows how many sonnets have been found using the octave in the margin at the left across the page. For instance, the number 3477 at the top of the column shows that octave *ABBA ABBA*, found in the margin at the left, has been used in thirty-four hundred and seventy-seven of the whole number of sonnets. In the other of these two columns, under the word "combinations," are the numbers showing how many different sestets have combined with the octave directly to the left. In this column the number 25 opposite octave 13, shows that octave 13 has combined with twenty-five of the twenty-nine sestets.

By casting the eye along the line of little squares across the page from octave 1 to 3477 on the right, the reader will see just what sestets have combined with octave 1, and, in each instance, will see just how many sonnets have been found making whatever combination is under the eye. Thus, the number 21 in the second square from the left indicates that octave 1 has been found in combination with sestet 2 twenty-one times, making combination 1-2. The footing of this column of combinations shows a total of two hundred and sixty-two differing combinations. One hundred and four of these occur but once each, forty-six occur twice, and twenty-two three times each, while only forty-six can show ten or more sonnets each to their credit, and only ten can show over one hundred each.

The large number of sonnets with form 33-20 is due in part to the fact that not a few writers use that form exclusively : Shakespeare with one

hundred and fifty-four, Jones Very with four hundred, "The Lamp of Gold" with forty-nine, etc. Notwithstanding the fact that sestet *efg fgg* has such an overwhelming number of sonnets to its credit, there are still six octaves other than the Shakespearean that give a total of more combinations each than does the Shakespearean. These octaves are 1, combining with each of the twenty-nine sextets, 3 with fifteen combinations, 8 with thirteen, 12 with fourteen, 13 with twenty-five, and 29 with eighteen. Octaves 1 and 13 make fifty-four combinations, or over twenty per cent. of the total. They occur in three thousand nine hundred and fifteen, or over 65 per cent. of the total.

The number occurring in any little square in the body of the table indicates how many times the octave directly to the left has been found in combination with the sestet directly over it. The number 820 in the upper left hand square shows that octave 1 has been found in combination with sestet 1 eight hundred and twenty times, etc.

In sixty years *Harper's Monthly* has published a total of two hundred and twenty-seven sonnets, not counting thirty-three reprinted from the sonnets of Wordsworth; in fifty-three years *The Atlantic Monthly* has published three hundred and twenty sonnets, and *The Century Magazine* four hundred and fifteen. The two Italian forms of sonnet that are followed by purists are 1-1 and 1-24. Of these, among the sonnets published in *Harper's Monthly* there are 37 per cent., almost exactly the same as the per cent. found in *The Century Magazine*, while the per cent. found in *The Atlantic Monthly* is 48.

In answer to letters of inquiry sent to various authors of sonnets in which the octave rime is carried over, I have gathered that it is often done purposely. One author says "I have striven for a music of a certain kind by running the octave rime over into the sestet." Another author confesses that this was done before the author knew the laws of the sonnet. I think it safe to believe that odd forms are oftenest mere accidents, the crudities stumbled upon by writers who, as yet, knew only that the sonnet consisted of fourteen decasyllabic iambic lines. Whittier would seem to be a case in point. He wrote eleven sonnets. Each of the first five closed with a six-stressed

line. Here some one seems to have corrected his error, for he did it no more. He has three sixteen-lined sonnets, usually runs the octave rime over, and his order of rimes is new.

Great liberty is taken, if not allowed, in the order of rimes in the English sonnet. Wordsworth leads with a variety of twenty-three octaves and twenty-two sextets in five hundred and fourteen sonnets, making one hundred and fifteen differing combinations; Aubrey de Vere makes sixty-eight combinations in three hundred and twenty-four sonnets, Rossetti sixteen in one hundred and one, H. H. nineteen in one hundred and seven, Edith M. Thomas eleven in eighty-seven, R. W. Gilder twenty-five in one hundred and one. Lloyd Mifflin has ten octaves, twenty-six sextets, and fifty-six combinations in four hundred and fifty; Louise Chandler Moulton has seventeen combinations in eighty-eight sonnets, Hartley Coleridge twenty in forty-three, Ella Wheeler Wilcox sixteen in thirty-five, Longfellow eight in sixty-eight, and Lowell thirteen in fifty-six. Of all these, Lloyd Mifflin has achieved the largest variety in sestet, and has clung to the Italian form in four hundred and four out of the four hundred and fifty sonnets.

These figures show that variety is attained by varying the sestet, rather than by varying the octave. It shows that sonnet writers rank high according as they show themselves masters of the Italian form. In the Shakespearean sonnet there is absolutely no room for variety of form, except by an occasional feminine ending. In this type, therefore, and in the Spenserian type, the writer must strive harder for variety in thought, if he is to hold the attention of his readers at all,—in the thought, the emotional content, and in beauty of rime. In reading Shakespeare's sonnets one soon finds the mind turning to these as the sources of interest. As monotonous as one may find the Ecclesiastical and River Duddon sonnets, their monotony is undoubtedly relieved by the great variety in their form. Wordsworth stands alone in using a greater variety of octave than of sestet, alone in the number of differing combinations of octave with sestet.

The Shakespearean sonnet appears less and less frequently. Wordsworth cast his first sonnet in

Octaves	sestets												Octaves																				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30			
1 ABBA ABBA	820	21	27	16	111	239	171	5	13	1	15	25	158	48	22	13	24	76	366	88	31	26	775	130	84	48	73	51	29	3477			
2 ABBA BAAB	3	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	5	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	1	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	8	18				
3 ABBA ABAB	9.	...	2	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	3	...	1	2	1	15	41
4 ABBA BABA	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	17		
5 ABBA ABAA	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	3			
6 ABBA BBAB	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2			
7 ABAB ABBA	3	...	3	...	6	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	7	19				
8 ABAB BAAB	3	...	2	2	3	...	...	11	2	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	4	1	3	1	2	3	13	41					
9 ABAB AABB	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	2						
10 ABAB AABA	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3					
11 ABAB ABAB	11	...	...	...	4	...	...	5	26	2	...	...	5	34	2	1	...	2	...	1	...	...	11	93									
12 ABAB BABA	5	...	1	1	3	...	...	1	2	1	2	...	3	7	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	14	30								
13 ABBA ACCA	50	1	1	19	13	25	2	1	2	67	9	4	1	1	16	73	15	15	5	49	16	24	11	12	6	25	438						
14 ABBA CAAC	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	3							
15 ABBA ACAC	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	6	14							
16 ABBA CACA	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	5	9							
17 ABAB ACCA	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	3	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	7	9									
18 ABAB ACAC	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	3	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	6	11									
19 ABAB CACA	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3	3									
20 ABBA BCCB	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	4	7									
21 ABBA CBCB	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	2	...	1	...	8	10											
22 ABBA CBCB	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	6										
23 ABAB BCCB	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	5	1	...	2	1	...	2	...	8	16												
24 ABAB BCBC	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	1	...	110	5	1	4	...	1	...	1	...	1	9	157										
25 ABAB CBCB	...	1	5	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	4	...	1	...	2	...	...	2	...	7	15											
26 ABAB CCBC	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	3										
27 ABBA ACCB	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	2	3									
28 ABBC CBBA	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2									
29 ABBA CDDC	4	1	6	3	3	...	...	59	1	1	1	4	24	7	1	...	8	3	3	1	1	18	131										
30 ABBC CDDA	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	3	3									
31 ABAB CDDC	...	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	8	...	2	...	2	...	1	...	1	...	6	18										
32 AAbb CCDD	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	4	3	...	1	2	1279	...	...	5	1	...	1	...	2	...	2	19									
33 ABAB CDGD	7	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	1	...	1	...	11	1306										
34 ABAB CCDD	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	4										
35 ABBA CDGD	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	4	5											
Total sestets...	956	29	28	28	147	266	213	9	17	4	16	35	342	97	32	35	27	110	1952	127	52	33	872	165	121	65	93	67	5940				

Total number of combinations of octave with sestet.

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### Sonnets in blank verse

Sonnets with octave rhyme carried over into sestet.

#### Sonnets with four-stressed lines (S. T. Coleridge and H. H.).

**Ten-lined sonnets from "Laura" 1594**

Twelve-lined sonnets from "Laura," 1594

**Twelve-lined sonnets in  
Thirteen-lined sonnets**

## Thirteen-lined sandpiper

Fifteen-lined sonnets,  
Eight-lined sonnets

Sixteen-lined sonnets,  
Eighteen-lined sonnets,

Eighteen-lined sonnets,  
Total number of sonnets

Total number of sonnets studied in this paper,

---

1

14

11

6

6

6

1

1

5

225

628

that mould, and used it no more. On the other hand, the favorite Italian forms, 1-1 and 1-24 become constantly more common. Of these two types 1-1 was far more common fifty years ago than was 1-24. Now 1-24 is more common, and bids fair to outstrip its rival. William Sharp gives 1-24 as the preferred form. With the exception of Wordsworth it will be found that sonnet writers have shown more variety in their early efforts than in their later, proving that as they became more conscious of sonnet laws, they turned more to the legitimate forms. Longfellow gave us his variety of eight forms in his first ten sonnets. Fifty-one of the last fifty-eight are of type 1-24, five are 1-1, and a lone translation from the French breaks the regularity. The same is true of the magazines quoted above : In the first nine volumes of the three magazines, *Harper's Monthly*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Century Magazine*, there appeared fourteen sonnets of type 1-1 to nine of type 1-24. In the last ten volumes of these magazines there were published thirty-two sonnets of type 1-24 to fifteen of 1-1. In the last ten years *The Athenæum* has published only sonnets with the Italian octave.

It is one of the experiences of history that when Christopher Sly has knocked off the necks of a few cobwebby bottles of old wine, he ceases to order "a pot o' the smallest ale." His ability to discriminate becomes cumulative. There are at present a host of writers pouring sonnets of all grades into the channels of literature. As a result the reading public, from the Slys picked up on the heath to the artistic nature with the finest taste, is becoming ever more critical, forcing the author to be constantly more assiduous and careful in his polishing, and the editor to be more strict in his selections. The result is that variety in the octave is disappearing. In the last ten years only the legitimate octave has appeared in *The Athenæum*; *The Atlantic Monthly* has departed from it in only three instances, with two Shakespearean sonnets, and one with octave 29; *Harper's Monthly* has departed in two Shakespearean sonnets and eight various forms; *The Century Magazine* in five Shakespearean sonnets and ten other forms.

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### SOUTHEY AND A REVIEWAL.

It will probably be of interest to students of Southey to have set forth the following evidence, pointing to his authorship of an article in the *Critical Review*, Vol. xxxii, pp. 513 f. (1801), with the following title : "Mexico Conquistada : Poema Heroico, etc., Mexico Conquered : An Heroic Poem. By Don Juan de Escoiquez, Canon of Zaragoza, &c., in 3 volumes."

The reasons that may be adduced to show that Southey wrote this review are these : First, There were few English-speaking persons who were well enough acquainted with Spanish literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century to review a poem in that language of any considerable length.

Second, Southey was well acquainted with Spanish literature, as is shown by his translations of certain Spanish poems, printed in his *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal* (1797), and by the frequent use and citations of Spanish authors in the *Madoc* (1805, but practically completed by 1799).

Third, The reviewer shows familiarity with Camoens, Ercilla y Zufiiga,<sup>1</sup> Lope de Vega,<sup>2</sup> and Christoval de Mesa,<sup>3</sup> with all whom Southey was well acquainted, as may be seen by references given below.

Fourth, Our reviewer affirms (p. 520), "Escoiquez has never profited by the costume of the Mexicans ; his pictures are mere outlines, like the rude paintings of the people whom he describes." Southey did make abundant use of Mexican costume in his *Madoc*.<sup>4</sup>

Fifth, The reviewer pronounces this dictum in regard to the availability of Mexican history, for

<sup>1</sup> Southey has seventeen references—quotations or other—from *La Araucana* of Ercilla y Zufiiga ; see Southey's *Common Place Book*, II, pp. 231, 528, 529 ; IV, pp. 16, 630 ; also Southey's own edition of his *Poet. Works*, V, p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> See *Poet. Works*, I, pp. 241, 295, 298, 299 ; IX, 269, 271, 294, 323-5, 327 ; *Common Place Book*, II, pp. 273-4 ; IV, pp. 271, 495, 544, 606. See also *Crit. Review*, XXXII, p. 520.

<sup>3</sup> See *Poet. Works*, VII, pp. 269, 278-9, 294 ; IX, 338-40, 364 ; *Common Place Book*, II, 292 ; cf. *Crit. Review*, XXXII, p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> See *Poet. Works*, V, pp. 55, 56, 279, 280, 282, 283, *passim*.

epic (p. 513), "No action ancient or modern, presents so splendid a subject to the epic poet as the Conquest of Mexico. The means are great and surprising, the end of adequate importance ; the scene offers whatever is beautiful in painting ; the costume is new and striking ; the superstition is strange and terrible," etc. Whoever the author of the foregoing criticism may have been, we know that Southey, in his *Madoc*,<sup>4</sup> made use of the very materials so conspicuously absent in the *Mexico Conquistada*.

In addition to what has just been offered, it is worthy of remark that the author of the review in question is hostile to the Roman Catholic church, saying (p. 513) : "The Catholic cares not upon what ruins the temple of his great goddess is erected. The priests of Tezcalipoca were succeeded by bigots not less barbarous, and the more atrocious rites of St. Dominic." One needs to read only a few pages of Southey's prose and but little more of his poetry to discover that he was a vigorous opponent of the Roman Catholic church.<sup>5</sup>

Finally, in discussing a certain incident in the poem—the return of Jeronimo de Aguilar from captive slavery among the Mexicans—our reviewer draws a comparison between the epic account in the poem and the account of the same incident in "an old historian," along with which he gives a quotation in English from this historian. What the name of the historian is, we are not told, but we are given this account as follows : (the occasion is the arrival of Aguilar at the camp of Cortez) "and he began to speak in the Spanish tongue in this wise, 'Masters, are ye Christians ?' 'Yea,' quoth they, 'and of the Spanish nation.' Then he rejoiced so much that the tears fell from his eyes, and demanded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein he daily prayed. He besought them earnestly to assist him with their prayers and thanksgiving to God for his delivery ; and kneeling devoutly down upon his knees, holding up his hands, his eyes toward heaven, and his face bathed with tears, he made his humble prayer unto God, giving most hearty thanks that it had pleased him to deliver him out of the power of

infidels and infernal creatures, and to place him among Christians and men of his own nation." Who is the author, and what is the work quoted from ? By referring to Southey's *Common Place Book* II, p. 529, we find the following : "And then he began to speake in the Spanish tongue in thys wise, 'Maisters, are ye Christians ?' 'Yea,' quoth they, 'and of the Spanish nation.' Then he rejoiced so much, that the teares fell from his eyes, and demaunded of them what day it was, although he had a Primer wherein he dayly prayed. He then besought them earnestlye to assist him with their prayers and thanksgiving unto God for his delivery, and kneling devoutly downe upon his knees, holding up his handes, his eyes toward heaven, and his face bathed with teares, made his most humble prayer unto God, giving most heartie thanks, that it hadde pleased hym to deliver him out of the power of Infidels and infernal creatures, and to place hym among Christians and men of his owne nation."—. . . *The Pleasant Historie of the Weast India*.<sup>6</sup>

From the preceding evidence, we may with little doubt credit Southey with the authorship of the review as above entitled, and may therefore be assured that the author of the *Madoc* was acquainted with a poem in the Spanish language which dealt with the same great theme that Southey used in his poem.

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#### PLUTARCH AND DEAN SWIFT.

An interesting and hitherto unnoticed parallel to Swift's *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*, which forms the fourth part of *Gulliver's Travels*, is to be found in Plutarch's "Gryllus,"<sup>1</sup> a dialogue between Ulysses and one of Circe's swine, in

<sup>4</sup> See especially *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, pp. 74, 76, 132 ; also *Essays, Moral and Political*, by Robert Southey, vol. II, p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> For the complete title of this translation of Gómara's history, see *Common Place Book*, II, p. 570.

<sup>1</sup> Ηερὶ τὸν τὰ ἀλογαλβύφ χρῆσθαι. *Plutarchi Moralia*, ed. G. Bernardakis, Lips., 1891, VI, p. 82.

*Plutarch's Morals*. Translated from the Greek by several hands. Corrected and revised by William W. Goodwin. Boston, 1870. Vol. IV. I have quoted from and referred to this translation.

which the manners and morals of the human species are satirically contrasted with those of brutes. The piece can in no sense be called a forernnner of *Gulliver*; nor is there conclusive evidence that it furnished Swift with any of those numerous hints which the candid Dean "was never known to steal." There are, however, resemblances between the two works, not only in general idea but in detail, which make it seem at least quite possible, considering Swift's fondness for the highways and byways of late classical literature, that he had read this dialogue of Plutarch's and been influenced by it in writing the last part of his great satire.

In externals the two satires have little or nothing in common. There is in Plutarch no caricature of humanity to correspond with the loathsome Yahoos; and in place of an imaginary journey to a land of reasoning and speaking brutes, by association with whom the traveller discovers how ignoble and degraded human nature really is, we have in the Greek work a philosophic discussion between the wisest and most reasonable of men and a creature who has been transformed from man's estate and knows by experience, how much preferable is the life of a brute to that of a man. The satire on humanity, which in Swift is largely conveyed by iuendo, is in Plutarch explicit and direct. There is, moreover, a slight difference of emphasis in the two works, Swift's avowed object being "to degrade humanity to the level of the brute and even to elevate the brute above man," Plutarch's rather to win greater respect for brute creation by contrasting the virtues of animals with the vices of man, and to show how ill justified is his complacent assumption of superiority. But the Greek writer is led away from his ostensible purpose to indulge, like Swift, though in a milder mood, in a general satire on human nature, putting the indictment against mankind into the mouth of a reasoning beast who makes a damaging point by point comparison of the irrational and vicious ways of civilized man with the purer and saner lives of the despised lower animals.

In Plutarch's dialogue Ulysses, pitying the condition of his changed companions, asks Circe to allow him to restore them to their proper shapes, but finds on inquiry that they are quite contented

with their lot. One of their number, Gryllus, becomes spokesman for the rest and informs the astonished Greek that it is he who is to be pitied and despised because he is afraid to be changed from a worse state to a better. In answer to Ulysses's remonstrance, Gryllus undertakes to prove that mankind is inferior to brute creation in each of the virtues of which he is so proud, as justice, prudence, fortitude, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Considering first the virtue of fortitude, Gryllus contrasts the underhanded methods by which Ulysses makes war with the fairer and simpler ones of animals. "Thou dost only circumvent by tricks and artifices men that understand only the simple and generous way of making war, ignorant altogether of fraud and faith breaking. . . . But do you observe the combats and warfare of beasts, as well against another as against yourselves, how free from craft and deceit they are, and how with an open and naked courage they defend themselves by mere strength of body." We are reminded of Gulliver's description of the art of war as practiced by mankind (*Gulliver's Travels*, Pt. iv, Ch. v), and later (Ch. vii) of the satirical allusion to a Yahoo battle, in which the horrible creatures inflicted wounds with their claws but are seldom able to kill each other, "for want of such convenient instruments of death as we have invented."

Gryllus next comments on the fact that the females of brute creation are little inferior in strength and courage to the males and bear their burden of toil and battle, while women are weaklings and cowards. He refers among other illustrations to the horse. "Your king also took the mare Aetha from the Sicyonian, as a bribe to discharge him from going to the wars; and he did well, thereby showing how much he esteemed a valiant and generous mare above a timorous coward."<sup>3</sup> Among the Honylnhms, it will be remembered, the education of both sexes is alike; and "his Honor" expresses the opinion that the human system, whereby one-half of mankind is good for nothing but bringing children into the world, is monstrous.

Passing now to the virtue of temperance, Gryllus satirizes the avarice of men, contrasting his

<sup>2</sup> Plut., Ch. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., Ch. iv.

own present scorn of wealth and all it can buy with his former greed.<sup>4</sup> So in the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* Gulliver (Ch. vi) is at much pains to describe to his master the use of money to procure luxuries for men and the eagerness with which it is sought by the human Yahoos.

More striking is the resemblance between the two satires in the comparison which is drawn in each of men and beasts with regard to the relation of the sexes. Brutes, says Gryllus, are temperate and natural in their sexual desires ; they attract each other by their own proper scents, without the use of artificial perfumes by either sex, and "the females without the coyness of women or the practice of little frauds and fascinations." (Ch. vii.) In like manner Gulliver tells of the restraint of the Houyhnhnms as compared with the incontinence of the Yahoos, and refers particularly to the wiles of the female of the latter race. (*Gulliver*, Pt. iv, Ch. vii.) In both works there is a reference to unnatural practices, explicit in Plutarch (Ch. vii) and politely hinted at by Swift. (Ch. vii.)

Gryllus now considers the matter of diet, contrasting the voracity of men and their consequent ill health with the greater temperance of beasts. "You pursue the pleasures of eating and drinking beyond the satisfaction of nature, and are punished with many and tedious diseases." Animals confine themselves to a single article of diet while man eats all.<sup>5</sup> In Gulliver the contrast which is expressly drawn by Plutarch is as usual more subtly conveyed by Swift. After describing the process by which he prepared his oaten cakes, Gulliver remarks<sup>6</sup> : "It was at first a very insipid diet, though common enough in many parts of Europe, but grew tolerable by time and having been often enough reduced to hard fare in my life, this was the first experiment I had made how easily nature is satisfied. And I cannot but observe, that I never had one hour's sickness, while I stayed in this island."

The race of beasts, says Gryllus, have shown their prudence by admitting no vain and unprofitable arts. "Neither do they make it their study to fasten one contemplation to another, but they are supplied by their own prudence with such as

<sup>4</sup> Plut., Ch. vi.

<sup>5</sup> Plut., Ch. viii.

<sup>6</sup> *Gulliver's Travels*, Pt. iv, Ch. ii.

are true born and genuine." They know by nature how to cure themselves when they are sick ; "neither are some of them ignorant how to teach the science of music so far as is convenient for them." Nature being their schoolmistress, they derive their prudence from the "chiefest and wisest original of understanding" ; "which if you think not proper to call reason and wisdom, it is time for ye to find out a more glorious and honorable name for it." The Houyhnhnms, while equally ignorant of speculation and of the elaborate arts of civilization, are marvellously dexterous in the use of "the hollow part between the pastern and the hoof" ; (Ch. ix.) they "excell all other mortals" in poetry ; and though they are subject to no diseases and hence need no physicians, yet they have "excellent medicines composed of herbs" to cure their accidental hurts.

After Gryllus has made one or two more telling hits at man, Ulysses, as a last resort, bids him hesitate to ascribe reason to those who have no knowledge of a deity. The swine begins, with some heat, to discuss, apparently, the question of religion ; but here the dialogue breaks off. Whether or not the wily Ulysses finally acknowledges himself convinced we do not learn.

In considering the probability of Swift's having derived suggestions from Plutarch's work we must admit at once that the parallels quoted above might easily be the result of accident, given the similarity of the two pieces in their fundamental conception. The resemblances are in no case so striking as to warrant the conclusion that Swift used this previous comparison to help out his own amply sufficient ingenuity. We must also take into account the fact that the Dean certainly seems to be indebted for some things in the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* to a work from which he also borrowed hints for the earlier parts of Gulliver, viz., Cyrano de Bergerac's *Voyage Comique*.<sup>7</sup>

The moon-men in the first part of Cyrano's work go on all fours, and they refuse to admit that Cyrano is a reasonable creature, just as the

<sup>7</sup> *Oeuvres de Cyrano de Bergerac, precedees d'une notice par Le Blanc*, Paris, 1856. For studies of the sources of *Gulliver's Travels*, see *Anglia*, x, 397 ff., xv, 345 ff.; also an article by Max Poll, "The Sources of Gulliver's Travels," *University of Cincinnati Bulletin*, Ser. II, Vol. 3, No. 24.

Houyhnhnms cannot credit the reason of mankind. Like the Houyhnhums they speak a musical language, depend solely on their own reason, and detest falsehood. Moreover, in the last part of the *Voyage Comique* Cyrano finds himself in the land of birds and is arraigned by them on various charges ; his accusers refuse to admit that he is a reasonable creature like themselves ; they comment with scorn upon his bodily shape ; and charge him above all with belonging to the hated race of mankind, their wanton slayers. Like Gulliver in the council of the Houyhnhnms, he is condemned.

For the suggestion of the general plan of the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*,—*i. e.* the fiction of an imaginary journey to a land of animals,—Swift is probably indebted to the French work. He almost certainly owes to Cyrano the idea which underlies all of *Gulliver's Travels*, of using a fabulous voyage among alien beings as a vehicle for satire. It is to be observed, however, that there is in Cyrano's work no point by point contrast of the ways of brutes with the ways of men, nor any attempt to exalt the virtues of brute creation. No point is made in the "Plaidoirie des Oiseaux" of the excellences of the feathered tribe. The proposition that man's boast of superiority over animals is unfounded, which underlies the satire of Swift and Plutarch, finds no place in the *Voyage Comique*. Finally, the satire against humanity in Cyrano's work hardly touches moral issues at all, but concerns itself chiefly with external and accidental matters, like the wearing of clothes. Is it not therefore quite possible that the particular direction which the satire takes in the fourth part of *Gulliver's Travels* was determined by Plutarch's dialogue, and that Swift derived from the same source the suggestion for some of the individual points which he makes in the course of his comparison of the manners of the Houyhnhnms with those of the Yahoos and of mankind ?

That Swift had read the dialogue seems highly probable. He speaks in the *Journal to Stella* (Jan. 12, 1712–13) of having bought a two volume Plutarch for thirty shillings, and he shows throughout his writings an acquaintance not only with Plutarch's *Lives* but with his minor works

as well.<sup>8</sup> The name and story of "Gryllus" were familiar to English readers from the passage about him at the close of Book II of the *Faerie Queen*, and from not infrequent later references.<sup>9</sup>

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#### NOTES TO THE DON QUIJOTE.

In Part II, Chap. xli, Don Quijote says :

"Si mal no me acuerdo, yo he leido en Virgilio aquello del Paladion de Troya, que fué un caballo de madera que los griegos presentaron á la Diosa Palas, el cual iha preñado de caballeros armados que despues fueron la total ruina de Troya ; etc."<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that the good knight is here confusing the horse of Troy with the Palladium, the image sacred to Pallas. The mistake was natural as the horse was alleged by the Greeks to be a votive offering to Pallas to appease that goddess for the wrong done her in stealing the Palladium from her temple. So far as I know, this mistake has been noticed by none of the commentators, although it must have impressed many a reader. Even Bowle, accomplished student of the classics

<sup>8</sup> See "A Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," Bohn Lib. ed. of Swift, I, 206 (cf. "Plutarch De Iside et Osiride"); *Examiner*, No. 35, Mch. 22, 1711 ; "Mr. Collins Discourse on Free Thinking," Bohn Lib. ed., III, 186 (cf. "Plutarch De Superstitione"), etc. In the poem *Cadenus and Vanessa*, Swift says that he warded off the shafts of Cupid from Vanessa's heart by placing some book between.

"The darts were in the cover fix'd  
Or, often blunted and recoil'd,  
On Plutarch's morals struck, were spoiled."

<sup>9</sup> F. Q., Bk. II, stanzas 86 and 87 : My attention was called to this reference by Professor Kittredge. Cf. also Joseph Hall, *Satires*, Book II, Sat. 2; and Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island*, VII. Thomas Warton (*Observations on the Fairy Queen*, ed. of 1807, II, 164), remarks that Giovanni Battista Gelli's *Circe*, published in 1548 and translated into English by Henry Iden, is stated in the preface to be founded on this dialogue of Plutarch's.

<sup>1</sup> Cervantes, *Don Quijote* (ed. Clemencín, Madrid, 1836), Vol. V, p. 324.

though he was, failed to notice it, and Clemencín has nothing better to offer. I desire to present a number of instances showing how widespread this error was in Spanish literature, for this is not a mistake of which Cervantes alone was guilty. A large number of his contemporaries fell into the same error.

Cervantes's continuator, the mysterious Avellaneda, was no better informed than Cervantes himself as is shown by the following passage :

"... el cual es que hagamos un *paladion* ó un caballo grande de bronce, y que metamos en él todos los hombres armados que pudiéremos, y le dejemos en este campo con solo Sinon, etc."<sup>2</sup>

Lobo Laso de la Vega in his *romance* entitled *El caballo de Troya*, says :

Sobre la más alta almena  
De la troyana muralla  
El *Paladion* de los griegos  
Tendida tiene la barba.  
De un belicoso escuadron  
La máquina está preñada  
Que con solícitos vistos  
El dafio comun prepara.<sup>3</sup>

Compare also Tirso de Molina, *La vida de Herodes* :

Basta : que en Palestina  
Tambien nacan Sinones  
Que ofrezcan entre enredos  
A Troya *Paladienes*.<sup>4</sup>

Several instances are to be found in Calderón. In his *Troya abrasada* (a play which he wrote in collaboration with Juan de Zabaleta and which I intend soon to publish), the horse is frequently called the *paladion*, e. g. :

que él [Menelao] de su parte pondria  
boluntad y rrendimiento,  
en cuya fee dara á Palas  
por su fiadora, ofreciendo  
al Ylion de sus muros,  
donde está su altivo templo,  
vn fabricado caballo  
que estaba su jente haciendo  
para consagrarse á Marte  
jeroglifico perfeto

<sup>2</sup> Avellaneda, *Don Quijote*, in *Novelistas posteriores á Cervantes* (Madrid, 1851), p. 24a.

<sup>3</sup> Durán, *Romancero general* (Madrid, 1849), No. 477, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Tirso de Molina, *Comedias* (ed. Cotarelo y Mori), Vol. II, p. 188b.

de la guerra ; y asi á Palas  
le ofrecieran, adquiriendo  
nombre de *Paladion*  
por su nombre en efeto.

Calderón occasionally uses the word *paladion* as synonymous with *caballo*, just as he uses the word *hipógrifo*. He never tires of comparing a ship to a horse or a horse to a ship.<sup>5</sup> Here are two instances where he uses *paladion* referring to ships. The first instance is from *El segundo Scipion* :

Ya veo que  
Es cada bajel de aquellos  
Marino *paladion*  
Que de su preñado seno  
Aborta gentes, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The second is from *Polifemo y Circe* :

¿Aquel que *paladion*  
De las ondas inclementes,  
Hombres á la tierra aborta  
Desde su preñado vientre?<sup>7</sup>

One more reference, this time from *La gran Cenobia* :

Traigan máquinas de fuego  
Más que ingeniero traidor,  
Sobre los muros de Troya  
Dispuso en el *Paladion*.<sup>8</sup>

Vélez de Guevara's *Diablo cojuelo* furnishes another instance. In a burlesque description of a play called the *Troya abrasada* and which I have good reason to believe to be the same as the Calderón-Zabaleta play referred to, the *Paladion* is mentioned as one of the stage properties :

Sale lo primero por el patio, sin auer cantado,  
el *Paladion* con quatro mil Griegos por lo menos,  
armados de punta en blanco, dentro del.<sup>9</sup>

Moreto, too, uses the word in the same way in *Las travesuras de Pantoja* :

Mas digo, ¿he de ser robada  
Tambien del *paladion*  
Guijarrista, ese troton  
Caballo?<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> All references to dramatic authors are to the Rivadeneyra editions unless otherwise indicated. Cf. *La puente de Mantible*, Vol. I, p. 222a; *Los tres mayores prodigios*, Vol. I, p. 286a; *Argenis y Poliarco*, Vol. I, p. 441a; *Fieras afemina amor*, Vol. II, p. 545c.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. IV, p. 344a.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. IV, p. 423b.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I, p. 192b.

<sup>9</sup> Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (ed. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1910), p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> Moreto, *Las travesuras de Pantoja*, p. 401c.

Cristóbal Monroy y Silva makes the same error in his play entitled *La destrucción de Troya*.<sup>11</sup> So do Guillén de Castro and Mira de Amescua in the third act of their play called *La manzana de la discordia y robo de Elena*. I have also found it in that curious work by Pero López de Haro called *La antigua, memorable y sangrienta destrucción de Troya*.<sup>12</sup> I know of no instance of it in any of the Troy versions based directly upon Dares, Dictys, Benoit de Sainte-More or Guido delle Colonne. Delgado, for example, in his widely read work, the *Cronica troyana*,<sup>13</sup> uses the term *paladion* correctly. And, more striking still, Cristóbal Monroy y Silva, who, as has been seen, used the word as synonymous with *caballo* in his play, nevertheless used it correctly in his more serious work, the *Epítome de la historia de Troya*. This is how he there defines the word :

Troya no podía ser vencida mientras tuviera dentro el Paladion, que era un madero dorado que estaba en el Templo de Minerva y la Diosa se le avia dado a los Troyanos, prometiéndoles que no seria destruyda Troya en tanto que le tuviera en ella.<sup>14</sup>

The wide prevalence of an error like the one just discussed, goes to show how little direct acquaintance with the classics many of the Spanish poets of the time possessed. It may be significant that I have been unable to find an instance of the mistake in Lope de Vega, although he alludes to the horse of Troy frequently. It also affords one more proof of how freely the wits borrowed from each other. No sooner was a new trope invented than it was used by everybody and speedily became threadbare. It would be interesting to know whether the mistake has a more remote origin.

In a recent number of the *Athenaeum*,<sup>15</sup> Mr. Robinson Smith, an American scholar who is soon

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the suelta edition of Valencia, 1768, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> Toledo, 1583.

<sup>13</sup> *Cronica troyana, en que se contiene la total y lamentable destrucción de la nombrada Troya* (Medina, 1587).

<sup>14</sup> *Epítome de la historia de Troya, su fundacion, y Ruina con un discurso apologetico en defensa de su verdad. Por don Cristoval de Monroy y Silva, Teniente de la real fortaleza de la ilustre y antigua villa de Alcala de Guadaira su patria, año 1641. Impresso con licencia en Sevilla por Franciso de Lyra. Folio 25, recto.*

<sup>15</sup> No. 4269, Aug. 21, 1909, pp. 211-13.

to publish a new translation of the *Don Quijote*, attempts to fix more precisely than has yet been done the dates of the writing of the two parts of the novel. Mr. Smith can hardly be said to have proven his point, although he himself considers his evidence "absolute." He bases his case on the often noted similarity of the passage in Part I, Chap. xvii, where Sancho is said to have been blanketed like a dog at Shrovetide, and the similar one in *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Part I, Book iii, Chap. i. He concludes that chapter seventeen at least must have been written as late or later than 1599. This may well have been the case, but the fact is by no means proven. In the first place, Mr. Smith fails to recognize that Cervantes may have seen Alemán's work in the manuscript just as Lope de Vega is thought to have seen the *Don Quijote* before its publication. As is well known, in Chap. xxii there is a possible allusion to the then unpublished second part of *Guzmán de Alfarache*, although this troublesome point has never been definitely settled.<sup>16</sup> Neither is it certain, in spite of similarity of verbiage, that Cervantes was borrowing from Alemán in the passage referred to. Both authors were realists describing the popular life and customs about them. It does not necessarily imply borrowing when two authors allude to such common customs as the torturing of dogs at Shrovetide or the blanketing of a *pícaro*. There is an allusion to the Shrovetide dog in Lope de Vega, *El premio de bien hablar* :

¿Qué galgo con cencerro ó con guitarra,  
Sacudiendo la cola, liuyendo vino  
Por las Carnestolendas, como salgo?<sup>17</sup>

This citation proves nothing but it is evidently an independent allusion to the same popular custom. Clemencín says such allusions are common.<sup>18</sup> Two of Calderón's *graciosos* are tossed in blankets.<sup>19</sup> This may, of course, be due to the influence of one or other of the two novels referred to, yet there is nothing in the context to indicate that

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Don Quijote* (ed. Clemencín), Vol. II, pp. 210-11; and Ormsby's note to the same passage, *Don Quijote* (translated by Ormsby, New York, 1901), Vol. I, p. 407.

<sup>17</sup> Vol. I, p. 493b.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Lances de amor y fortuna*, Vol. I, p. 52a, and *La señora y la criada*, Vol. II, p. 45c. The operation is in both cases performed, not by *pícaros* but by pages. The custom must have been exceedingly common then as now.

such is the case. I believe that Fitzmaurice-Kelly is right in minimizing the importance of the passage in Mateo Alemán and that it affords too uncertain a basis for determining the date of the *Don Quijote*.<sup>20</sup> The additional reasons adduced by Mr. Smith are, if anything, even less plausible.

In Part II, Chap. x, Don Quijote rebukes Sancho for saying *cananeas* instead of *hacaneas*. Clemencín quotes the *Filosofía poética* of Alonso López Pinciano, who mentions this same error of speech as an example of crass and ridiculous ignorance. In this connection, it is worth noting that Sancho's mistake is in the nature of a popular etymology. The word *cananea* was familiar to all Spaniards by reason of the frequency of the pious ejaculation : *Válgame la Cananea*. Tirso de Molina puts this expression into the mouth of the *gracioso* Catalinón, who, when he rescues his master, Don Juan Tenorio from shipwreck by carrying him ashore in his arms, exclaims :

¡ Válgame la Cananea  
y qué salado está el mar !<sup>21</sup>

The allusion is to the Cauanite woman (*Matthew* 15 ; 22-8), who was looked upon as the exponent of patience and faith. The exclamation indicates that one's patience is all but exhausted. The confusion of *Cananea* and *hacanea* was doubtless a widely current vulgarity. A commentator is always tempted to read into his author more than is really there, but there possibly is lurking in the passage in question a play upon words which has escaped the modern reader. Sancho replies : *Poca diferencia hay de cananeas á hacaneas*. This may mean that the hackney, which was a gentle, long-suffering mount, especially intended for ladies, had the patience of the Cananite.

Dulcinea's real name was Aldonza Lorenzo. Is there any significance in the choice of the name Aldonza ? It may have been chosen with reference to the proverb : *A falta de moza buena es Aldonza*. Aldonza had come to be almost exclu-

<sup>20</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Chapters on Spanish Literature* (London, 1908), pp. 148 f.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Tirso, *El burlador de Sevilla* (ed. Cotarelo y Mori), Vol. II, p. 629a ; also *Tan largo me lo fiáis*, *Ibid.*, p. 661a.

sively a peasant name. The fact that Covarrubias takes the trouble to assure his readers that ladies of high rank had borne it only goes to show that such was not often the case in his day. The name had become as plebeian as Menga, Antón, or Gil. Tirso in his *Pretendiente al revés*, uses it as a conventional peasant name :

Pero Gil amaba á Menga  
Desde el dia que en la boda  
De Mingollo el porquerizo  
Lo vió bailar con Aldonza.<sup>22</sup>

The proverb may mean, then, if you cannot find a young and attractive partner, a peasant wench is better than none at all. Aldonza was thus proverbially a *pis-aller*, a sweetheart chosen for want of a better. The application is obvious. There is, however, one important difficulty in the way of accepting this explanation. Inasmuch as Aldonza is contrasted with *moza*, the Aldonza of the proverb would seem to be an aged peasant woman. Like so many other proverbs, this seems to go back to some popular anecdote now lost. In such matters, contemporaries are better judges than moderns, and Juan de Malara, in his quaint gloss to this proverb, understands that Aldonza is an old woman.<sup>23</sup> Now, Dulcinea's lack of charm was not due to years. From the first, Cervantes describes her as a "*moza labrador*." The choice of the name, then, may have been determined by the proverb but it seems more likely that he chose it merely as a typical peasant name. Bowle has already cited the proverb in this connection, but he does not discuss the point and apparently quotes the proverb merely as an example of the use of the name Aldonza.<sup>24</sup>

It has been suggested that a connection exists between the name and character of Sancho and the two proverbs : *Al buen callar llaman Sancho*, and *Allá va Sancho con su rocin*.<sup>25</sup> In the latter case, it is hardly likely that the proverb determined the choice of the name but rather, if there be any connection at all, that the proverbs sug-

<sup>22</sup> P. 42c.

<sup>23</sup> Juan de Malara, *La filosofía vulgar* (Madrid, 1618), pp. 229 verso and 230 recto.

<sup>24</sup> *Don Quijote* (ed. Bowle, Salisbury, 1781), Vol. III, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Cejador, *La lengua de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1906), under the word *Sancho*.

gested the traits of character to be bestowed upon the bearer of the name. The character of Sancho was developed so slowly that the name was undoubtedly chosen before the author had decided what to make of the character.

*Una olla de algo más vaca que carnero* (Part I, Chap. 1), is a phrase which offers difficulty and which has never been sufficiently elucidated by the commentators. Bowle pointed out that it contains a reference to the proverb : *Vaca y carnero, olla de caballero.*<sup>26</sup> According to Anglo-Saxon notions, beef and mutton are not bad fare. Hence, the proverb would appear to refer to the good cheer enjoyed by gentlemen. The reverse is true. *Ternera* and *cordero* might have been considered passable, but there are only too many allusions in contemporary literature showing the slight esteem in which beef was held by Spaniards. The proverb is probably a jibe at the parsimonious diet of the poor hidalgo of the time. An *olla* thus composed was only slightly better than the *salpicón*, *duelos y quebrantos* and *lentejas* which formed the other staples of Don Quijote's larder. Lope de Vega's Juan Labrador was better off, as in addition to the *vaca* and *carnero*, his *olla* contained a *gallina*.<sup>27</sup> But Juan Labrador was a prosperous *villano* and could afford the luxury. The best Don Quijote could treat himself to was a pigeon on Sunday. The popular saws give information as to the proper ingredients of an *olla* : *La olla sin verdura no tiene gracia ni hartura*; and *Ni olla sin tocino ni boda sin tamborino*. Only the tongue and feet of a lean cow were thought desirable. *De la vaca flaca, la lengua y la pata*. Of the two ingredients, *vaca* was less esteemed than *carnero*, and, by the phrase in question, Cervantes is poking fun at his hero's humble fare. It does not merely mean that beef was commoner than mutton, as Ormsby thought.

One of Tirso's *graciosas* in *La huerta de Juan Fernández* says that heaven has provided two kinds of food, one for the gentleman, another for the poor working-man and ends :

Pues ¡ por qué ! cuerpo de tal !  
Si hizo el cielo distinction  
Del abadejo y salmon,  
No comerá el oficial

<sup>26</sup> Bowle, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> *El villano en su rincón*, Vol. II, p. 145c.

Aquel que importa á su esfera  
Y el pobre jornal que saca ?  
Faciendo por él la vaca,  
¿ Ha de gastarse en ternera?<sup>28</sup>

This passage is part of a satire on the decadence of Spain, due, Tirso thinks, to increasing luxury and extravagance. It is illuminating because it appears to contradict the proverb on which the passage in the *Don Quijote* is based. Veal is declared to be food for the gentleman, and beef for the laborer. But the contradiction is only apparent. The reference is here to the gentleman who can live according to his rank and not to the poor hidalgo whose standard of living is of necessity little better than that of a peasant.

Beef was also the food of penitents. An interesting allusion is to be found in Tirso's *Marta la piadosa*. The hypocritical Marta put off her silks and donned coarse attire but her affected devotion ceased when it came to eating *vaca*. Like Tartuffe, she secretly regaled herself with good things. Don Gómez observes :

Mientras hay perdiz, no come  
*Vaca.*<sup>29</sup>

Allusions to *vaca* as the very antithesis of good cheer are common. It is symbolic of the very plainest fare. Cf. Tirso, *La elección por la virtud*:

¡ Pobre Laura ! ¡ que ha podido  
una grosera pastora  
quitarle la posesión,  
que el sayal quieres que tome !  
Mas ¡ qué mucho ? si hay quien come  
*vaca* mejor que un capón.<sup>30</sup>

Cf. also Lope de Vega, *El testimonio vengado*:

Señor, como tal vez el faisán cansa,  
Y suele ser la vaca apetitosa,  
Y las mesas espléndidas agradan  
Tanto como extendidas por la yerba,  
Y como agradan los desiertos campos  
Tal vez mejor que cultivados huertos,  
Así es del rey la singular grandeza.  
En estos montes, á mi choza humilde  
Suele venir, cansado de la caza,  
Y por dicha cansado de la corte.<sup>31</sup>

Compare also the refrán : *Mas vale vaca con paz que pollos con agraz*.

<sup>28</sup> P. 633c.

<sup>29</sup> P. 448c.

<sup>30</sup> Cotarelo y Mori, Vol. I, p. 347c.

<sup>31</sup> Academy edition, Vol. VII, p. 605b.

The allusion to *abadejo* in one of the passages quoted above recalls the meal at the inn when Don Quijote partook of this unappetizing salted fish. It was apparently always served soaking in water. Just as *vaca* is one of the most undesirable kinds of meat, so the *abadejo* is the worst possible form of fish. Tirso, Calderón, and Moreto all humorously compare people who have received a ducking to soaking *abadejos*.<sup>32</sup> The reader will recall how Don Quijote was misled by the host's designation of this fish as *truchuela* and fancied himself to be eating trout (*trucha*). Several allusions in Tirso's writings suggest a similar play on words. Cf. *La dama del olivar*:

Deje villanas groseras  
de sayal y de buriel,  
que no es bien coma truchuela  
quien truchas puedo comer.<sup>33</sup>

Cf. also *Tan largo me lo fiáis*:

DON JUAN.

¿ Véndese siempre por trucha ?

MARQUES.

Ya se da por abadejo.<sup>34</sup>

Don Quijote's encounter with the lion (Part II, Chap. xvii), is commonly thought to have been suggested by certain passages in the romances of chivalry. No very close analogy has been suggested. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Cervantes may be indebted to Bandello for this idea. *Novella xlix* of *Parte seconda* offers a few parallels. The story is entitled : *Clemenza d'un lione verso una giovanetta, che gli levò un cane fuor degli unghioni, senza ricever nocimento alcuno*. The story has to do with a captive lion which is being conveyed in a cage from Germany to Bohemia. A servant girl carelessly lets her mistress's pet dog enter the lion's cage where the lion captures and holds it without harming it. The servant boldly approaches the lion and rescues the dog without harm to herself. The lion, rendered gentle by captivity, offers not the slightest resistance. The points of similarity are : the

method by which the lion is transported ; the boldness of the servant's approach ; and the meekness of the animal.<sup>35</sup>

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### THE SKELETON IN ARMOUR AND THE FRITHIOF SAGA.

During the years 1838–1840 Longfellow's mind was frequently occupied with the thought of writing some ballads or a heroic poem on the discovery of America by the Norsemen. The first mention of the fact is found in a journal entry for May 3, 1838 :—“I have been looking at the old Northern Sagas, and thinking of a series of ballads or a romantic poem on the deeds of the first bold viking who crossed to this western world with storm-spirits and devil-machinery under water.”—Early the next year a skeleton was unearthed near Fall River, Mass., clad in broken and corroded armor. Hearing of this,<sup>1</sup> Longfellow went there to see it, when the thought occurred to him “of connecting it with the Round Tower at Newport.” Soon after this,<sup>2</sup> he mentions a visit paid him by his friend Felton, and says :—“Told him of my plan of a heroic poem on the Discovery of America by the Northmen, in which the Round Tower at Newport and the Skeleton in Armour have a part to play.” A few months later,<sup>3</sup> he speaks of it again. In the meantime<sup>4</sup> he intended to publish another poem on a Scandinavian subject, *Hakon Jarl*, but of this only the title has come down to us. For about a year we hear nothing of his *Skeleton in Armour*, but on December 13, 1840, he writes to his father :—“Have written a translation of a German ballad, and prepared for the press another original ballad, which has been

<sup>35</sup> A similar incident is to be found in Gaspar Mercader's *El prado de Valencia* (ed. Henri Mérimeé, Toulouse, 1907), p. 134. The idea of an encounter with a captive lion appears, of course, in the various versions of the knight and the glove story.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the prefatory note to the *Skeleton in Armour* in the volume of *Ballads and Other Poems*, published in Boston, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> May 24, 1839.

<sup>3</sup> December 17, 1839.

<sup>4</sup> Compare his Diary for September 17, 1839.

<sup>32</sup> Tirso, *Huerta de Juan Fernández*, p. 633c; Calderón, *Lances de amor y fortuna*, Vol. I, p. 43c; Moreto, *Antíoco y Seleuco*, p. 39a.

<sup>33</sup> Cotarelo y Mori, Vol. II, p. 212b.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 668b.

lying by me for some time. It is called *The Skeleton in Armour*, and is connected with the old Round Tower at Newport. This skeleton really exists. It was dug up near Fall River, where I saw it some two years ago. I suppose it to be the remains of one of the old Northern sea-rovers, who came to this country in the tenth century. Of course I make the tradition myself; and I think I have succeeded in giving the whole a Northern air." One week after this letter was written, he mentions the poem again, admitting that he is "very well satisfied with it" and that he considers it "striking and perhaps unique in conception."

Most of Longfellow's readers are doubtless willing to subscribe to his own words regarding the merits of the poem. One of his biographers<sup>6</sup> even goes so far in his praise of the ballad as to pronounce it "the most purely imaginative, the strongest and the most artistically executed of all his poetic conceptions." But while it may be true that the *Skeleton in Armour* really does excel in vigor and artistic finish, there are ample reasons for questioning whether it should be called a purely imaginative production. The fact that the author mentions the thought of a poem on the discovery of America by the Norsemen as having occurred to him after a perusal of the Norse Sagas, indicates that from the very first he intended to base the ballad on one of them, and hence could have no intention of making it purely imaginative. The additional fact that he referred to it from time to time for more than two years prior to his mention of it in its final form, shows that it was composed only after long and careful deliberation. In the course of these two years he had doubtless made a diligent study of various old Sagas from the North and found that Tegnér's *Frithiof Saga* was the one from which he could best catch the Northern spirit, in order to give the ballad "a Northern air," as he expresses it.

Longfellow's first acquaintance with the writings of Tegnér and other Swedish poets dates from the summer of 1835, when he spent the months of July and August in Sweden. Even at this early date, he says of Tegnér:—"Sweden has one great

poet and only one. That is Tegnér, Bishop of Wexiö, who is still living. His noblest work is 'Frithiof's Saga,' a heroic poem, founded on an old tradition." From that time on, the American poet showed a keen interest in the Swedish language and literature. With reference to a course of lectures which he was to deliver in Harvard college soon after his return to America, he writes to a friend:—"In this course something of the Danish and Swedish (the new feathers in my cap) is to be mingled." Some three months later,<sup>7</sup> he sent a list of twelve lectures to his father, and according to this list two of the twelve were to be on Swedish Literature. Meanwhile he had also announced two articles for the July number of the *North American Review* of that year, "one on the 'Legend of Frithiof,' a Swedish poem."<sup>8</sup>

In this article Longfellow expresses his admiration for Tegnér in the most glowing terms:—"Tegnér stands foremost among the poets of Sweden; a man of grand and gorgeous imagination, and poetic genius of a high order," etc. The *Frithiof Saga* as a whole he pronounces "one of the most remarkable productions of the age," and his comments on the individual cantos are very favorable, for example:—"This canto is conceived and executed in a truly Homeric spirit," or—"The whole ballad is full of grace and poetic beauty." These are only a few of the many remarks which tend to show what profound impressions the *Frithiof Saga* must have made on Longfellow's mind. Whether such impressions later resulted in literary influence<sup>9</sup> may be seen from a comparison of the *Saga* and the *Skeleton in Armour*. In the comparison which follows here, the situations in the *Saga* have been referred to only in so far as some underlying thought in each of them is paralleled by a similar thought in the *Skeleton in Armour*.

In the first canto of the *Frithiof Saga* we are told that even as a young boy Frithiof would rob

<sup>6</sup> G. W. Green, in a letter dated February 1, 1837.

<sup>7</sup> May 12, 1837.

<sup>8</sup> Compare the letter to his father, March 22, 1837.

<sup>9</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the question of influence on Longfellow from Tegnér's writings and other Swedish sources, the writer begs leave to refer to his article, "Is Longfellow's 'Evangeline' a Product of Swedish Influence?" in *Poet Lore*, Vol. xix, No. iii.

the *eagle's nest* and carry away its young. In some of the later cantos the *falcon* is frequently mentioned as his most faithful companion.

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 4):

"Far in the Northern Land,  
By the wild Baltic's strand,  
I, with my *childish hand*,  
*Tamed the ger-falcon.*"

Canto 18 tells of how King Ring, against the advice of Frithiof, undertakes to drive with his queen over the *thin ice of a lake*. Fired by the heedlessness of the king, Frithiof quickly *puts on his skates* and follows the two in the sled. Very soon the ice begins to break under the royal couple, when Frithiof rushes forward and rescues them.

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 4):

"And with my *skates fast-bound*.  
Skinned the *half-frozen sound*,  
That the poor whimpering hound  
Trembled to walk on."

The *Saga* contains the following short reference to Frithiof's remarkable strength and daring as a huntsman (canto 1—Holcomb's translation):

"Young Frithiof followed oft the chase,  
Which led to many a fearful place;  
With neither spear nor lance defended  
*The wild bear's life he quickly ended.*"

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 5):

"Oft to his frozen lair  
Tracked I the grisly bear."

After Frithiof had been the indirect cause of the burning of Balder's temple, he fled from his country and spent three years of exile in *marauding expeditions*. For these expeditions he framed a *code of laws* which his men were to observe. By one of its decrees they were *ordered* to engage at once the crew of any viking-ship that might be sighted, and every man was *pledged to fight to the last*.

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 6):

"But when I older grew,  
Joining a corsair's crew,  
O'er the dark sea I flew  
With the marauders.  
Wild was the life we led;  
Many the souls that sped;  
*Many the hearts that bled*  
By our stern orders."

Canto 11 of the *Saga* tells of the royal entertainment accorded to Frithiof at the home of Earl Angantyr. The last stanza of the canto runs as follows (Longfellow's translation):

"Whilst jest and social joys engage,  
Swift the night-watches fled;  
Freighted with mirth, not fraught with rage,  
The golden goblet sped;  
A health to Angantyr they shout,  
At the close of each regale.  
And Frithiof wears the winter out,  
Ere swells Ellida's sail."

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 7):

"Many a *wassail-bout*  
Wore the long winter out;  
Often our *midnight shout*  
Set the cocks crowing,  
As we the Berserk's tale  
Measured in *cups of ale*,  
Draining the oaken pail,  
Filled to o'erflowing."

The seventh canto of the *Frithiof Saga* describes the betrothal of Frithiof and Ingeborg as taking place in the temple of Balder, which was situated in a *grove*, on a clearing called "Baldershage." At the time, Ingeborg is *afraid* that they have provoked the wrath of the god by meeting in his temple. But Frithiof dispels her fears by assuring her that Balder, the god of love, can only be pleased to receive as a sacred offering the pure love and fidelity of their hearts. Hereupon the two lovers kneel before the altar and plight their *troth*.

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 9):

"I wooed the bluc-eyed maid,  
Yielding, yet half afraid,  
And in the forest's shade  
Our vows were plighted."

In the same canto (7) in which the pledge of troth between the lovers is described, Frithiof speaks of the joys that would be his if he and Ingeborg were permitted to go to Valhalla together. As one of the many acts of love which he there would do for her delight he would *build her a bower or cottage by the sea*.

Compare *Skeleton in Armour* (stanza 17):

"There for my lady's bower  
Built I the lofty tower,  
Which, to this very hour,  
Stands looking seaward."

In the twentieth canto of the *Saga Frithiof* returns the ring to Ingeborg and bids her farewell, adding that he is to seek his grave in the sea. At these words King Ring feels that the time for his own death is come. He therefore gives over to Frithiof both his kingdom and his daughter Ingeborg and then resolves to end his life by "carving" his body.

(Canto 20, stanza 11—Holcomb's translation):

"Then carved he rightly letters all glowing,—  
Death runes to Odin on arms and on chest ;

(Stanza 12):

Bring for my drinking the horn with wine flowing ;  
*Skoal to thy honor thou land of my birth !*

(Stanza 15):

Eyelids close gently,—spirit so royal  
*Flies with a sigh to the Allfather's breast."*

In the case of the Skeleton in Armour the end had come in a very similar way (last two stanzas):

"In the vast forest here,  
Clad in my warlike gear,  
*Fell I upon my spear,*  
Oh, death was grateful !

Thus, seamed with many scars,  
Bursting these prison bars,  
*Up to its native stars*  
*My soul ascended !*  
There from the flowing bowl  
Deep drinks the warrior's soul,  
*Skoal ! to the Northland ! skoal !*  
Thus the tale ended."

In addition to verbal similarity and similarity in thought, as indicated by the passages quoted, attention is called to the fact that in both poems the hero is a viking, while the heroine is of royal blood.

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*Tegnér's Frithiofs Saga.* With Introduction, Bibliography, and Explanatory Notes, by GEORGE T. FLOM, Ph. D. Chicago : The Engherg-Holmberg Publishing Co., 1909. Pp. xxiv + 202.

Americans interested in Scandinavian studies will be grateful for this new contribution. The

handsomely illustrated edition is well adapted to help the student understand the spirit of the poem and appreciate its beauty.

The introduction treats of the genesis of *Frithiofs Saga*. After tracing the literary and spiritual development of the author, the editor sets forth the relation of our poem to its sources. Pp. xvi–xxiii are devoted to a comprehensive discussion of translations and of *Frithiofs Saga* in music. The introduction closes with a long and valuable bibliography.

The notes (pp. 177–195) are particularly valuable for the interpretation of Scandinavian names, mythology, and usages. Apart from this, a great fault of the commentary is its lack of consistency. It would seem, for instance, that the unusual verb-forms *hang* (p. 130, 5; 165), *stöp* (105, 2), *sute* (71, 1), *sutit* (146, 3), *hof* (88, 1), *bette* (24) require comment more than *sam* (7, 1), *het* (25) *finge* (48, 1), and *lette* (28). Similarly in a number of other cases. These omissions can hardly be due to considerations of space, for the editor has devoted no little room to the mere definition of words and phrases that could be found in the dictionary just as easily as the many others that the student must seek there.

But in another regard the absence of system in the commentary is most unfortunate. In probably a majority of cases where a word or phrase is discussed, the editor does not do this the first time it appears (if more than once), but at the second, third, or fourth occurrence, or even later. Indeed, one would be inclined to think this a principle, if the editor did not sometimes take notice of a recurring word the first time it is used.

In giving a list of such cases, I mention the page of occurrence of all instances previous to the one commented on, which is in italics at the end of each series. It is a question of mere definition in the case of *biltog* (pp. 59, 5; 145, 4; 173, 2), *ungersven* (19, 4; 91, 3), *till slut* (27; 28; 33, 4; 87, 2v), *id* (56, 2; 60), *på en gång* (81, 1; 81, 2), *ber om* (45, 1; 85, 1; 85, 3; 120, 2), *hvar helst* (66, 4; 69, 2; 138, 5), *på lif och död* (64, 1; 103, 3), *i vinter* (92, 3; 132, 1), *om julen* (24; 128, 1), *om våren* (32, 2); cf. *om hösten* (defined p. 86, 2), *det finns* (p. 7, 2 and 3, etc.; 60). If the student knew the meaning of these expressions the first time, there seems little occasion for defining them later.

P. 154, 5 we are told that *på öppet ting* means "at councel in the open air." This the poet himself tells us : "på öppet ting, ty himlens sky är deras tak." But at p. 68 even a good student might well puzzle over the meaning of *öppet* in the same phrase.—P. 96 *ser åt* is defined, though it occurs also p. 67 (twice) and 83, 1. It would seem more apt to refer at p. 123 *visar åt* to note on p. 96, 1 than to p. 69, 2.

The student is referred to a fuller form : *aftonrodnan* (p. 61, 1 ; 63 ; 67 ; 132, 3 ; 161, 3), *dar* (31, 1 ; 95), *se'n* (19, 4 ; 27 ; 46, 1), *re'n* (48, 4 ; 51, 1 ; cf. *alltre'n*, p. 39, 4).—Verb-forms are explained : *finge* (9, 5 ; 48, 1), *het* (17, 5 ; 25, 2). We know from p. 10, 1 and 42, 3 and 4 that *qvad* is pret. of *qräda*, and p. 74, 1 we could not interpret it exceptin the unusual meaning of "call forth by incantation," and yet we are told all this p. 79, 2.—The expression *dag från dag* (10, 3) would naturally offer the same diffiiculty as *är från är* (explained p. 64). *De* should be omitted in translation p. 124 as well as p. 125, 2 (cf. note to p. 39).

In all these cases the purpose has clearly been to assist the student. In a number of other instances the object may have been historical comment rather than mere help in translation. Such are : *männer* (35, 3 ; 56, 2 ; 91, 4), *till* with gen. (28, 2 ; 43, 3 ; 69, 2 ; 114, 1).—The use of *han* and *hon* in place of *den* occurs p. 5, 2 ; 6, 1 ; 7, 3 ; 9, 1 ; 12, 4 and is explained p. 15.—*Lyster* (76, 3 ; 86, 2), *bita* (17, 1 ; 25, 2 ; 86, 1), *i* in such cases as *i går* (28, 2 ; 40, 3 ; 53, 1 and 2 ; 59, 1 ; 65, 6).

A thoughtful student would find difficult such forms as *skär* (10, 4), *bär* (12, 4 ; 50, 3), *hör* (30, 1 ; 35, 1 ; 48, 4 ; 54), *far* (50, 3). The peculiarity is explained in a note to p. 56. The reference at p. 76 to note on p. 56 shows that the editor anticipated difficulty in these cases.—Parallel is the case with verbs whose stem ends in *l* : *stjäl* (62, 4), *täl* (101 ; 104, 3), *gal* (106), *täl* (161, 1).

The number of belated comments that have come to my notice would make this list probably more than three times as long.

Serious errors are not numerous. The note to p. 6, 3 reads : " *såg*, preterite conjunctive ; regular form *såge*." *Såg* is an indicative used in place

of the conjunctive,—a usage fairly common in spoken Swedish. Similar cases occur again p. 6, 3 and 4 ; 11, 4 and 5 ; 13, 1 ; 48, 4 ; 62 ; 119, 2. See Beckman, "Svensk Språklära," p. 105 and Linder, "Regler och Råd," p. 108.

P. 25, " *hvarann*, for metrical reasons shortened from *hvarannan*." A correct statement would be that the shorter (colloquial) form is used for metrical reasons (cf. note to p. 36, 2).

P. 25, " *Het*, abbrev. of *hette*." We would interpret this as meaning that *het* is a (possibly *metri causa*) shortened form of *hette*, which is clearly inaccurate. The shorter form is archaic and dialectical.

P. 51, 1, " *re'n* and *se'n* are the colloquial forms. In the following line the metre required the fuller literary form." This should read : " *Se'n* is colloquial, but *re'n* is a poetical form. In the following line the metre permits the use of the normal (colloquial) form." See *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*.

P. 59, " *I dag ännu far jag*. Rare use of *ännu* for *redan*. Lit. 'to-day already,' this very day I go." Why interpret it " *ieh fahre heute schon*," when it means " *ieh fahre heute noch* " ?

P. 86, 2, " *lyster*, impers. refl. verb." If it is impersonal, it can not be reflexive.

P. 116, 2, " *snögar*, poetic for *snöar*." Neither form is poetic. See *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* : " *ifrågavarande stafningsvariant har sin grund i vacklande uttal.*"

P. 129, 1, *finger* is said to be a neuter noun. The word is almost everywhere common gender in the pl., and in the South (Götaland) also in the sg. See Freudenthal, "Östgötalagen," Hfrs. 1895, p. 94.

The interpretation is, in my opinion, unnecessarily forced in the case of p. 57 *se*, p. 69, 2 *ler*, and p. 124, 1 *sällar*.

I have found a number of numerical misprints in the commentary. The correct form is in each case given in parentheses : p. 11, 3 (11, 4); 18, 1 (18, 3); 10, 2 (19, 2); 29, 2 (omit); 58 *Fafner*, 59 I, 59 *Din* (omit numerals); 116, 1 (116, 2); 118 (118, 1); 120, 1 (120, 2); 127, 6 (127, 5); 135, 5 (135, 6). Numerals should be inserted : p. 11, 5 before *Allfader*; 23 *fäste*; 29, 2 *om ej*; 39, 4 *kungens*; 57 *blef*; 116, 3 *snögar*; 121, 3 *han*; 161, 3 *aftonrodnan*; 161,

4 *hägring*.—P. 24 "note to p. 15, 6" (read 15, 5); p. 33, 4 "line 5" (line 7); p. 35, 3 "note to p. 25, 5" (20, 5).—Other misprints are: p. 33, 4 "prefix" (suffix); p. 131, 5, sentence unfinished; p. 159, 4 *mörkets* (*mörkrets*).—In the text, p. 41 *hängda* should be *hängde*.

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### OLD FRENCH.

*An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology*, by FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1909.

This book, as the author informs us in his preface, "is intended not only to introduce beginners to the study of Old French phonology and morphology from the historical point of view, but also to facilitate their progress to an advanced grammar." As a model of such a larger work Professor Luquien justly considers the well-known *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen* of Schwan-Behrens (7th ed., 1907),<sup>1</sup> and it is to this volume that he refers us as the basis of his *Introduction to Old French*. Let it be said at once, however, that while he has in the main closely adhered to his model both in the arrangement and the theoretical presentation of the matter—an indebtedness for which full acknowledgment is made,—he has by no means followed it slavishly. The independence of his scholarship and judgment is evinced both in the manner in which minor details have been either separated from the more essential matter, or entirely omitted, and in the changes and additions, especially of a pedagogical nature, which have been introduced. Among such changes and additions, the following devices deserve to be mentioned as distinctive and very useful features of his work: 1) An alphabetical list of Phonetic Symbols (pp. 17-19), which is both more complete and more explanatory than the ones offered in the grammars of Schwan-Behrens and others, and all the more helpful as phonetic transcription of words and sounds is more

systematically employed than in similar manuals; 2) three connected passages, with phonetic transcription and commentary, from the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Roman de la Rose*, and *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* (pp. 142-147); 3) a glossary of Technical Terms (pp. 20-22), and 4) a cross-section drawing of the Organs of Speech (p. 23). Such aids as these are unquestionably timely and may be welcomed as a most valuable innovation in the making of elementary historical grammars; but their very timeliness suggests the question whether they should not be accompanied by the explicit statement that a careful training in the classical languages, especially in Latin, in the elements of phonetics and in the correct pronunciation of at least one modern Romance language is the indispensable preparation for a successful study of Romance philology.

The Bibliography and the Alphabetical Index of the volume of Schwan-Behrens have been purposely omitted, the latter on the ground that it might prevent the student from making himself as thoroughly familiar with the elementary grammar as is desirable. Without in the least questioning the wisdom of this view for the purposes of the book before us, we hope that in a second edition the author may feel encouraged to enlarge its scope, adding to a more detailed treatment of the historical development of the language not only a bibliography and a historical index, but a chronological survey of phonetic changes such as the one offered by Meyer-Lübke in his *Historische Grammatik der Französischen Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1908), p. 261, and a list of the most important problems still awaiting solution.

Inasmuch as the phonological and morphological presentation of Old French in the work before us is substantially based upon that of Schwan-Behrens, it is not necessary to enter into anything like a full discussion of the various questions involved. Only a few remarks will be made here in the hope that they may prove of some service to the author in the preparation of a new edition of his grammar.

P. 14, § 10-11 we read: "When this change (*i. e.*, *c* > *ch*) is more closely examined, it appears: . . . (2) that it took place only during the first Old French period; *i. e.*, that any *c* which had not changed to *ch* by ca. 1100, did not do so

<sup>1</sup> A new, eighth edition (1909) has just appeared.

after that date." This statement does not appear quite correct in the light of what Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, I, § 13; *Einführung*, § 31, has well said with regard to such forms as *chaste*, *chapitre*, *Venit. famega*, etc. Cf. also Suchier in *Miscellanea Ascoli*, p. 69.—P. 15, § 12. In his effort to condense the exposition of the relations between inherited and borrowed words, the author left out of account the fact that Vulgar Latin adopted literary forms which became part of the inherited property of Old French. Cf. e. g., Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, § 29.—P. 21. Metathesis results from rapidity of speech rather than from the tendency to ease pronunciation.—P. 27, § 21–28. The passage of VL. *x* before consonants to *s* should have been noted, and § 158, 2 modified accordingly.—P. 34, § 60, note. At least one illustration, e. g., *oc'lu* > *ol'u* > *ucil*, should have been given here.—P. 42, § 108. Read *cippum* for *cippum*; also, *ibid.*, § 113, VL. *p.* for OF. *p.*—P. 63, § 257. Instead of saying that *ai* becomes *ei* during the twelfth century, it would be more exact to say that the two nasal diphthongs were identical in sound and employed in rhyme together since the middle of that century. Cf. Matzke, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 21, 637 ff.—P. 70, § 286, 1. *Li rei gonfanoniers*, "the standard-bearer of the king." Westholm (*Étude historique de la construction li fils le rei*, 1899) has shown that in such possessive expressions the accusative-form *rei* performs the function of a dative rather than as a genitive, as it is still commonly assumed, and it is desirable that the student's attention be called to this fact.—P. 99, § 342. "The second *d* of the VL. ending -*dédi* disappeared by a process called 'dissimilation'; then -*ei* became -*i* by 50." No other explanation is needed for the loss of *d* than in other cases where it is intervocalic. Cf. § 116. Why not explain this case by the rule stated for intervocalic *d* in § 116?—P. 91, § 337, b. It were better, especially in scientific grammars, to discard the term "conditional" for the verbal form expressing a conclusion from a condition, replacing it by some more accurate designation of what is really a *futurum in praeterito*.—P. 129, § 396. The etymon of *ocïdre* is *aucidere* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, p. 143), and not *occidere*, which would have given *oïcidre*.—P.

134, § 409. *Conoistre*, not from *connoscere*, but from *conoscere* (cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung*, p. 33), also postulated by Ital. *conoscere*, Span. *conocer*.

Besides these, there are other cases in which the doctrine of Schwan-Behrens may well be revised in accordance with more recent investigation such as Meyer-Lübke's *Einführung*, the second edition of which has just appeared, and the same author's *Historische Grammatik der französischen Sprache*. Such cases are, e. g., the development of words like *sapidus*, *nitidus*, *malehabitus* (p. 44, § 122, 2), of *sk* to *s* (§§ 136 and 147).

Apart from minor points such as the ones above mentioned, in regard to which one may hold different opinions, Professor Luquiens' book is worthy of all praise, and deserves to be welcomed not only as the first Old French grammar offered by an American to the English-speaking public, but as well fitted to fulfill the purposes for which it is intended.

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LOUISE DELPIT : *L'âge d'or de la littérature française*. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1909.

This book, although not a work of science, deserves a brief mention here. It will advantageously replace the Duval, upon which many schools, and even colleges, have so long depended for an elementary course in French literature. Miss Delpit has a real sense of what young people ought to be told, what will make literature interesting to them and not distasteful. She also realizes very well that a history of French literature for American schools must be written in an entirely different spirit from such a history written for French schools. Many things that can easily be taken for granted in a French milieu require careful explanation for students in a foreign country.

Does this mean that Miss Delpit's book is ideal from all points of view?—No. I can imagine a book rendered even more objective than hers. There are a few chapters where the author has forgotten what she had so well realized in others, namely, that it is best to start on the principle

that the American child studying her book knows absolutely nothing about French literature, and even about French history. The first chapter presupposes a great many things which surely are ignored (why not drop the chapter altogether?); the chapter on Boileau suggests to me the same criticism. Here and there, I should like to cut down passages either of praise or of criticism of the authors treated: those of praise because in a work like that praise cannot be but commonplace, those of adverse criticism because pupils have so strong an inclination for criticism anyway that it is an undesirable system to encourage in them the disposition of finding fault with great men.<sup>1</sup> I have in mind especially the chapters on Calvin, Montaigne, La Fontaine.

Miss Delpit is right to avoid any show of crudity. Still I am not sure whether at some places, even in such a book, some note was not called for. The recent discussions about Pascal and Descartes might have been ignored; but just one word regarding the Moutaigne-La Boétie controversy would not be superfluous, as it throws new and for us unsuspected light on Montaigne. I feel all the more inclined to say this because elsewhere Miss Delpit has rather insisted on the inauthenticity of the fifth book of Pantagruel.

Occasionally one might desire a somewhat broader view of things. The work of Montaigne is too exclusively presented as that of an irreducible egoist; this is doing injustice both to Montaigne himself, and to posterity which has agreed to see in him one of the finest specimens of humanity.<sup>2</sup> Malherbe is given us as the man who has "par malheur, réussi à décourager, pour près de deux cents ans, la poésie lyrique" (p. 71). No! One man has no such power. There are much deeper causes which explain the lack of lyric poetry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France—and I suspect Miss Delpit knows it, too.

The weakest point in Miss Delpit's book are the notes, put at the bottom of pages. It is difficult to find what criterion the author has adopted to

<sup>1</sup> I realize, however, that this is not the general attitude of instructors; many believe that criticism and literature are synonymous.

<sup>2</sup> I would recommend to Miss Delpit the recent article by Henri Monod, in the "Revue de Paris" (Mars 1910), *Montaigne après la Saint Barthélémy*.

decide where to put notes and where not to put any. Page 9, she explains that modern syntax would not allow *le vous décrire*, but would require *vous le désirer*, and four lines above she says nothing of the archaism of *ressembler* with accusative. Page 32, she explains who *Renée de Ferrare* is, but not who *Guillaume Farel* is; page 17, she does not explain the word *buvries*, used by Rabelais; nor on page 20, *les sept arts libéraux*. On page 8 the two following lines of Marot are quoted:

*Jamais je n'entre en Paradis  
S'ils (les régents) ne m'ont perdu ma jeunesse,*

which are by no means easy to understand. They mean, 'May I never enter Paradise, if it is not true that my teachers have caused me to waste my youth,'—but surely I would not ask young pupils to find out without help.

Often Miss Delpit's own French would need annotation. She writes remarkably well, she has freshness of style, life, picturesque expressions. It is a really esthetic pleasure to read her book; so much so that I do not hesitate to say that her book might be used to great advantage as a regular textbook for translation. Pupils would get very profitable information, which is by no means the case with so many silly stories read in our classes. But in textbooks such expressions like *famélique gibier de potence* (p. 3), *niais et ignorant à souhait* (p. 17), *assommé foree mécréants* (p. 19), *Panurge aussitôt de croquer sa fortune à belles dents* (p. 22), etc., would be explained. Why not here?

To summarize: except for a few things of minor importance and which can be corrected in later editions, this is a very able book, warmly to be recommended either as a *History of French Literature*, or as a regular textbook for reading.

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GOETHES GESPRÄCHE. *Gesamtausgabe*. Neu herausgegeben von FLODARD FRHR. VON BIEDERMANN, unter Mitwirkung von MAX MORRIS, HANS GERHARD GRÄF und LEONHARD L. MACKALL. Erster Band. Von der Kindheit

his zum Erfurter Kongress, 1754 his Oktober 1808. Zweiter Band. Vom Erfurter Kongress his zum letzten böhmischen Aufenthalt, 1808 November bis September 1823. Leipzig: F. W. v. Biedermann, 1909. Imported by The Bruno Hessling Company, New York.

In these days of a revised Hempel edition of Goethe, a revised *Der junge Goethe*, a revised Eckermann, various revised correspondences with Goethe, to say nothing of the many new editions of Goethe's works, a revised and greatly enlarged edition of the *Gespräche* was naturally to be expected and now that the first two volumes have appeared we may for once congratulate ourselves on the fact that revision and enlargement seem to pervade the atmosphere of recent German literature.

Woldemar von Biedermaun was the first scholar to conceive and carry out the plan of a complete edition of Goethe's conversations so far as they had been recorded and printed (*Goethes Gespräche*, 10 vols., Leipzig, Biedermann, 1889-1896). It was by no means a slight task to gather the material from its widely scattered sources, and hence not to be wondered at that reviewers found some oversights and imperfections to criticize. But the idea met with cordial approval and the collection, in spite of its few shortcomings, was immediately accorded a place among the standard works of reference on Goethe.

It was Biedermann's hope that the work might experience a revised edition, which would make it possible for him to fill in gaps, correct errors, and supplement the contents to conform to his plan as it developed in his mind after the early volumes of the set had been sent out into the world. When the time came for a second edition he was no longer among the living. But the results of his later work were preserved and transmitted to his son, Flooard von Biedermann, who is now finishing the editorial task, with the assistance of Morris, Gräf, and Maekall, beside a large number of other scholars who have called attention to out-of-the-way material not likely to come to the notice of every scholar or every group of scholars.

The scope of the collection has been enlarged to include the recorded impressions derived from direct personal contact with Goethe. This might

have called for a revision of the title, as the introduction suggests, but the old title is too well established and too convenient for it to warrant a change. Instead of adhering closely, as might be expected, to the chronological order, so far as that would be possible, the editor follows this order in the main, deviating from it slightly to the end that the material may be so disposed as to create a more or less harmonious impression and afford interesting consecutive reading. The *Briefe* give us a somewhat connected picture of Goethe's life and thought, but the *Gespräche* give us an even more vivid impression of him, in fact the difference is almost greater than that between any two portraits of his physical personality. The utterances of contemporaries concerning him serve materially to complete the picture, giving it a stereoscopic effect, so to speak, and no more suitable combination could have been found in which to publish them. Such conversations and impressions as might, in the editor's opinion, detract from the pleasure of consecutive reading, and would interest only specialists, are reserved for the final volume, which is to contain sources, commentary, and index.

The first edition was in ten volumes, the second is to be in five, notwithstanding the fact that there is now to be double the number of items in the compilation. The page of the new edition is a little longer and wider, the text is set considerably closer, and great economy has been exercised with the space between numbers. And yet the page is agreeable to the eye. The German type has been replaced by Latin, and the volumes are well printed and substantially bound. The price of the new edition is less than half of that of the first. This puts the work within the reach of all who need to own it, and von Biedermann deserves our thanks for taking the selling price into consideration, especially as we are now in the midst of such a deluge of new Goethe literature.

The widening of the scope of the compilation increases proportionately the liability to overlook some material. But the names on the title-page are sufficient guarantee that everything of importance will be included. In fact, the editors are more likely to hear the criticism that they have included too much rather than that they have omitted anything, and yet in such collections as this the first aim should be completeness, since

small items, in themselves seemingly insignificant, often take on significance when incorporated in such a large body of related material. If for no other reason, they help to lend atmosphere and perspective to the whole picture. The volumes thus far published leave us with the feeling that we have witnessed the real Goethe in direct personal contact with his fellow men, and the value of such records cannot be overestimated. The five volumes will form a necessary supplement to the hundred thirty some volumes of the Weimar Goethe and may confidently be expected soon to find their way into all working Goethe libraries. Because of the material that has come to light since the first edition was published, and of the opportunity to correct former errors, supply omissions, and enlarge its scope, the new edition will be found more reliable than the old, and will more adequately serve the purpose that the elder Biedermann had in mind when he first undertook the gigantic task.

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ROTH, RICHARD : *Ein Nordischer Held*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by HELENE H. BOLL. New York, etc.: American Book Company, 1910. 16mo., 175 pp., cloth, 35 cents.

Teachers of German who tire of fairy tales and "insipid love stories" for second and third year reading will welcome the appearance of this little text. They owe a real debt of gratitude to Miss Boll for making it so serviceable for class room use.

*Ein Nordischer Held* is a historical narrative, intensely interesting and "well calculated to inspire the youth of America to follow as noble an example as history records of love for native country." It deals with the adversities—captivity, flight, sufferings from treachery and persecution—and the pluck, perseverance, miraculous rescues and final triumphs of Gustavus Vasa, the "George Washington of the North," who wrested his country from the tyrannical rule of the most cruel despot of his times, Christian II of Denmark. The pivotal point of the story is the "Stockholm Massacre" (1520), an event of such gruesome horror as to cause one to be vividly reminded of the massacre of the Huguenots in Paris under the regency of Catherine de Medici.

The general plan of the editorial work is comparatively free from all objectionable features. The notes are succinct but clear and are calculated

to aid the pupil rather than to display the knowledge of the editor. The appended exercises for composition and conversation (four pages of English and ten of German) are based on the text; they are well graded and very sensible. And the vocabulary, while complete, is not burdened with an unnecessarily large number of definitions.

Unfortunately, the otherwise so delightful little book presents a rather large proportion of typographical errors and editorial inaccuracies. Of these the following have been noted: p. 7, l. 1, "the 18th century" for "the 14th century"; p. 9, l. 10, "Eugelbrektsen" for "Engelbrektson"; p. 11, ll. 9-10, "schweifte der Blicke" for "schweifte der Blick" or "schweiften die Blicke"; p. 13, l. 15, "frnchtbarem" for "fruchtbarem" and "wohlgeeigneten" for "wohlgeeignetem"; p. 14, footnote to l. 13, "The Union lasted only until the birth of Margaret in 1411" for "The Union lasted only until the death of Margaret (she was born in 1353), etc.); p. 15, l. 8, the construction calls for a comma after "II"; p. 84, l. 13, "den" for "den." In the vocabulary occur the forms "Ärgeruis" for "Ärgernis," "biderben" for "biderb(e)," "Upsalier" for "Upsalaer" (cf. p. 54, l. 7); and the weak verb "drängen" is given, "drängen (drang, gedrungen)."

The most serious defect of the vocabulary as a whole is its lack of uniformity in accentuation. Thus, "Anblick, Ankunft, Eroberung, Gestalt, Hinblick, Knabe, etc.," have the accent indicated, while "Autorität, Charakter, Familie, Katechismus, Kommandant, Soldat," and other words of foreign origin are given without accent. A similar absence of uniformity is noticeable in the designation of the initial case endings of pronominal adjectives, thus: "all, -er, -e, -es"; but "diese, -r, -s"; and again, "jed-er, -e, -es" and "jen-er, -e, -es."

Attention is directed also to certain important omissions in the vocabulary, for example: (1) the words "iudem" (p. 22, l. 2) and "rege" (p. 22, l. 21) omitted entirely, and the word "übel" (p. 19, l. 25) given only under "wohl"; (2) no indication of case or cases governed by the prepositions "an, bei, in," and only the dative case designated for the prepositions "hinter, neben, vor"; (3) no indication of weak singular forms for the noun "Bauer," although such forms occur in the text (p. 64, l. 11 and p. 66, l. 19); (4) no mention of a neuter gender (as in the text, p. 15, l. 25) for the noun "Begehr"; (5) no mention of case constructions with the verbs "beiwohnen, danken, entgehen, entrinnen, sich erinnern, folgen, gedenken, gefallen, gehorchen, helfen, trauen."

The following constructions call for editorial comment: p. 22, l. 8, "sich Glück zu wün-

schen," "to congratulate himself"; p. 31, l. 13, "nichts weniger als," "anything but, far from"; p. 51, l. 3, "ergingen sie sich," "they indulged"; p. 86, l. 20, "und" = "wenn auch." The note on the geruadive construction, p. 57, l. 26, should have been made to refer to the first occurrence of this construction, p. 27, l. 16, and for a like reason the reference to "im Schilde führen," p. 37, l. 24, properly belongs to p. 35, l. 9. In the latter instance, the recurrence of the phrase (p. 52, l. 10) might also have been pointed out.

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#### TEXTUAL NOTES.

##### I. PORTER'S *Two Angry Women of Abington*, edited by C. M. GAYLEY, in *Representative English Comedies*. New York, 1903.

Professor Gayley's text professes to be a faithful reprint of the 2d quarto of 1599 (*Q<sub>2</sub>*), except as indicated in the footnotes. Thru the kindness of Mr. W. A. White, I have been enabled to collate his copy of *Q<sub>2</sub>* with G.'s text. The two differ frequently. Indeed, on only 5 pages of the 97 occupied by this play do I find no divergencies. Whether these divergencies are variants between copies of the same edition, or whether G. has been peculiarly unhappy in a persistent inaccuracy, of course I cannot say, without access to his original, Bodleian Malone 184. It is but fair to say that the variations rarely affect the meaning.

I cite (by page and line) a few representative variants. (1) 542. 26 G. reads *compass* for *com-passe*, 542. 34 *kindness* for *kindnes*, 543. 51 (*et passim*) *do* for *doe*, 627. 125 *tell* for *tel*. These suggest that G. took a modernized printed text as a basis, and, as was inevitable, failed to revise it perfectly; but what of 551. 69 *chanels* for *chan-nels*, 633. 315 *doone* for *done*, 539. 13 *hee* for *he?* Both these sorts can be produced *ad libitum*. (2) In nine places (I count hastily) G. inserts without remark words not in *Q<sub>2</sub>*, as 612. 189 *you*, 625. 56 *lucke*, 626. 84 *I say*. He misreads, 554. 176 of for *in*, 556. 230 *is* for *in*, 615. 270 *him* for *them*, 620. 33 *thy* for *my*, *et al.* (3) In 13 places (again I count hastily) G.'s footnote assigns a wrong variant to *Q<sub>2</sub>*, *e. g.*, 614. 266 where G. has *swones* in text and says *Q<sub>2</sub>* reads *swoses*; in fact, *Q<sub>2</sub>* has *swounes*. (4) G. frequently, without comment, alters the original arrangement of words in the line. At one place (p. 570) he supplies in brackets a stage-direction which is in *Q<sub>2</sub>*. Incidentally one might inquire whether it is not an

affectation to supply stage-directions in Elizabethan English, as is done in this edition. (5) G. supplies, 606. 102 *off*, where Dyce supplies *question*; but the sense is complete without either, and one is hardly justified in supplying a word solely for metrical regularity.

I append a brief description of Mr. White's copy of *Q<sub>r</sub>*, A-K in fours (J omitted), no pagination. (A) title-page; verso 'The names of the speakers' and 'The prologue.' A-K (verso) text of the play. The book contains 40 leaves exclusive of fly-leaves. It is in a modern binding of red morocco.

##### II. DEKKER'S *Old Fortunatus*, edited by H. SCHERER in *Münchener Beiträge*, Heft 21, Leipzig, 1901.

Dr. Scherer undertakes to give us an accurate reprint of the quarto of 1600. Again I am indebted to Mr. White for the means of testing the accuracy of the reprint. I have compared the prologs (89 lines), lines 1-102, 323-358, and 2157-2260. No errors appear beyond a few misprints such as *Longauylle* for *Longaule* (2207), and a few slips in the punctuation (in which S. undertakes to note every change from the quarto), *e. g.*, 42 where quarto reads *rarely, marrie*—similar slip in 24, 25, and 27. Periods are silently inserted after the numbers 1 and 2, denoting the speakers in the prolog at court. The title-page, in the original set in lower case with an occasional initial capital, is put in capitals thruout, betraying Dr. S. into printing SERUANTS where the usage of the time would have called for SERVANTS. Further the existence of the vignette on the title-page is noted, but the motto 'aut nunc aut nunquam' is not noted. The lining of the title-page is also disturbed for no cause. I speak of these very minor details to emphasize the need of fidelity even to the remotest detail; for S. aims to enable us to work without the original and he must therefore have our confidence to the last comma. In collating the texts of Dilke 1816 and Rhys 1887, S. does not note their alterations in stage-directions or Rhys's divisions into acts and scenes. Such omission of modern changes is not without justification, but the fact is that S. seems not to have realized fully that title-page, stage-directions, and dramatis personae are integral parts of the play for scholarly purposes—especially for the study of the theater itself—and should receive the same faithful attention that he has given to the body of the text.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "THE FOOLISH EIESSE."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—"The foolish Eiesse, which will never away" is a curious specimen among the creatures to which Euphues likens Philautus and "all fond lovers" (*Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. by R. Warwick Bond, Clareudon Press, I, 249). The point of the implied warning has been rather obscured by the mystery concerning the animal. Mr. Bond in his note on the passage (p. 348) suggests Pettie's *Pallace*, fol. 82, as a possible parallel: "knowe him to be a Niesse, which wyl never away." Mr. Bond continues, "(This is) perhaps for *niece*=relative, or connected, like 'nuisance,' with *nuire*, or perhaps error for 'an Eiesse,' which baffles me." The form "Giesse" appears in the Arber reprint (p. 109) and in Dr. Friedrich Landmann's edition of part of *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit* (in *Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale*, No. 4, 1887, p. 81). It may be granted that "Giesse" (= geese) has a certain appropriateness. But this seems to have been an emendation. For Mr. Bond's collation of the earlier copies indicates "Eiesse" for all editions previous to 1617, when the evident corruption "Elesse" crept in. I have been able to consult only the edition of 1580 for this point; the form there is clearly "Eiesse."

As for the meaning of "Eiesse," we appear to have a case in which the commentator has stopped in his baffling search when the solution has been almost in his grasp. For I am strongly inclined to believe that Mr. Bond has given the clue to the animal's identity in the passage from Pettie and in his suggestion "au Eiesse." A little experimentation with *Eiesse* and *Niesse* reminds one of the double forms *Eyas* and *Nyas*, and, of course, readily recalls the "acyr of children, little eyases." Moreover, since the letter *N* has appeared in the *Oxford Dictionary*, we find our authority: for this quotes the Pettie passage itself under *Nyas* (forms, *nyesse*, *niesse*, etc.). Under *Eyas* the *Oxford Dictionary* gives the variants *eyes*, *yas*, *eyess(e)*, *eyasse*, *eyass*, and *iiaes*, but not *eiesse*; nor do the quotations include the passage from *Euphues*. It would seem, however, that the editors might properly have inserted both the form and the example from *Lyly* in the *Dictionary*. The meaning given for *Eyas* is "a young hawk taken from the nest for the purpose of training, or one whose training is incomplete"; and with this meaning the warning of Euphues—"Wilt thou resemble the kinde Spaniell, which the more he is beaten the fonder he is, or the foolish Eiesse, which will neuer

away?"—becomes, rhetorically at least, effectively definite.

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## A NOTE ON HERRICK.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—Herrick's "Cherry-Ripe" is apparently based upon Campion's "There's a garden in her face." Campion compares the lips of his mistress to ripe cherries; Herrick does the same: "There where Julia's lips do smile." The later poem has no refrain, yet its "Cherry-ripe, ripe, ripe, I cry," practically corresponds with Campion's "Till 'Cherry-ripe' themselves do cry." Campion uses the conceit of comparing his mistress's face to a garden. Exactly the same thing is done by Herrick, but less directly.

Campion carries the idea of his poem farther than Herrick does that of his; in fact, the latter seems to have used only the first two stanzas of the old song. Its twelve verses have been condensed into eight; but, notwithstanding this fact, all the essential elements remain.

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## AN EDITOR'S CORRECTIONS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—I beg leave to point out a few cases where the vocabulary in my recent edition of Selma Lagerlöf's *En Herrgårdssägen* does not correspond with the text. Selma Lagerlöf has herself read the proof to the text as it here stands, and in doing so, has made several changes from the older edition that I had to use. "Säterflicka" has been changed to "fäbodflicka" (p. 119) and to "fäbodjänsta" (p. 123). The omission of "lag" (p. 47), is also due to revision.

The spelling of "för den skull," "fichu," "spetsfichu," have been altered to "fördenskull," "fischy," "spetsfischy." In a conversation with Selma Lagerlöf last summer, I pointed out to her that "trädhård" (p. 27) is an erroneous form, and should be written "trähhård." This correction Miss Lagerlöf intended to make in the new edition (as I have made it in the vocabulary).

Besides this, I have noticed the following omissions: "bön," "fäbod," "kapitel," "trast," "vis." The words "suck," "sucka," "suttit," "undfly" appear in the wrong place.

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## MILTON'S CORRECTIONS TO THE MINOR POEMS.

Mr. Masson, in his "General Introduction to the Minor Poems," speaks of "Milton's habits of composition, and the critical fastidiousness with which, in each revision of his poems, he sought improvements in words or in sound." Again he says, "Milton erased and changed so much in the act of writing that it is impossible to give an adequate idea of his habits in this respect except by actual reproduction of the Cambridge ms. in facsimile." In 1899 this much desired reproduction was made, at the request of the Council of Trinity College and under the excellent supervision of Mr. William Aldis Wright. The pages of this facsimile are of greatest value because they reveal to us something of Milton's workshop, something of the struggles he had in moulding this often stubborn English language to the expression of his thought and the needs of his verse.

Is it true that he was fastidious and that he changed much? If so, what was he seeking by these changes; clearness of thought, beauty of expression, or the flowing music of his verse? What were his habits of correction; was the idea as he first conceived it almost perfect, needing only the change of a word here and there; or was the conception as it first came to him merely in the rough, demanding one or more rewritings before it satisfied his taste? Mr. Bradley says, "Verse may be easy and unpremeditated, as Milton says his was,<sup>1</sup> and yet many a word in it may be changed many a time, and the last change be more 'inspired' than the original."<sup>2</sup> Does the ms. lead us to believe that the early verse was unpremeditated as well as the later, of which Milton makes this assertion; or did he rely much on these third and fourth inspirations?

Lamb regretted greatly the evil hour in which

he had been shown these pages at Cambridge: "How it staggered me to see the fine things in their ore! interlined, corrected! as if their words were mortal, alterable, displaceable at pleasure! as if they might have been otherwise, and just as good! as if inspiration were made up of parts, and these fluctuating, successive, indifferent! I will never go into the workshop of any great artist again."<sup>3</sup> However many persons there may be who still hold Lamb's point of view, the student of English finds his joy in the poetry no way diminished and his interest in the poet greatly increased by attempting, through a study of these manuscript lines, the most of them in Milton's own handwriting, to learn at least a little of how the poet worked in fashioning his poetic conceptions.

A superficial examination of these sheets shows one thing clearly, that Milton was extremely careful of his manuscript. The margins and lines are almost always straight and the words clearly written; wherever the pen has been drawn through, it has been done in clean fashion, not to mar letters above or below the caucelled words. New phrases, and often words, are written plainly in the margin, frequently with a star at the new and old to indicate that one fits into the place of the other. Occasionally a pen mark connects the fresh material with that which has been stricken out, in order to leave no question about its position. An erased word, on second thought to be retained, is in almost all instances sharply underscored. Milton, it is true, sometimes rather overdoes this nice exactness, as when he closes *Comus* with: *Exit, the end, Finis.* The writing of these poems was done at many and various times from 1631 to at least 1645, yet the pages which Milton himself wrote differ little in form or in scrupulous care.

Another impression we gain from a glance at these written sheets is that there is a good deal of revision; there are but two pages wholly free from

<sup>1</sup> *Paradise Lost*, ix, 24.

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Bradley: *Shakespearian Tragedy*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> See the note to Lamb's essay "Oxford in the Vacation," quoted in part by Wright in his Introduction to the *Facsimile*.

any erasures or insertions and these two contain only one sonnet each. There are thirty-nine folio pages filled, or partly filled, with poetry, and of these fully four have been altogether crossed out and rewritten, or entirely discarded. It is true that many of the lines in these sections through which he has drawn his condemning pen, are incorporated in the newly composed parts, yet they are in a new order or setting, and bring to the ear and mind a different thought. There is again no very large number of consecutive uncorrected lines. Sonnet II<sup>1</sup>, that on his twenty-third birthday, is free from any changes, but that was doubtless a copy of the first draft, which may have been repeatedly altered. The little poem *On Time* and Sonnets VIII and XXIII stand just as first written; the verses *Upon the Circumcision*,—excluding the marginal rewriting of the last two lines—and Sonnets XV and XXI have corrections only in spelling. However, these Sonnets, except II, are all in the hand of an amanuensis, and where another used the pen the revisions are proportionally fewer; probably because the poet elaborated the theme more carefully before repeating it to another, than when he could himself make experiments on paper. With these few exceptions, every page shows the labor Milton spent in making the language express exactly the shade of meaning he had in mind.

Although a cursory glance at the pages seems to tell that the poet has altered much, yet when we come to examine them in detail, we find that of the 1813 lines fully three-fourths are without any corrections at all; and, moreover, to this total of first-hand lines, he has added as afterthought only 53. He has discarded entirely but 56, and has rewritten of whole lines barely 162. The erasures and substitutions are so scattered throughout the pages and are so much more apparent to the eye than the untouched lines, that the judgment at a glance is easily accounted for. So large a number of lines retained just as set down on paper indicates, I think, not that he changed much but that he altered relatively little. However, I have not compared his facility with that of other poets, and such a comparison might reverse this conclusion.

Milton has made the greatest number of changes

<sup>1</sup> The numbering of Sonnets is that of the Globe Edition of Milton's Poems.

in phrases, in combinations of two or more words; sometimes he substitutes one word for two or *vice versa*, or he alters the tense of a verb, or varies the construction: for example, he changes *beetle brows* to *complexions*; *whose sway* to *beside the sway*; *it finds* to *is found*; *hid in* to *or with*.

Next in number are the changes in individual words; and among these he has had about equal difficulty with the noun and adjective. The right verb came to his demand much more frequently, as is shown by the fact that he has substituted other verbs in only about half as many instances as he has been compelled to seek name words or words of description. There are two of these corrected verbs which strike responsive chords of sympathy from all those who would write and speak English with accuracy. In *Comus* 427 he sets down first *shall* and then substitutes *will*. In the last two lines of *Circumcision* the same thing occurs; for some reason he has written these lines a second time in the margin, and it is in this second marginal writing that we find first *shall* and then *will*. He evidently was not unconscious in his precise use of these two difficult words. Those perplexing small words in our language which cost most of us so much blue pencilling, gave Milton singularly little trouble; he changes separate pronouns only nine times, prepositions eight, conjunctions ten, the article two, and the adverb five times.

Milton seldom slipped into the mechanical fault of writing a word twice, of repeating words, but his absent-mindedness is sometimes clearly in evidence. He writes, *Comus* 288, *No less then then if I should my brothers lose*, and 483, *Either either some one*. There is, however, usually a better reason for any repetitions which occur. Sometimes he writes down the word and then his ear tells him that it belongs in the next line, so he repeats it in its proper position, as of, *Arcades* 89; or he carries the word over from the end of one line to the beginning of the next, as *heare*, *Arcades* 72. Again he thinks to change a word and erases it; then decides to retain the same word and rewrites it, as *eye*, *Comus* 329. Twice the repetition is plainly due to the fact that in the middle of the line he determines on a different order of words: *Arcades* 57, *awakes the leaves slumbering leaves*. But most frequently the word is rewritten because the first

spelling is not correct, yet there are hardly more than a dozen of such instances.

Milton's purpose in revising his poems, if intention may be judged by result, was to render the thought clear, logical, and vivid. I believe three-fourths of the corrections attain this end. He revised less to make a well-sounding line, a more picturesque or imaginative verse, than a verse which expressed a coherent and convincing thought. In doing this there appear to have been certain habits which he recognized as a part of his style and which he sought to correct. For example, in reediting he frequently substitutes a less technical word or phrase, as if he himself saw the possible danger to his poetry from his learning. In *Solemn Music* 2, *Mixe your choise chords* is changed to *wed your divine sounds*, and in a line later entirely omitted, *chromatik jarres* is erased for *ill sounding*; *Comus* 21, *the rule and title becomes imperial rule*; in 310 *steerage of—guess of*; in 134 *polisht—cloudie*; in 242 *hold a counterpoint—give resounding grace*. Again he seeks a simpler expression, one savoring less of bombast; which trick of style he loved in his extreme youth, as is clearly revealed in the translation of the Psalms, and which he doubtless fell into from much reading of the Elizabethans. In *Comus* the Lady rapturously exclaims—following line 215—*while I see yee this dusky hollow is a paradise and heaven gates ore my head*. The poet has certainly felt the incongruity of such sentiments, and finally allows her to say only, *I see yee visibly*. At line 696, as first written, she addresses Comus: *O my simplicity what sights are these? what dark disguises and soothing lies. hence with thy treacherous kindnesse thou man of lies and falsehood, if thou give it me I throw it on the ground*. The Brothers are on occasion bombastic enough, but the case against them would be worse if the following lines had been allowed to remain—after line 357—*so fares as did forsaken Proserpine when the big wallowing flakes of pitchie clouds and darkness wound her in*. Again the Elder Brother first closed his speech at line 383 with this mouth-filling phrase: *walks in black vapours, though the noontide brand blaze in the summer solstice*.

Usually, however, it is reasonably clear that Milton is revising for the direct purpose of rendering the thought more logical or more vivid. In *Arcades* 8-12, *Fame* was, in the first draft, the

subject of all the lines; the change to *we* gives a clearer sense of the relation of the two parties in the contention. *Solemn Music* 10 has first *tripled*, but the substituted *burning* unifies the line by carrying out the idea of *bright*. In 14 *blooming palms* is changed to *victorious palms*, thus giving a thought in accord with the context. In *Comus* 193 *youthly eome* less fittingly from the mouth of the young girl than *wandering*. That fine line, 208, stands as first written down, *and airy tongues that lure night wanderers*; where of course the whole harmony of the passage is lost by intruding a definite statement amid the delicate suggestiveness of the lines immediately preceding and following. In *Comus* 349 the words are *sad*, then *lone*, and finally *close*; neither one of the first two seems to come logically from the lips of young men in the act of finding a person to whom the wood might reasonably appear *sad* or *lone*. In 355 we read, *she leans her thoughtful head musing at our unkindnesse*, which gives exactly the opposite impression of the line as revised. *Comus* 713 has first *cramming* instead of *thronging*, and this impossible thought is followed by the still more impossible idea, expressed in a fortunately erased line, *the fields with cattle and the aire with fowl*. Where whole verses are rewritten in the margin, this rewriting is again almost always to render the thought clearer. *Comus* 175 is added to offer a reason for 176; 254 and 255 give concreteness and vividness to a picture that would otherwise lack a definite cause and position; line 456 is inserted to present the negative action of the angels, which prepares for the positive action in the verses that follow. So the list might be greatly increased, and in each the evident search on the part of the poet was for a strong, unified thought.

It is perhaps a surprise to find how rarely Milton has to work solely for poetic suggestiveness; how seldom he feels it necessary to substitute for words thin in imaginative content those rich in suggestion. This is, however, sometimes plainly his intention, as in *Comus* 117 where he replaces *yellow* with *tawny*; or in 181 where *blind alleys of this archd wood* becomes *blind mazes of this tangled wood*; or 498 where *leapt ore the penne* is changed to *slipt from the fold*. In *Comus* 821 the plain prose of *there is another way* is slightly improved into *some other meanes I have*. The sub-

stitution of *pearled* for *white* in 834 alters the whole character of the picture, making it far more appealing to the imagination. The added line, 442, *faire silver-shafted Queen for ever chast* has no other purpose than that of imaginative suggestion.

In less than one fourth of the instances of correction the poet's desire for a smoother line, a verse more pleasing to the ear, appears to have dictated the choice of words or phrases. One has only to take a present-day text and read the following lines, making the indicated substitutions, to be sure that this was his purpose. *Arcades* 13 read *her hide* for *conceal*; 18 *seated* for *sitting*; 50 *leaves* for *boughs*; *Comus* 58 *nam'd him Comus* for *him Comus named*; 576 *solitarie sweet retire* for *sweet retired solitude*. This purpose is perhaps more clearly seen in certain whole lines. He writes, *Solemn Music* 11, *high lifted loud archangel trumpets blow*, and gains, not thought but sound, by rewriting *their loud uplifted angel trumpets blow*. Again the weak line at 20, *drown'd natures chime and with tumultuous din*, becomes the very strong onomatopœic verse, *jarred against natures chime and with harsh din*. In a few cases, as *Comus* 376, the chief reason for the change is, as seems, to avoid too much alliteration.

In a small number of lines he has revised for the sake of meter only, but the smallness of the number shows how true was Milton's ear, how attuned to the needs of his verse. In *Comus* 257 *would weepe* is changed to *wept* evidently to get rid of an extra syllable; in 73 *before* is blotted after *as*, and in 304 *out* after *then* for the same reason.

The question of Milton's dependence on third or fourth or later inspirations is interesting, because the number of cases in which he has sought again and again for the right word or phrase is only about forty, and because in several of these instances he has finally returned to the word with which he began. For example the rewritings stand, *Solemn Music* 20, *ever-endless light, ever-glorious, un-eclipsed, where day dwells without night, in endlesse morn of light, in cloudlesse birth of light, in never parting light*. In the final recast he chooses the fifth form, which combines the two ideas he is seeking, duration and brightness. In *Comus* 448 he searches for an adjective to be applied to *Minerva*: *eternal, unvanquisht, unconquer'd*. Line

545 shows his difficulty in determining just how the honeysuckle shall best be characterized: *suckling, blowing, flaunting, blowing, flaunting*. In 962 he has much ado to make the words fit: *of speedier toeing, of nimbler toeing, of lighter toeing*, and finally in *of lighter toes* he wins the right concrete phrase. In 556, *soft, still, soft, sweet, soft*, he returns to *soft*, probably thinking it was the best he could do. He was not, then, as a recent writer has well-nigh made him, one of the Nine, but he had sometimes to struggle with words as lesser men have had to do.

What are the poems, if we may judge by the amount of revision shown in the manuscript, which caused him most labor? *Arcades* was written with much ease, at least with few corrections. *At a Solemn Music* was the result of hours of work and many rewritings; it is entirely rewritten three times, the last ten lines four times, and the first two versions have many changes. *Comus* shows, I believe, more uniform care for the right choice of words than any other poem. After the first four lines he wisely blots fifteen lines, mostly about gardens, roses, and dragons in the land where the Spirit has lived. They are diffuse and mar the quiet strength of the opening verses. The weak line at 133 he has sought to remodel, but has not much improved it: *and makes a blot of nature and throws a blot*, then in the margin the line as it is now in the text. *Comus* 350-358 has been much rewritten; even as it is at present, Milton was dissatisfied with it and pasted on the margin of the next sheet a new form, but this attached slip has unfortunately been lost. Lines 672-705, also the Lady's speech at 663, originally stood after 755; they have been crossed, and rewritten on a separate slip with the note that they are to be inserted after *in primrose season*. Lines 807-810 as first written were: *come y're too morall this is meere morall stuffe the very lees and settlings of a melancholy blood*. In this passage the change seems to me for the worse, certainly more technical. As is sometimes the case, he would better have kept his first inspiration. He has added lines 869-874, which we could ill spare from this beautiful invocation. The last song of the Spirit has been wholly rewritten, three lines being crossed and fifteen added; those added include the verses relating to Spring and the Graces, the completion

of the picture of Adonis, and the story of Cupid. Each of these passages fills up and rounds out the picture which it closes ; the song read without them fails to give us as a whole the feeling of sumptuousness it was certainly intended to give.

*Lycidas* came to Milton's imagination, or at least to paper, in a very perfect form. He writes the first fourteen lines, and then tries the flower passage, which was evidently haunting his thought. He sets it down once ; crosses it all out and begins over again. Line 146 was nearer inspiration as first written, *the muske rose and the garish columbine*, but perhaps it did not express his feeling for the flower, or it did not sound appropriate to have so gaudy a flower about the dead. Ruskin calls 148 "mixed fancy and imagination" ; the first version, *every bud that sorrows liverie weares*, is also mixed but perhaps less objectionable than the form we are familiar with. After the flower passage is to his mind, he takes a fresh sheet and, commencing the poem once more, writes to the end with very little recasting, except at 58-62, which he thrice revises. Save for these two difficult parts, Milton seems to have written *Lycidas* with little premeditation and hence with ease.

The Sonnets, fifteen in number, including *On the Forcers of Conscience*—the only ones not in this manuscript are I, XVIII, XIX, XX—are fairly free from corrections, except in the case of single words, and these not numerous. Three only have been revised to any extent. The thirteenth, to Lawes, Milton seems to have been so particular about, so careful to have of the right shade of dignity that he has refined away much of the vividness of phrase ; there is a strength and sureness in the first draft that the second lacks. For example, line 4, *misjoining* is better than *committing* ; line 6, *and gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan*, is easier grasped by the imagination than the line as we have it about *Envoy*. Again lines 12 and 13 are swifter as first written : *by the Tuscan's leav, shall set thee higher then old Casella whom Dante woo'd to sing*. He appears to have had a like thought about Sonnet XIV, to Mrs. Thomson ; it must be stately, large-sounding, and the rewriting has had the similar result of making the Sonnet less vigorous. The revision of Sonnet XI is not so great in the number of changes made, but it has almost as marked an effect upon the whole ; here

with quite a different subject and doubtless for a very different reason, he has really accomplished much the same thing as in working over the other two—taken some of the strength and life out of it. It began *I writ a book*, and lines 3 and 4 read *it went off well about the town a while, numbering good wits ; but now is seldom poured on*. The change to the third person and passive voice which he made in revising, has not improved it.

It is true, indeed, that in a few cases Milton's second idea is less poetic than the first, but in most instances the later thought is by far the more inspired, and the work of revision has been wisely expended. The manuscript shows, moreover, that although he was a poet who generally worked with a good deal of ease and changed comparatively little, yet he was also an untiring critic of his own poems ; and that many words and phrases, as well as occasional long passages, cost him much labor in bringing the thought to the fulfilment of expression.

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#### CHANGES IN ENGLISH USAGE BETWEEN 1878 AND 1902 AS SHOWN IN THE TEXTBOOKS OF AN AMERICAN PURIST.

That language is subject to perpetual change has long been accepted as a truism by philologists ; and even conservative purists admit theoretically that the business of the lexicographer and of the grammarian is merely to record in a convenient form usages accepted by recent writers or speakers of national reputation and that the critic's conclusion is merely an expression of personal opinion which is frequently overruled. Thus does our representative American purist, Professor Adams Sherman Hill, set forth in 1878, in his *Principles of Rhetoric*, the varying standards of English usage ; and his later rhetorics, published, respectively, in 1892, in 1895, and in 1902, furnish striking illustrations of his own enforced variation of opinion within a period of less than twenty-five years. These variations of opinion, it is true, may be attributed not so much to changes that have actually taken place since

1878 as to a purist's slow recognition of usages already more or less established. But since Professor Hill's rhetorics were for many years the authority in matters of usage in the best American schools and colleges, I feel justified in considering his varying standards as representative of the changes in English usage forced on all American purists during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Fitzedward Hall, by his many scholarly articles which appeared in the *Nation* from 1880 to 1901, no doubt greatly influenced Professor Hill to practice in his later rhetorics what he had preached in his first; for Dr. Hall was not only ever ready to cite a formidable array of the best authors in support of any usage attacked by purists, but he was also alert to seize every opportunity to illustrate the ever-changing character of English speech. Professor Hill, in modifying his early dogmatic assertions on points of usage, more than once admits his indebtedness to Dr. Hall. And in his rhetoric of 1902, we find that though he still clings in a few instances to his early prejudices, yet on the whole he has desisted from any futile attempt to keep words, whatever their origin, or usages, however erratic, from finding their way into English speech provided they have received the stamp of recognition from "reputable people of our nation and time."

In modifying his opinion in his later books in regard to such usages as *had rather*,<sup>1</sup> *had better*, and *try and*, Professor Hill implies that he had too severely criticised these expressions in 1878. For instance, he then preferred, on the principles of analogy, *would rather* and *would better*; but in 1895 he does not hesitate to admit that "*had rather* and *had better* are idiomatic expressions older than parsing itself, and hence are quite as good English as *would rather* and *might better*." As he refers for a further discussion of these locutions to an article by Dr. Hall in *The American Journal of Philology* (vol. ii, no. 7, pp. 281-322), he indirectly acknowledges the influence of Dr. Hall's many citations of the reputable use of *had rather* and *had better* for more than four centuries. In regard to the idiom *try and*, Dr. Hall's quotations from some of the best writers

since 1826 (*Nation*, vol. 48 (1889), p. 426) were equally effective; for though Professor Hill had in 1878 classed *try and* as a vulgarism, in 1902 he boldly declares that "such expressions as *try and remember*, *come and see me*, are idioms which, though they distract some grammarians, really give life to the language."

Other locutions which Professor Hill has been slow to admit as being in good use are *in this connection*, *the ones*, *firstly*, and *guess* in the sense of *inclination to think*; and, indeed, in spite of Dr. Hall's citation of their use by many authors of reputation, he does not yet accept these unqualifiedly. After Dr. Hall's article in 1888 (*Nation*, vol. 46, p. 12) which proved conclusively that *in this connection* had been in good use for fifty years, and that the analogous phrases *in all its connections*, *out of its connection*, etc., had been used by good authors since 1780, Professor Hill in 1902 could no longer, as in 1878, class *in this connection* as a "provincialism"; hence in his latest rhetoric he probably expresses merely his own personal aversion to the phrase by calling it "an overworked expression." In his criticism of *the ones*, Professor Hill is more lenient; for though he does not go so far as Dr. Hall and declare that *the ones* is in no case at variance with accepted English usage (*Nation*, vol. 53 (1891), p. 195), yet, in 1902, he does not object to the plural of *one* when it marks a contrast between individuals in a class or group. *Firstly*, an older usage than either *in this connection* or *the ones*, is probably on the wane; but Professor Hill's criticism of it in 1902 is milder than it was in 1878, when he classed it as a "vulgarism." Dr. Hall's indirect justification of *firstly* in 1888 (*Nation*, vol. 46, p. 215), probably led Professor Hill in 1892 to find "the adverbial form of *first* in serious writings by good authors," and to admit in 1902 that, "though *first* serves as both adjective and adverb, *firstly* is occasionally seen."

As to Professor Hill's present attitude toward *guess*, we have only circumstantial evidence. In 1878, he classed *guess* with *fancy*, *reckon*, and *calculate*, as not being "in reputable use" when intended "to express opinion, expectation, or intention." In 1895, *fancy* was omitted from the list; and *guess*, *reckon*, and *calculate* became merely "provincialisms." In 1902, only *reckon*

<sup>1</sup> For all words discussed, see indexes of Professor Hill's rhetorics.

and *calculate* were left among words "not national." Dr. Hall in 1893, had, it is true, cited quotations dating from the fourteenth century showing that *guess* in the sense of *incline to think, be disposed to believe*, was irreproachable; and, in the same article (*Nation*, vol. 57, p. 485), he had also asserted that *reckon*, though not a common literary term, would never be censured by a British critic. Yet our American purists persisted, for a few years longer, in stigmatizing *to guess* as a provincialism, and they have not yet lifted the bann from *reckon*. But since Professor Hill, our standard purist, does not criticize *Ifancy* after 1878, and omits *I guess* in 1902, is there not hope that *I reckon* may not forever be a Southern shibboleth?

Though *gotten* for *got* does not strictly belong in the group just discussed, it has had too varied an experience to be omitted altogether; and the older participial form, *gotten*, is still sufficiently common in the South to deserve the slight justification of having once been the form preferred by the great purist himself. But though Professor Hill in 1878 actually preferred, for the sake of perspicuity, *gotten* as the past participle, yet by 1895 he considered the use of *gotten* for *got* "due either to ignorance or to affectation." In 1902, however, he admits that though the current of the best usage is against *gotten*, "it is still sometimes found in authors of repute."

As interesting, perhaps, as the usages which Professor Hill has only tardily, or grudgingly, admitted into literary language are the usages which he has refused to accept. Among these are such words and phrases as *scientist*, *predicate* in the sense of *predict*, *preventative*, *in our midst*, *onto*, and "the split infinitive." In still tabooing *scientist*, Professor Hill seems to have some support; yet in 1878, in spite of his own preference, "under the canon of ancient usage," for *man of science*, he wisely predicted that the superior brevity of *scientist* was likely to carry the day. And this seems to have been the case, notwithstanding his assertion in 1902 that *scientist* is still "looked upon with disfavor by some writers of reputation including not a few men of science." As Dr. Hall in 1890 (*Nation*, vol. 51, p. 402) proves that the structure of *scientist* (Low Latin, *scientista*) is strictly normal, and that there is

therefore no scholarly reason for its disfavor, are not its opponents indulging merely their own personal prejudice?

That personal prejudice is normal even for those who consider themselves most liberal in regard to the standard of usage is, perhaps, better shown by the non-purist's attitude toward such words as *preventative* for *preventive* and *predicate* for *predict*. Though *preventative* has been used since 1676 (*Nation*, vol. 47 (1888), p. 269), yet few would censure Professor Hill severely for asserting in 1902 that *preventative* is "not a real word." *Predicate* for *predict* has met, on this side of the Atlantic, even greater opposition. According to the *New English Dictionary*, *predicate* for *predict* was used, even if erroneously, as early as 1623; and according to Dr. Hall (*Nation*, vol. 57 (1893), p. 45), *predicate* in this sense proved "so attractive to the eye and seductive to the ear as to mark the language of Parliament in 1867." And according to the same authority its comparative sonorousness also appealed to Sydney Smith, Trollope, and Dickens. Nevertheless, the *Century*, the most catholic of dictionaries, excludes the word in the sense of *predict* altogether. No wonder then, that Mr. John Bigelow's sanction of this use of *predicate*, in 1890, was not sufficient to modify Professor Hill's 1895 criticism of it as "an impropriety found in some American newspapers." But though the non-purist and the purist often agree, as in the case of *preventative* and *predicate*, their attitude is essentially different. The purist always excuses his pet prejudices logically; for instance, he says in regard to these words that having the simpler forms the longer ones are superfluous. The ideal non-purist, on the other hand, does not try to keep *other* people from inventing new words or from putting any meaning they choose into old words; and even if he does not like such usages, he, more readily than the purist, submits to the inevitable law of language, which makes the varying standards of "yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow."

Phrases which supply "antecedent blanks" and which avoid awkward circumlocutions are therefore usually immediately welcomed by all save the exclusive purists. *In our midst* is such a locution; but, though it has been used by good

autbors since 1631 (*Nation*, vol. 66 (1898), p. 263), Professor Hill even in 1902 insists tbat it is "avoided by so many careful writers, and condemned by so many critics, that it may never fight its way into the accepted language." This we must conclude is merely a pet aversion of Professor Hill's favorite authors. One would bave supposed tbat purists would have objected far more to *onto* than to *in our midst*, but Professor Hill admits in 1902 that *onto* seems to be gaining ground, and may in time get a foothold in the language. And, in spite of Dr. Hall's direct criticism of Professor Hill's 1892 objection to *onto*, the latter generously refers for a further discussion of this usage to Dr. Hall's article in the *Nation* (vol. 70 (1900), p. 281), in which are cited numerous examples of tbe use of *onto* since 1460, including such literary names as Shelley, George Eliot, and John Morley.

But, perhaps, "the split infinitive" has caused the largest and most interesting usage coutroversy of modern times. Dr. Hall had, apparently, said the last word, when, in 1893 (*Nation*, vol. 56, p. 274), he added to his formidable array of citations<sup>2</sup> ranging from the time of Wickliffe to the present day such authorities as Goldsmith, Dr. Johnson, Lord Macaulay, De Quincey, and Cardinal Newman; but Professor Hill in 1902 closes his discussion of this subject with the somewhat dogmatic advice : "Do not put an adverb between *to* and the infinitive." In spite of this rule, however, he does admit that usage is to a certain extent divided in regard to the cleft infinitive; and, again, he magnanimously refers to the article in the *Nation*, mentioned above, in which Dr. Hall had concluded that before very long the cleft infinitive, whenever it contributed to euphony, terseness, or avoidance of ambiguity, would be accounted not only permissible but laudable.

So far, the words and phrases discussed, though they had not been accepted by purists, had more or less claim to recognition before 1878; but such neologisms as *an editorial*, *an elective*, and *cablegram* are representative of usages which, though originating before that time, are still, with the exception of *an editorial*, branded by some lexicographers as colloquial. Professor Hill, however, does not make even this exception. Though

Webster's *Dictionary* had as early as 1879 recorded the substantive of *editorial* as being in good use, Professor Hill in 1902, with his usual conservatism, merely prophesies that "it may in time be accepted." To our surprise, however, he puts *an elective* on an equal footing with *an editorial*. This would seem natural enough, especially to one familiar with American college dialect, were it not that this word in its educational sense is completely ignored by the *Standard* and by the *New English Dictionary*, and even in the 1900 edition of the *Century* and in the 1907 edition of Webster it is still branded as an American colloquialism. Nevertheless, *an elective*, *an inaugural*, *an electric*, *a postal*, as well as *an editorial*, are merely following the worthy example of hosts of other adjectives which have become substantives, such as *a private*,<sup>3</sup> *a general*, *a lyric*, and *a constitutional*. And as Dr. Crothers says of the Fletcherizer who chews bis onion seven hundred times, "Since we have to swallow them sooner or later, why not show a reasonable cheerfulness in the matter?"

This, many lexicographers and purists, including Professor Hill, failed to do in the case of *cablegram*; but now that the *New English Dictionary* shows that the *Athenaeum* used it in 1880 and the *Times* in 1883, surely its hybrid origin will no longer prevent the language from assimilating it. *Boycott*, however, a word which originated as late as 1880, at least a dozen years after the appearance of *cablegram*, was so much needed tbat it was almost immediately accepted as standard English. Professor Hill<sup>4</sup> had, it is true, in 1882 prophesied that it would, "like other slang words, die a natural death," but by 1895 he was forced to admit that a word, "such as *boycott*, which supplies a permanent need in the language, may, whatever its origin, come into good use."

Professor Hill's textbooks do more, however, than illustrate a purist's changes in usage, they also indicate the several ways in which modifications in language come about. Among changes arising from the invention of new words, one finds such examples as *cablegram*, *agriculturalist*, *brainy*, *an elective*, *an editorial*, *curios*, *to clerk*, *to deed*,

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, p. 254. The Macmillan Co., 1901.

<sup>4</sup>See 1882 edition of *Principles of Rhetoric*.

*to launder, to boycott*; among changes caused by reviving old words, *back of* for *behind*, *clever* for *good-natured*, *eat* for *ate*; among usages brought about by the force of analogy, *in our midst*, *onto*, *meet with*, *try and*, *one—his* for *one—one's*; among doublets blurred by disregarding distinctions in meaning, *alone* and *only*, *aware* and *conscious*, *confess* and *admit*, *oral* and *verbal*; among doublets arising from the free use of technical or dialectic words, *wage* and *wage-fund*, *to deprecate*, *campus*, *to umpire*, *to referee*, and *lumber* for *timber*. Though Professor Hill, at one time or another, criticised these expressions severely, he now accepts them as being in more or less good colloquial use; and in a few instances such as *to boycott*, *to meet with*, *to deprecate*, *to launder*, *to try and*, *lumber*, *a verbal message*, and *confess* for *admit*, he gives them literary rank.

Thus, within a quarter of a century, we see that a purist of purists has been forced to accept former provincialisms, improprieties, barbarisms, and vulgarisms. And yet, though tabooed usages—whether they supply antecedent blanks or not—will no doubt continue to force their way into standard English, the gap between colloquial and literary language is likely to remain proportionately the same; for in spite of the perpetual flux of language, there is always a more or less clearly defined standard of present good usage.

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### Span. *cortesa*.

Brauns, *Krit. Jahresber.* x, iv 236, behauptet bei Besprechung von Runge, *Lecciones Castellanas*: "S. 9, L. II, 1. Z. rechts und ebenso im Wörterverzeichnis, S. 161, hat Runge die hübsche weibliche Form *cortesa* erfunden, von der die spanische Sprache nichts weiss!" Auch bei Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 78, 2, heisst es: "Hoy es de rigor la -a en los derivados de pueblos como *francesa*, *cordobesa*; pero rara en *montesa*, é imposible en *cortés*." Dem stelle ich die folgenden Beispiele gegenüber, die ich gelegentlich notiert. Alex. 1865 *una cortesa manna* (Morel-Fatio 2007 ebenso). Razón de Amor (Menéndez Pidal) 91

otra duena (l. *dona*), *cortesa e bela e bona*. S. Maria Egipciaqua (1907) 382 *tanto fue* (sc. Maria) *cortesa de su mester*. (Dagegen 1023 *La duenya cortes fue*; vgl. auch 750 *Semeiaua* (sc. Maria) *cortes : res.*) Caveda, *Poesías selectas en Dialecto asturiano* 74 (s. xvii) *Ella ansina i respuende muy cortesa : abadesa*. Dazu das Adverb: Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 31 *et muy cortesament sacó la criatura viua del vientre de su madre*. Prov. Beispiele bei Appel<sup>2</sup> xi b.

Hier mögen ein paar ähnliche Beispiele angeschlossen werden zur Bestätigung oder Ergänzung dessen, was Menéndez Pidal l. c. und Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik* § 41, 1, sagen. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 255 *Guay del pobre y de la pobra!* Ordinaciones de la Ciudad de Caragoça I 233 *a las casas sobreditas comunas*; 239 *en las ditas casas comunes*. Santillana 440 *Ca singular, non comuna, Vos amo toda la gente, En virtudes exellente, De beldades la colupna*. Pedro Torrellas (C. Stúñiga 399) *la condicion . . . comuna : repuna*. Diego de Sevilla (Gallardo I 461) *comuna obseruancia*. Martin Garcia, Chaton (1467) 769 *tu cosa comuna: ninguna*; 1551 *quando vee la fortuna a muchos ser* (l. *seyer*) *comuna*. Caveda 302 (s. xix) *Una mujer homilde compañera, Cuala ye la Sabina*. La Olla asturiana 101 *pongo una condicion.—¿ Cuala ye?* Lopez Allué, Capuletos y Montescos 307 *¿ no sabis la novedá ? — Cuála ? — insistió á su vez Raimunda*. Blasco, Cuentos aragoneses I 77 *bien podia usté hacer una obra é caridá.—¿ Cuála ?* (Nach *cuala* dann *cualo*: Vigón, Juegos y Rimas infantiles recogidos en . . . Villaviciosa, Colunga y Caravia 147 *¿Cuálo quiés más Tocar ó llorar?* Saroïaudy, Anuuaire Ec. Haut. Et., 1898, S. 92 *cualo quiés ?* Lopez Allué 158 *Pero . . . hay un inconveniente—¿ Cualo ?* Blasco II 7 *Y cuálos son los cocheros ?*) Betreffs prov. *quala, qualas* s. Jeanroy-Teulié, *Mystères prov.* xl. Caveda 70 (s. xvii) *¿ Mas q'importa si ye la žente tala Que . . . ?* Quatorze Romances judéo-espagnols, Rev. hispanique x 600 *tala hora*; 603 *tala hermosura*. (Caveda 198 (s. xix) *¡ Ay, que talu está !*) Betreffs prov. *tala* s. Jeanroy-Teulié l. c. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 17 *á la iguala : declara ;* 78 item: *crara, serviciala, seglar* bei Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* § 178. Libros de Astr. I 32 *otrossí este galápagos muéuese muy mal á nadar et muy grauamiente. á semejante de*

*cosa pesada.* Crón. S. Juan de la Peña 100 *ya sea que fues* (sc. la muller del Conte) *dolenta et despagada.* Prov. *dolenta*, Bertran von Born, h. v. Stimming, 1892, S. 92, 24. Vgl. für das Katalanische Nonell y Mas, *Gram.*<sup>2</sup> 134. Fuero Navarra 84 a *por simpla palabra*. Endlich noch ein Beispiel, das Baist § 61 einschränkt, La Olla ast. 90 *Dióme Dios una suegra tan ruina y bruxa, que . . .*

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## TWO SHAKESPEARE NOTES.

### (1) Double time scheme in *Othello*.

Cassio's answer to Bianca's "What, keep a week away?" has sometimes been overlooked in discussions of the relation of this passage (*Othello* III, 4, 172 ff.) to the duration of time in the play. His answer, "I have this while with leaden thoughts been pressed," makes it necessary that the week's lapse of time should occur, if anywhere, between the brawl and the temptation scenes, for Cassio was certainly not oppressed with leaden thoughts before the brawl. Professor Bradley's suggestion (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, Note 1) that an interval might occur between the arrival in Cyprus and the brawl would seem to be untenable in the light of this remark to Bianca.

### (2) Sonnet 8, and Mr. William Hughes, musician.

The sane explanation of the Dedication of the Sonnets is that Mr. W. H. is the man to whom the sonnets are addressed. Professor Bradley in his lecture, *Shakespeare the Man* (*Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 332), has shown that Mr. W. H. was probably a "plain Mr. W. H." and not far superior to Shakespeare in rank. Sonnets 20, 135, 136, and 143 would indicate that Mr. W. H. was Mr. William Hughes. Mr. Sidney Lee has discovered that there lived in Shakespeare's London a musician whose name was William Hnghes. The eighth sonnet, "Music to hear, why hear'st thou music sadly?" has far greater significance if we may assume that it is addressed to a musician. The poet urging his friend to

marry, writes (l. 1): "O thou who art musical, why wilt thou refuse to hear of marriage, which itself is music?" and (l. 3): "Why if thou lov'st music, wilt thou not receive gladly the idea of marriage?" Lines 5 and 6, taken alone, seem to be addressed to one who dislikes music, but however we interpret the sonnet we are forced to interpret these two lines as a generalisation, not a particular address to Mr. W. H., for the whole point of the sestet is lost unless we assume that the person addressed is, at least, a music lover.

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## THE BOLD PRISONER.

(ARCHIE O CAWFIELD).

The following ballad, a version of *Archie o Cawfield*, Child, No. 188, forms the first column of a broadside printed by Pitts probably in 1804-5. The date, my friend Professor Becker thinks, is fairly sure from a song printed on the same sheet as a second column. This song, *The Land we Live in*, begins :

Since our foes to invade us have long been preparing,  
'Tis clear they consider we've something worth sharing,  
And for that mean to visit our shore;  
It behoves us with spirit to meet 'em,  
And tho' 'twill be nothing uncommon to beat 'em,  
We must try how they'll take it once more.

The first three lines of the second stanza read :

Here's a health to the tars on the wide ocean ging (*sic*),  
Perhaps even now some broadsides are exchanging,  
We'll on shipboard and join in the fights.

This doggerel is so limited as to occasion that it hardly seems probable that it would continue to be printed long after the specific scare was over. Each column of the broadside has its own wood-cut, each much worn. That for *The Bold Prisoner* is a picture of a man carrying a basket. It is framed in a double lined circle an inch and a half in diameter.

This broadside is at present in my possession; I obtained it last summer in London with several others. I did not suppose that any were of value and gave the lot no particular attention. It was not much over a month ago that I first read this

specimen and perceived it as traditional. I sent a copy to Professor Kittredge, who of course recognized it as a version of *Archie o Cawfield*. My broadside is most like Professor Child's version F, III, 494. My copy is much shorter, but this may be due to the stall trick of cutting a ballad to fit the column. There are no identical stanzas though four are very similar, and it is to be further noted that the title of F, as given by Mr. Watson, is *Bold Dickie*, Child, III, 495, E (= F). Nevertheless the treatment, it seems to me, is independent enough in F and in the following copy to permit one's considering them independent versions.

The Bold Prisoner,<sup>1</sup>

Pitts, Printer, Wholesale Toy and Marble warehouse, 6, Great st. Andrew street, 7 dials.

As I was a walking for my recreation,  
Across the green meadows one morning in May ;  
There I heard two brothers a talking,  
And I listened awhile to what they did say.  
  
Says one to the other, 'I have got a brother,  
In prison so strong confined is he ;  
But if I had forty brave fellows like myself,  
We soon would set the bold prisoner free.  
  
'Ten of them should hold our horses head,  
Ten at the prison door should be,  
And ten should guard the prison all round,  
While the rest should set the bold prisoner free.'

Dicky broke locks, and Dicky broke bolts,  
And Dicky made all before him to flee,  
And Dicky took Arthur all up in his arms  
And carried him off most manfully.

Dicky looked over his left shoulder,—  
'You little do think what I do see ;  
Here comes the bold sheriff of bonny down dale  
And a hundred bold traps in company.'  
  
'O stop, O stop,' the sheriff he cries,  
'O stop, O stop, whosoever you be ;  
Only give us the irons from off his legs,  
And you may have the bold prisoner free.'  
  
'O no, O no, you are vastly mistaken,  
O no, O no, that never can be ;  
The irons will serve to shoe our horses,  
For we have a farrier in our company.  
  
'O I will leave houses and I will leave lands,  
I will leave wives and children three ;  
But before I'd leave my own dearest brother,  
I sooner would die under yonder green tree.'

<sup>1</sup> In the broadside, quotation marks are lacking and the punctuation is very faulty. Otherwise no changes have been made.

To dancing, to dancing they went,  
To dancing they went most merrily :  
'Twas the very best dance that ever they had,  
Because they had set the bold prisoner free.

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AN INDEBTEDNESS OF NERO TO  
THE THIRD PART OF KING  
HENRY SIXTH.

That the anonymous tragedy *Nero*, published 1624, owes the conception of one scene and of a passage in another to the chronicle history, *The Third Part of King Henry Sixth*, attributed to Shakespeare, and acted about 1592, can easily be established. The resemblances which lead one to suspect an indebtedness are not literal to any great extent, but are such as show that, in the matter of situation in one scene and that of sentiment in another, the unknown dramatist had in mind the old play.

In Act III, Sc. 4, of *Nero*<sup>1</sup> the scene is the "house of Maecenas : the street below." Nero enters "above with a timbrel." He makes a speech in which he compares burning Rome and burning Troy, and identifies himself with Pyrrhus. As he concludes a woman enters with her dead child and bewails its death. Nero comments upon this :

"Ay, now begins the scene that I would have."

Then a man enters, "bearing a dead body," that of his father. The man and the woman speak alternately, each mourning his loss. Nero comments twice upon the scene. Finally, after each of the mourners has cursed Nero, the two retire with their dead. After a speech by Nero in which he gloats over the burning city, Neophilus enters, crying to the Emperor to save himself, "Your palace burns!" Upon the heels of Neophilus comes Tigellinus who confirms the news, and in his anxiety to save his master, forces him from the stage.

<sup>1</sup> Mermaid Series. *Nero and other Plays*, p. 48. Edited by Herbert P. Horne.

Upon examination of *The Third Part of King Henry Sixth*, Act II, Sc. 5,<sup>2</sup> a situation is found similar to that just described. The battle of Tewton is being fought. King Henry, "chid from the battle," seats himself "on a molehill," and soliloquizes. At the end of the speech, "enter a son that has killed his father, dragging in the body." He recognizes the dead man when he begins to search his, the latter's, clothing. The recognition and resulting outcry draw a sympathetic speech from the King.

As Henry ceases speaking, a father enters, "that has killed his son, bringing in the body." In a manner similar to that by which the first soldier recognizes his victim, the father learns he has slain his son. After the filicide has finished his first lamentation, Henry deplores the sad condition of the country.

Then the father and son speak alternately, each mourning his dead, and the King laments his "subjects' woe."

The two men bear away the bodies. Henry speaks of his own sad condition. He is interrupted by the Queen, Prince Edward and Exeter. They inform him of the Lancastrian defeat, and to prevent his capture force him from the stage.

Summing up the scenes under discussion, these resemblances may be noted. In one case an Emperor, in the other a King is on the stage while a terrible event is taking place at a little distance. Each character makes a speech indicative of his character; the contrast, however, between the two is of no great importance.

After the opening speeches of the respective rulers, there enter, in one play a mother carrying the body of her dead child, and in the other a son who has killed his father, and who drags the body after him. Each laments his loss in one speech, and each royal personage comments upon the sight. Then there enter, in *Nero*, a son whose father has been burned to death, and in *Henry Sixth*, a father who has killed his son; each brings his dead upon the stage.

Then the survivors, speaking alternately in both plays, mourn their losses. In the speech of the Man (*Nero*, Act III, Sc. 4) occur these words,

"Why were thy years lengthened so long as to cut off so untimely?"

<sup>2</sup> The Cambridge Shakespeare. Vol. v, p. 310. Second Edition. Edited by William Aldis Wright.

In the father's speech (*Henry Sixth*, Act II, Sc. 2) are these verses,

"Thy father gave thee life too soon,  
And hath bereft thee of thy life too soon."

Here seems a verbal indebtedness of *Nero* to the old play.

The Emperor and the King are each given two speeches before the other characters go off. When both are alone, each has a soliloquy. As each finishes his lines, each is apprised of his personal danger, by the entrance of followers or relatives, and each is hurried away, one to escape from his burning palace, the other from the victorious Yorkists.

The second point of resemblance in the two plays is of sentiment only. Nero has a speech (Act IV, Sc. 1) which is modeled upon the soliloquy of King Henry at the beginning of the scene just discussed. Caesar has learned of the conspiracy of Piso and Lucan, and has given appropriate orders to Tigellinus. He is alone upon the stage. He then utters a soliloquy for which Bullen finds a source in Juvenal (*Satires* vi, xi, 3, 4, 7-8; *Satires* x, xi, 99-102).

However, the passage in question seems a summary of King Henry's speech. The author of *Henry Sixth* has treated the theme more elaborately, but there is still the same fundamental idea in both; that is, that a ruler is not secure; that it is safer to be a shepherd; that the rich canopies or proud roofs of Kings do not cover such peaceful joys as do sedgy cottages or the hawthorne bush. Henry wishes he were a shepherd; Nero, that he were a magistrate in an obscure village. The relative height of the desired social positions does not matter; taking into consideration the two men, it is evident that they desire the same thing: not only relief from kingly cares and dangers, but seclusion and obscurity.

To the resemblances which I have stated above may be added the fact that the entire scene of *Henry Sixth* has been used in *Nero*. The opening soliloquy has been cut down and imitated very closely and the remainder of the scene used in a different act and scene of *Nero*, the soliloquy in Act IV, Sc. 1, and the following part, composing the entire scene, in Act III, Sc. 4.

## GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

*Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit* unter Mitwirkung von HJALMAR FALK gänzlich umgearbeitet von ALF TORP (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* von AUG. FICK. 4. Aufl., III. Teil). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909.

Every one interested in IE. filology in general and in Germ. filology in particular will hail this book with delight. The authors, who are well known for their *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske sprog*, a book that has just suffered a translation into German, are in every way equipt for the task. Unfortunately, however, they give but very few references, and those not always the correct ones. It is hoped that the following notes will supply some slight deficiencies and add to the value of the book.

Passing over in silence a considerable number of omissions in the book, I give here only those words whose explanation is mine, or at least corresponds to mine, or which I explain differently. Much might have been added on this point especially in the definitions given.

Some objection might be made to the manner of writing the Germ. forms. E. g. why inf. *keusan*, but pp. *kuzana*, since both have the suf. *-ono-*? And why such forms as *kremp*, *sprent*? For it is certain that IE. *e* before a nasal combination became *i* in Germ. time. Otherwise IE. *-énk-* would not have become *-ih-*.

2. To *aiviskia* add OE. *āwīs-firina* 'notorious sinner,' *āwan* (\**aivjan*) 'contemn, scorn' (*MLN.* XVI, 309). Strike out LG. (nnd.) *eisk*, *aisch* 'fürchterlich, etc.'; MLG. *eisk*, *eislīk* 'schrecklich; hässlich,' *eisen* 'grauen, schaudern,' OHG. *egisōn*, *agisōn* 'erschrecken,' *egislīh*, *ekislīh*, MHG. *egeslich*, *eislich* 'schrecklich,' Goth. *agis* 'Furcht,' etc.

3. If *idala* in OE. *idel* 'empty, desolate, destitute, useless, vain, idle,' etc., is related to Gk. *ἴθαπός* 'rein, heiter,' then it seems to me that 'pure, clear' came from 'free from, empty,' rather than the reverse.

*aibra* 'bitter, heftig': early NHG. *yfer* 'Eifer-

sucht' (Weigand<sup>b</sup> s. v. *Eifer*): Gk. *ἴπος* 'trap, press, burden,' *ἴπτωμα* 'press hard, afflict, distress.'

7. Under *ak* 2, the combination OE. *acan* 'ake': Skt. *āgas* 'Schuld, Sünde,' Gk. *ἄγος* 'guilt' should be credited to me (cf. *AJP.* 27, 59). To these I also added Lat. *eges-tas*, *egeo*.

10. *adela*, *adelan* may rather be combined with Gk. *ἄσις* 'slime,' *ἄσιος* 'slimy' (*Pub. MLA.* XIV, 316).

16. From *am* 'drängen' strike out *amita* 'beständig,' OHG. *emiz*. The word is properly speld with *-mm-*: *emmiz*, *emmizig*. These I derive from \**amwiz(ig)*, \**an(t)-wiz(ig)*, translating *ἐπιούσιος*, with assimilation of *nw-* to *-mw-*, *-mm-*, and then simplification to *-m-*, as in \**fram-wert*, *frammerc*, *fram(m)ort*. Compare especially *prooth unseer emezihic* (St. Galler Paternoster), *pilipi unsraz emizzigaz* (Freis. Paternoster), *broot unseraz emetzigaz* (Weiss. Cat.) 'panem nostrum cotidianum' with *prōt unseraz taga-wizzi* 'panem nostrum cotidie' (Ambr. Hymn.). The *\*-wiz(ig)* in *em-(m)iz(ig)* and the *-wizzi* in *taga-wizzi* are from the verb OHG. *ar-wizzan* 'weggehen,' OS. *gi-witan* 'gchen,' etc. Hence *emiz(ig)* meant primarily 'coming again, recurring,' and then 'perpetual, continuous, diligent,' just as *tagawizzi* meant 'coming daily' (cf. *Americana Germ.* III, 309 f.).

23. With Germ. *ē-* (p. 23), *ō* (28) compare Lat. prep. *ē*, prefix *ē-* 'ex,' Gk. *ἀ-* in *ἀχρός* 'pale, sallow,' *ἀχρωμα* 'paleness' (: *χρῶμα* 'skin, color,' compare OE. *ā-hīw* 'paleness': *hīw* 'color'), *ἀ-ρῦγη* 'howl': Lat. *ē-rūgo* 'belch forth,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*,<sup>1</sup> 102).

36. Instead of *kōnia* 'der etwas kennt (und kann)' I should write *kōnu* 'sharp, keen' (OHG. *kuono*, *kuon-heit*, *kuon-rāt*, MHG. *kuone-zorn*, *kuon-rich*), and compare Gk. *γωνία* 'corner, angle,' Skt. *jānu* 'knee,' etc. (*MLN.* XXII, 235 f.).

39. With *karska* 'munter, frisch' compare also Skt. *gard-* 'frohlocken,' *gárdā* 'geil,' *gṛtsa-s* 'rasch, geschickt, gewandt, klug,' and Icel. *kræfur* 'strong,' OHG. *kraft*, etc. (*MLN.* XX, 43).

<sup>1</sup> Color-Names and their Congeners. A Semasiological Investigation by Francis A. Wood. Halle, 1902.

42. *ki* 'keimen' ('spring apart, burst') and *ki* 'spalten, seitwärts ausweichen' may be combined under an IE. root *ǵei-* 'move suddenly, quickly, jerk; spring, spring apart': Bal. *zinay* 'au sich reissen, hastig ergreifen,' Skt. *jináti* 'raubt, bedrückt,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 53 f.).

45. To *ku*, *kaujan* 'rufen' add MHG. *kütz* 'Kauz,' OE. *cýta* 'Rohrdommel; Weihe,' NE. *kite*, Lith. *gaudžiù*, *gaūsti* 'in langgezogenen Tönen heulen, wehklagen,' Lett. *gaudūt* 'heulen, wehklagen' (*PBB*. xxiv, 529).

*kümia* 'schwach, elend' does not belong to the above, but to *ku* 'sich wölben' (better 'sich biegen'). See *PBB*. xxiv, 530, where also I give *kauern*: Gk. *γύρως* 'rund, gekrümmt, gebückt,' and *MLN*. xix, 1 ff., where many derivatives of this root are discussed.

48. On the roots *kno*, *kni*, *knu* with their derivatives cf. *IE*.<sup>2</sup> *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*, 94 ff.

51. *kragan* 'Hals, Kragen' may come rather from 'bend, turn,' and be related to OHG. *krāgo* 'Haken,' ON. *kringr* 'rund; biegsam,' MHG. *krinc*, -*ges* 'Kreis, Ring,' etc. Compare especially MHG. *krage* 'Hals, Nacken, Kragen; Gekröse.' Gk. *βρόγχος* may have *IE*. *b-*, and may come from the primary meaning 'prest together.' In that case compare Goth. *anapraggan* 'bedrängen,' MHG. *phrange* 'Einengung,' Sw. *prang* 'enge Gasse, Schlund,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*<sup>2</sup> 12). For *krage*: *krāgo* see *IF*. xviii, 35.

*kredō*, *krudō* 'kröte' probably goes back to the meaning 'rough, scabby.' Cf. OHG. *krazzōn* 'kratzen,' MHG. *kretze* 'Krätze,' and for meaning Lett. *kraupis* 'Krätze, böser Hautausschlag: Kröte' (cf. *Color-Names*, 6).

*krabban* 'Krebs, Krabbe' may better be referred to *krēb*, *krab* 'sich zusammenziehen, steif werden.' Cp. especially Norw. *krav* 'crust of ice,' *krave* 'crust over with ice' (*MLN*. xxiv, 48).

53. (*kru*) 1. 'krümmen' should rather be defined '(sich) zusammenziehen.' To this belongs *krūdan* 'drängen,' which is given under (*kru*) 3. And these may be referred to (*ker*) 6. 'zsfassen' (or rather '(sich) zziehen, -drängen'). Compare Norw. dial. *kryda* 'stimle sammen, flokke sig;

*vrimle*; glide langsamt,' 'crowd together; swarm; go along slowly' (almost = 'creep'); *krøyma* 'drage sig sammen, krybe sammen'; *krjuka* 'trække sig sammen, krybe sammen'; *krysja* 'knuse, klemme,' *krøys* 'klynge, dyngé'; OE. *criepan* 'contract, clench,' *creopen* 'creep,' etc. with Gk. *ἀγέπω* 'bring together,' *γάρυαρα* 'heap,' Skt. *grāma-s* 'Schar, Haufe,' Lith. *gretà* 'dicht zusammen,' Norw. dial. *krade* 'crowd,' OE. *corpor* 'herd,' etc. (cf. *IE*. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*, 100 ff.).

55. With (*klēt*, *klat*) 'kleben; zsballen' ep. *klöt* in MDu. *cloet* 'Ruderstange,' ON. *klót* 'Schwertknauf': Lat. *gladius*.

56. For OE. *clíngan* 'contract': MHG. *klinge* 'Talschlucht,' *klinge* 'Schwertklinge' see *MLN*. xxi, 227 ff. For various IE. bases *glex-*, *gleix-*, *gleux-* see *IF*. xviii, 40 ff., and *IE*. *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*, 96 ff.

58. For *kliban* 'kliben,' OE. *a<sup>x</sup>-clípan* 'adhere': *clāp* 'cloth,' MHG. *kleit* 'kleid' (cf. *IF*. xviii, 44).

60. For *kveþu*, *kveþra* 'Bauch, Mutterschoss': OE. *ewidele* 'swelling, boil,' etc., see *MLN*. xix, 2.

For (*kved*) 'quetschen': Lith. *gendù* 'gehe entzwei, verderbe' see *MLN*. xvii, 9.

64. *haiha* 'einäugig oder blödsichtig' may be referred to *hai* 'schlagen.'

70. With *henþan* 'erjagu, fangen' compare Lett. *censzū-s* 'strenge mich an,' root *qen-* 'hasten, strive after, catch,' Gk. *ἔγκοντε* 'hasten, be active,' *κόνει* · *σπεῦδε*, *τρέχε*, etc. (cf. *Class. Phil.* v, 303).

88. (*hi*) 2. 'etwa scheinen.' The various meanings given hereunder could not come from 'shine.' I refer these words to Skt. *çiyatē* 'fällt aus, ab, zerfällt, schwindet.' As in many other cases 'vanish,' when applied to the sky, means 'serene, clear, bright, etc.'; applied to the color of the skin or color in general, it meant 'pale, sallow, livid, gray, etc.' (cf. *Color-Names*, 99 f.).

89. (*hig*) 'schwer atmen, trachten': OE. *higian* 'strive for, be intent on,' NE. *hie*, etc. come better from the meaning in Skt. *çighrá-s* 'rasch, schnell' (cf. Kluge and Lutz, *Eng. Et.*, 105). Cp. Germ. *hīb*, *hīp*, *hipp* 'sich schnell bewegen: schnappen, nach Luft schnappen; trachten, streben, etc.:' Skt. *çibhya-s* 'rasch fahrend' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* v, 265).

<sup>2</sup> Indo-European *a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*. A Study in Ablaut and in Wordformation by Francis A. Wood. Strassburg, 1905.

95. *huf, hub* 2., *heufan* ‘wehklagen’ may be derived from pre-Germ. *qeup-* ‘in heftiger Aufregung scin’: Skt. *cópati* ‘bewegt sich, röhrt sich,’ *kápyati* ‘wird erschüttert, wallt auf,’ *kópa-s* ‘Aufwallung, Zorn,’ etc.

96. For *hnai* ‘wiehern’: IE. *kni, knéi* ‘kratzen, schaben’ see *Color-Names*, 108.

97. On *hnakka(n), hnekkan* ‘Nacken’: Gk. *κνώσσω* ‘nod, slumber’ cf. *IF*. xviii, 30.

101. *hreh* ‘(das Gewebe fest) schlagen,’ ON. *hráell* ‘weaver’s rod,’ etc., OE. *hrægel* ‘Kleid,’ etc. I long ago compared with Gk. *κρέκω* ‘strike, beat; strike the web, weave; strike a stringed instrument, play,’ *κερκίς* ‘weaver’s comb, radius, plectrum,’ *κρόκη* ‘woof, west.’ Here also ON. *hrang* ‘Lärm,’ *hringia* ‘läuten,’ etc. (cf. *Americana Germ.* III, 322; *Color-Names*, 115).

105. For *hris, hrisjan* ‘schütteln’: Lat. *crispus, crisiare* cf. IE. *ax : axi : axu*, 89.

106. *hrōpan* ‘rufen,’ OE. *hrōpan* ‘shout, howl, scream,’ etc., I compare with ON. *hrapa* ‘rush, hasten,’ *hrapað-ligr* ‘hasty, violent,’ *-liga* ‘noisily, boisterously’ (*Color-Names*, 115). So also *hrat* 1. ‘taumeln, schwanken, fallen’ and (*hrat*) 2. ‘rasseln, (toben)’ are combined *Wb.*, III<sup>t</sup>, 101.

*hrōfa* ‘Dach’ can hardly come from IE. *krāpo* or from the meaning ‘Geflecht.’ It is rather from the meaning ‘spred out loosely, construct loosely’: ON. *hräft* ‘loose layer of anything,’ *hrófl* ‘loose pile,’ *hrófla* ‘pile up loosely,’ *hrōf, hráf* ‘shed’ (IE. *ō : ē*), *hrófa* ‘construct carelessly,’ etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 71; IE. *ax* etc., 92). For a different explanation of *hrōta* ‘Dach’ see *ibid.*

108. *hrud* 2. ‘laden, schmücken’ in OE. (*ge*)*hroden* ‘loaded; adorn,’ etc. I had earlier compared with Lith. *kráustau* ‘lade, packe,’ *kráudinu* ‘lasse laden oder packen,’ *kráuju* ‘setze oder lege aufeinander, packe, lade,’ etc., Gk. *κόρψ*, acc. *κόρυδα, κόρυν* ‘helmet,’ *κορύσσω* ‘equip, arm, rüsten,’ *κορνυτός* ‘heapt up,’ etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 70 f.; IE. *ax* etc., 92; *Mod. Phil.* v, 276 f.).

109. Under *hrus* 2. ‘zermalmen’ are given ON. *hreysar* f. pl. ‘Steinhaufe,’ LG. *rūse* ‘Haufe,’ etc. They should be referred to *hru* 3. ‘häufen,’ from which come ON. *hraun* ‘Steinhaufen,’ *hrúga, hraukr* ‘Haufe,’ OE. *hrēac*

‘heap, hayrick,’ Ir. *cruach* ‘Kornhaufe’: Lith. *krūvà* ‘ein Haufen übereinanderliegender Dinge, etc.’ Cf. the preceding.

117. On *hvelma* cf. *MLN.* xxiv, 48 (Feb., 1909).

119. *galīka* ‘gleich’ is explained in the old way: ‘dieselbe Gestalt habend.’ See on this word *MLN.* xxi (1906), 39 f.

129. To *gerdan* ‘gürten’ add Av. *zrāðō* ‘Kettenpanzer,’ NPers. *zirih* ‘Panzer’ (cf. *Mod. Phil.* vi, 448).

132. With *gelpan* ‘tönen, schallen’ are doubtfully compared Lith. *gulbē*, Pruss. *gulbis* ‘Schwan.’ This combination is better made thru the meaning ‘bright’ in OHG. *gelph* ‘lustig, lebhaft; von hellglänzender Farbe, strahlend,’ as given in *Color-Names*, 28, 36.

133. On *ga, gi, gu* ‘gähnen’ and their derivatives cf. IE. *ax : axi : axu*, 104 ff. The various meanings appear in Lat. *hiäre* ‘open, yawn, gape: be eager, long for; send forth from the open mouth: spew out, bawl out, utter.’

136. The words given under (*gug*) 2. ‘etwa laut lachen’ are better referred to the meaning ‘move rapidly back and forth: look about; flicker,’ IE. root *ǵhuqʷ-* in Gk. *παφάσσω* ‘bewege mich schnell, zucke, blicke wild umher,’ *διαφάσσειν* · *διαφάνειν*, φώψ · φάος (Hes.), Lat. *fax, facula, faciēs*, Lith. *žvākė* ‘Licht’ (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.*, 202 with lit.). Here belong OHG. *gougorōn*, HMG. *gougern* ‘umherschweifen,’ *gogel* ‘ausgelassen,’ *gogeln* ‘sich ausgelassen geberden, hin und her flattern,’ *gougel, goukel* ‘närrisches Treiben, Possen, Zauberei,’ *gougelære*, OHG. *goukalāri* ‘Zauberer, Gaukler,’ OE. *gēoglere* ‘magician,’ *gēaglisc* ‘frolicsome, wanton,’ MHG. *gugen* ‘schwanken,’ *gucken, gücken* ‘neugierig schauen, gucken,’ *giege* ‘Narr,’ *gouch* ‘Kuckuck, Narr, Gauch,’ etc. (cf. *Color-Names*, 51 f.; IE. *ax* etc., 106).

138. On (*gra, grē*; *gri*; *gru*) ‘(zer)reiben’ and their derivatives see *Mod. Phil.* i, 235–45, and IE. *ax* etc., 109 ff. Here belong *grēwa-, grīsa-* ‘grau,’ primarily ‘streaked,’ ‘gestreift.’

144. With *grisan* ‘schaudern’ cp. Skt. *hrīś* ‘Scham,’ *jihṛēti* ‘schämt sich,’ base *għrei-s-*, with which cp. *għeres-* in Skt. *hársatē, hr̥syati* ‘wird starr, sträubt sich, schaudert, ist erregt,’ Lat. *horreo*, etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.* v, 265).

With *grōan* 'wachsen' cp. Lett. *ja'rūt* 'Äste treiben; Strahlen werfen,' *ja'rs* 'Zweig,' Lith. *žerēti* 'strahlen,' etc. (*Color-Names*, 38; *IE. ax* etc., 107).

145. To *greutan* 'zerreihen' belong MHG. *griezen* 'zermalmen; streuen, schütten,' Norw. dial. *gryta* 'kaste, især stene; slænge om sig store ord, tale høit og dominerende, braute,' 'throw, esp. stones; talk in a high and domineering tone, boast,' OE. *grēotan*, OS. *griotan* 'weinen': Lith. *graudoju* 'jammere, wehklage,' etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.* i, 241 f.).

150. On (*ta*), (*ti*) 'teilen, zerteilen, zerstreuen' and their derivativs cf. *IE. ax* etc., 67 ff.

On (*tai*, *tī*) 'wirbeln' cf. *Pub. MLA.*, xiv, 334, and *PBB.* xxiv, 533.

164. The combination *titrōn* 'zittern': Gk. διδράσκω 'run' is found in *Pub. MLA.*, xiv (1899), 340.

165. *tūna* 'Zaun' is better referd to *tu* 'ziehen,' on which with its derivativs sec *MLN.* xvi (1901), 17 ff.

With (*tu*) 2. 'schädigen' I compare Gk. δέομαι 'lack, want,' δέομαι 'want, need, ask,' Skt. *dōṣa-s* 'Fehler, Schaden, Mangel,' *dūṣyati* 'verdirbt, wird schlecht,' *dus-* 'übel-, miss-,' Gk. δύσ-, etc., OE. *týran*, *tēorian* 'fail, fall short; tire,' etc. (*MLN.* xvi, 17).

169. *tregan* 'träge werden' etc. may be compared with Lat. *traho* 'draw, drag, prolong,' from \**drāhō* (*Class. Phil.* v, 307).

170. With (*tras*) 'zerreissen' cp. Skt. *drāḍatē* 'spaltet' (-d- from -zd-).

174. *tvīþōn* 'gewähren' I derive from *duei-* in Lat. *beo* 'gladden, rejoice, refresh; present with, reward with, enrich,' etc. (*Mod. Phil.* iv, 499).

178. On *þen* 'dehnen' and derivativs cf. *MLN.* xix, 1.

179. Under (*þenh*) 1. 'zsziehen, fest sein' are given ON. *þél* (\**þenhla-*) 'geronnene Milch,' Skt. *takrá-* 'Buttermilch,' for which cf. *IE. ax* etc., 57.

182. *þerf* 'bedürfen' and *þerb* 'erstarren' are fully discuss in *MLN.* xx, 102 ff., xxii, 119 ff.

184. *þinan* 'feucht werden, schmelzen': Gk. τῆλος 'thin stool,' ChSl. *tajati* 'sich auflösen, schmelzen,' etc., should be credited to me (cp.

*AJP.* xxii, 180 f.). To my combinations Lidén, *IF.* xix, 356 f. (not *BB.* xix, 356) addcd other words.

185. *þeudō* 'Volk' probably does not belong to (*þu*) 1. 'schwellen, stark, dick sein,' tho this is a combination that I formerly made. But here may belong OHG. *ki-thuuathit*, *ca-duaudit* 'exaggerat' (cf. *AJP.* xx, 269).

*þeudian* 'deuten' in OHG. *diutēn* 'verständlich machen, (an)zeigen' from *githiuti* 'aufmerkend, verstehend,' 'Deuten, Hindeuten; Deutung, Ausdeutung,' MHG. *un-gediute* 'unachtsam,' etc., does not come from 'volkstümlich machen.' It should be put under (*þu*) 2. 'Obacht geben': Lat. *tueor* (cp. *Mod. Phil.* v (1907), 280).

186. (*þuk*) 1. 'nebeln,' pre-Ger. *tu-g-*, may be referd to *þau* 'tauen.' Cp. *IE. tu-k* in Skt. *tōgatē* 'träufelt.'

On (*þuk*) 2. 'stossen' in ON. *þoka* 'rücken, schieben,' OE. *þocerian* 'umherlaufen' (and also NE. *thwack*): Skt. *tujáti*, *tuñjáti*, 'stösst, treibt an' (and also *tvángati* 'springt' (cf. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 16).

*þeutan* 'heulen' in MHG. *diezen* 'tosen, rauschen; schwollen, quellen, zucken,' etc., is approvingly referd to *þu* 1, 'schwellen.' This is my long despised explanation (cf. *AJP.* xx, 268 f.; *MLN.* xvi (1901), 307).

188. With *þurēn* 'wagen' cp. Skt. *turáti* *turáyati* 'drängt vorwärts,' *táratí*, *tíratí* 'macht durch,' etc. Similarly from *terei-*, *tri-stiō-* come OS. *thr̄sti* 'kühn, dreist.'

190. *þranha* 'faul, ranzig' probably belongs to *þrenhan* 'drängen.' For meaning cp. *MLG.* *wringen* 'zsdrehen, -pressen,' *wrenge* 'quetschen, stossen': *wrank* 'sauer, herbe, bitter, strenge,' *wrank* 'Ringen, Groll,' Lat. *rancor* (*Class. Phil.* iii, 83 f.).

191. *þrem* 'springen, hüpfen' may be in Goth. *þramstei* 'Heuschrecke,' but not in OS. *thriman*, which means rather 'swell,' primarily 'be compact, prest full.' Cp. MHG. *drinden* 'schwellend dringen, (an)schwollen,' MDU., *MLG.* *drinten*, OE. *þrintan* 'swell'; ON. *þryngua* 'drängen: anfüllen, anschwellen,' etc. (*Mod. Phil.* v, 288 f.).

*þrē-s*, *þras* 'schnauben, duften' contain the same root as *þrē* 'drehen,' OHG. *drāen* 'dre-

ben, wirbeln.' Cp. Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt': *dhūmā-s* 'Rauch, Dampf,' OHG. *toum* 'Dampf, Dunst, Duft, Geruch.'

193. *þrīban* 'greifen, refl. um sich greifen, gedeihen' is incorrectly defined. The primary meaning, 'press,' occurs in NWestFries. *trīu* (Siebs *Pauls Grdr.*, 1309), *triuwe* (Feitsma, *De Vlugge Fries*, 84) 'drücken,' OFries. \**thrīva*. From 'press' comes 'grasp,' and from 'press (itself) together, be compact' comes 'thrive.' Cp. for meaning Skt. *tanākti* 'ziebt zusammen': OHG. *gidīhan* 'gedeihen.' Outside of Germ. a root *treip-* 'press' can be assumed for Lith. *trypiù* 'trete, stampfe' (ep. OE. *þrycean* 'press: trample'), Lett. *trēpju* 'beschimiere,' i. e. 'press, rub' (cf. *MLN.* xviii, 16; *IE.* *ax:axi:azu* 62; *Mod. Phil.* vi, 443).

(*þru*) 1. in OHG. *drawan, drouwen* 'drohen,' etc., is compared with Gk. *τρίω* 'reibe auf, plage,' ChSl. *tryti* 'reiben,' an old combination of mine (cf. *MLN.* xvi (1901), 26; *IE.* *ax* etc. 64).

195. *þrutō* 'Keble' I should derive from 'narrow passage, Enge': Lat. *trūdo*.

197. *þwīnan* in OE. *þwīnan* 'dwindle, einschwinden,' etc., I compare with Gk. *στρωμα*, Aeol. *στρωμα* (\**τύνιομαι*) 'hurt, damage, waste, plunder,' etc., and with OE. *þwānan* 'moisten, soften,' OHG. *douwen* 'auftauern, zergehen,' Skt. *tōya-m* 'Wasser.' For meaning cp. Skt. *kṣārati* 'fliest, gleitet, schwindet; giesst, strömt aus,' Gk. *φθείρω* 'corrupt, spoil, ruin, kill.' Ir. *tīnaim* 'schwinde' I refer to OE. *þīnan* 'become moist,' ChSl. *tajati* 'sich auflösen, schmelzen, vergehen' (cf. *AJP.* xxI, 180 f.; *Mod. Phil.* v, 268). Cf. *þīnan* above.

For *þvit* in OE. *þwītan* 'cut, sbave off,' NWestFries. *twit* 'schueiden, schnitzen,' ON. *þueita* 'hauen,' etc.: Lith. *tvyc̄yju* 'schlage, stäupe,' *tvōju* 'prügele,' *tvýskinu* 'klopfe gewaltig an,' Gk. *σίω* 'swing, shake,' etc., cf. *IE.* *ax*, etc., 58 f.; *Mod. Phil.* iv, 499 f.

198. With *daila* 'Teil' ep. also OHG. *tīlōn*, *tīligōn*, OS. *far-dilicōn*, OE. *ā-dilgian* 'vertilgen' (cf. *MLN.* xxI, 39).

201. On (*dem*) 'stieben, rauchen, dampfen' and its derivativs cf. *Color-Names* 91.

202. On (*der*) 2. (nieder)halten, verbergen' in OS. *derni* 'verborgen,' etc.: Skt. *dhārāyati* 'hält, hält zurück, hemmt, unterdrückt' cf. *IE.*

*ax:axi:azu* 78 f. To these I add (*der, dar*) 3. 'schaden.'

On (*derb*) 'gerinnen, dick werden' cf. *AJP.* xx, 259.

205. On *dīkan* 'ins Werk setzen': Lat. *fingo* cf. *Mod. Phil.* iv, 490 f.

206. Under *dis-* 'Einsicht' in Goth. *filu-deisei* 'Schlaukeit' should be given Norw. dial. *dīsa* 'stirre (undrende, lurende),' 'stare' (cf. *MLN.* xxIII, 147).

On (*du*) 'schütteln; stieben, etc.' and its possible derivativs see *Color-Names* 88 ff.; *IE.* *ax*, etc., 74 ff.; *MLN.* xx, 41 f., xxII, 118 f.

217. *dvīnan* 'abnehmen, schwinden' is from \**dhūi-no-* 'shake, scatter, fall off, dwindle,' a derivativ of *dhūi-, dhū-jo-, dhou-jo-* in ON. *deyia* 'sterben,' *dīja* 'schütteln,' Skt. *dhūyātē* 'wird geschüttelt,' Lat. *suf-fio*, etc., from *dhū-*: Skt. *dhūnōti* 'schüttelt, schüttelt aus, ab, entfernt, beseitigt,' *dhvan-* 'erlöschen, schwinden, dunkeln,' Gk. *θαῦεῖν* 'die,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 103 f.; *IE.* *ax*, etc., 76).

229. On (*femf*) 'schwellen' in OE. *fīfel* 'monster, giant,' ON. *fīfl, fimbol-*, etc.: Lith. *pamplys* 'Dickbauch,' *pañpti* 'aufdunsten,' Lett. *pampt, pempt, pumpit* 'schwellen,' Gk. *πορφός* 'bubble, blister,' etc., cf. *MLN.* xxII (1907), 235.

234. With *farva* 'farbig' ep. rather Av. *pouru-śa-* 'scheckig, bunt,' Skt. *paru-sá-* 'knottig, uneben, schmutzig, fleckig, bunt,' *parus* 'Knoten, Gelenk, Abschnitt,' *párvan* 'Knoten,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 76).

235. With *fulka* 'Scbar, Volk' ep. Skt. *prājya-s* 'reichlich, viel' from \**plēgio-s*.

237. Under *felhan* 'bergen etc.' is given *fulgēn* 'folgen,' This connection is credited to Wiedemann, *PBB.* 28, 17. My explanation in *AJP.* xix (1898), 45 is exactly the same. I refer the words to a root *pelā-q-* 'approach; bring together.' Cp. esp., with Kluge, Skt. *prnākti* 'setzt in Verbindung, berührt,' OHG. *felhan* 'zsfügen,' OE. *feolan* 'adhere, apply oneself to, persevere in,' Skt. *upa-prc* 'put oneself close to, be near,' OHG. *folgēn* 'folgen': Gk. *πέλας* 'near,' etc.

252. On (*fli*) 'spalten, sich öffnen, entblösst werden' (or rather 'stretch out, spread out') and its derivativs cf. *IE.* *ax* etc. 49, and (for *flih* and *fliit*) *Mod. Phil.* iv, 491 f.

254. For *fleugan* 'fliegen': Lith. *plaukiù* 'schwimme' cf. *Color-Names* 19.

263. On (*ber*) 4., (*brē, bru*) 'wallen, sieden, brennen' cf. *Color-Names* 23 ff.

269. Under (*bi*) 'spalten' is given *Bild*, OHG. *piladi, bilidi*, etc. I agree with this but compare *Bild* with Ir. *bil, bile*, Welsh *byl* 'Rand,' as in MHG. *brem* 'Rand': Lat. *forma* (cf. *MLN.* xxiv, 47).

270. For a different explanation of the development in meaning in *bīdan* 'warten' see *Mod. Phil.* iv, 489 f. This I define 'hold, bear, endure, sustinere, ertragen; intr. hold, hold on, hinhalten, still halten,' IE. *bheidh-* 'drive, urge, compel, etc.; bear, hold, etc.'

274. With *bautan* 'stossen' cp. Lith. *baudžiù* 'strafe' (*MLN.* xv, 237; cf. *PBB.* 35, 164).

284. *blakōn* 'flackern' in ON. *blaka, blakra* 'hin und her schlagen,' etc.: Lat. *flagrum* is the same as *blek, blak, blenk* 'glänzen' (cf. *Color-Names* 22). From this should be separated *blaka* 'schwarz,' which is from pre-Germ. \**mlogo-*: Gk. ἀμολύός 'darkness,' ὁμολγῷ · ζόφῳ (Hes.), Ir. *melg* 'death' (cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* i (1898), 297; *Color-Names* 73).

285. *blandan* 'mischen,' *blind*, etc., are referred to an IE, *mlendh*. This I have long done, comparing Lett. *ma'lđit* 'irren, sich versehen,' *mu'lđet* 'herum irren' from *mel-* in ON. *milska* 'Mischung,' Lett. *me'lst* 'verwirrt reden,' Ir. *mel-laim* 'betrüge,' Lith. *mīlyju* 'verfehle, irre mich,' *mēlas* 'Lüge,' Gk. ἀμβλακίσκω 'fehle, irre,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 88, 109). Cp. also Gk. μελανθές · μέλαν (Hes.).

(*bles, blas*) 'weiss sein, leuchten' is unnecessarily separated from *blasen*. Cp. esp. OE. *blēs* 'blowing, blast,' *blēst* 'blast, flame, glare.' This is a common enough change in meaning. To *blē* 'blähen, blasen' also belongs *blē* 'blöcken.' Cp. Gk. φλέω 'gush out : babble, chatter.' On this group of words see *Color-Names* 20 ff.

286. *blaita* 'bleich' in OE. *blāt* 'pale, livid,' *blātian* 'be pale,' OHG. *pleiza* 'livor,' related to ChSl. *blēdū* 'bleich' and also Lith. *blaivas* 'hell, licht, nüchtern' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* i<sup>2</sup>, 718). I compare with Gk. φλιδάω (φλίω) 'overflow, flow out from,' φλοιδάω 'cause to swell or ferment, heat, scorch, burn.' From 'flow out' come

'clear up' in *blaivas*, and 'fade, become pale' in the other words (cf. *Color-Names* 21, 98.).

287. *blu* 1. 'schlagen, bläuen' I derive from IE. *mlu, mleu*: Goth. *gamalujan* 'zermalmen, zerstossen,' etc. (cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* i, 295 f.). To this I also added OHG. *blōdi* 'zerbrechlich : gebrechlich, schwach ; zaghaf,' etc., comparing ME. *melwe* 'mellow,' Skt. *malvā-s* 'unbesonnen, töricht,' Lith. *malvinu* 'mache zahm,' Gk. ἀμβλύς 'blunt, dull ; dull, obtuse ; dim, faint, weak ; spiritless, slack, sluggish,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xv, 326).

(*blu*) 2. 'weich sein,' however, is better referred to IE. *bhlu-*: Gk. φλέω 'gush, overflow,' φλύω, φλύζω 'overflow,' φλυδάω, φλυδαρός, etc. (*MLN.* xv, 326 f.).

288. *bleuhan* 'brennen': Gk. περι-φλεύω 'brenne ringsum' is found in *Color-Names* 21.

303. If (*mak*) 'machen' is compared with ChSl. *mazati* 'schmieren,' then certainly ON., NIcel. *maka* 'smear, grease' should be given here (cf. IE. *ax* : *axi* : *axu* 34).

313. To *marjan* 'hindern' cannot belong MHG. *merren* (wrongly for *merwen*) 'anbinden, anschirren; verbinden, vereinigen (zuo); verschwägern,' with which cp. Gk. μάρπιτω 'greife, fassc, packe,' βράψαι, βράξαι · συλλαβεῖν (cf. *MLN.* xxi, 41). They are, however, remotely related thru the root *mer* 'press, crush' (*ibid.* 40 f.; *Class. Phil.* iii, 76, 83).

317. For *melbō* 'Angeberei, Verleumdung': Ir. *mellaim* 'betrüge,' Lith. *mēlas* 'Lüge,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 88; *Mod. Phil.* v, 281 f.).

324. May not *mūla(n)* 'Maul' be rather related to Skt. *māuli-s* 'Spitze, Gipfel, Kopf,' Gk. μαυλίς 'Messer' (cf. *IF.* xviii, 33)?

327. To (*ja, je*) pron. dem. (rel.) add ON. *at* 'dass,' Germ. \**jat*: Skt. *yád* 'dass, so dass, damit' (cf. *AJP.* xxvii, 63).

330. (*juk*) 2. 'streiten' in Goth. *jiuka* 'Streit, Zank,' *jiukan* 'kämpfen' I compared with MHG. *jöuchen, jouchen* 'jagen, treiben,' Av. *yaozaiti* 'bewegt sich, zittert,' Arm. *yuzem* 'rege auf' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* ii (1905), 471; cf. also *AJP.* xix, 55, where OHG. *jucchen* 'jucken' is also given). This comparison is based on Persson, *Wz.* 44, who, however, compares *jiuka, jiukan* with Skt. *abhi-yuj-* 'angreifen.' P. 570 the comparison with Av. *yaozaiti*, Arm.

*yuzem* is credited to Holthausen, *KZ* xxxix, 327. H.'s explanation is in *IF*. xx (1907), 327, together with several other repeated etymologies.<sup>3</sup>

331. On (*rē*) 1, 'meinen' [or rather *rē*, *rēi* 'anordnen'] see *IE. ax : axi : axu* 43 f.

349. With *rukka(n)* 'Rocken' cp. also MDu. *raegh*, Du. *rag* 'Spinnengewebe,' OLG. *raginna* 'Haar,' OE. *ragu* 'lichen' (cf. *MLN.* xxiii, 149).

355. With *leuba* 'Lied' cp. OSlav. *ljutū*, Gk. *λύσσα*, Arc. *λευτός* 'wild' (*AJP.* xxii, 200; cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* xxx, 299, and Weigand *Ir*<sup>6</sup>, 67).

357. *lahan* 'tadeln' is better compared with Lat. *lacero* 'tear, mangle; censure, rail at,' Gk. *λάκος* 'rent,' Cypr. *ἀπέληκα* · *ἀπέρρωγα*, etc. (*MLN.* xiii (1898), 287).

262. *landa* 'Land,' primarily 'Tal' (: Pruss. *lindan* 'Tal') and *landī(n)* 'Lende,' i. e. 'Weiche' may be combined under a root *lendh* in Lith. *lendù* 'krieche,' *lāndyne* 'Winkel,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 16 f.). Cf. Lewy, *PBB.* xxxii (1906), 136.

364. To *lerta*, *lurta* 'link' add OE. *be-lyrtan* 'deceive.'

365. With *limu* 'Glied, Zweig' from *li* 'biegen' cp. Lat. *limus* 'schief' (*IE. ax : axi : axu* 38). Cp. Goth. *lipus* : Lat. *lituus* (Walde, *Et. Wb.* 345).

366. (*lik*) 1. is incorrectly defined 'gestalten, (nach)hilden.' From such a meaning how shall we explain Goth. *leikan* 'placere, gefallen,' OHG. *lichōn* 'polire, glätten,' MLG. *lik* 'eben, gerade, gerecht, billig,' Lith. *lygumà* 'ehen liegende Stelle, Ebene,' *lygis* 'Platte, Tonsur der Priester,' etc.? Cf. *MLN.* xxi, 39 f.

367. *lihv* means not only 'leihen' hut also 'leave, linquere.' Cp. OS. *lēhni* 'vergänglich,' OE. *lēne* 'temporary, transitory; frail, infirm; sinful.' These cannot come from 'lent,' which the OE. word also means.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. *IF.* xx, 317, ae. *džall* : gr. *θάλλω* (Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* xxvi (1901), 317; Wood, *Color-Names* 59) ; 322 *Kragen* : *Krug* (*IF.* xviii, 35); 324 ae. *tēorian* : gr. *δέσμωται*, ai. *dōga-s* etc. (*MLN.* xvi (1901), 17; here also OE. *tiedre*); 326, ae. *þyssa*, aisl. *þausn*, etc. : ai. *távas* (*AJP.* xx, 267 f.); 327, ae. *gētan* : lit. *žudýti* (*MLN.* xv (1900), 96); 329, gr. *πῦγη*, *πυγῶν*, lat. *pugnus* (*IF.* xviii, 29, tho I explain the meaning differently), etc.

368. *libēn* 'lehen' probably does not come from 'übrig sein' hut from 'hleihen.' It is true that ON. *lifa* means 'ührig sein, lehen.' But one meaning is not from the other hut both from 'remain, continue.' So NE. *live* 'wohnen, dauern, hleihen ; lehen.' It is altogether probable, therefore, that *live* comes from 'stick, cling, remain.' Cp. esp. ChSl. *ltpěti* 'anhangen, haften.'

*lība* 'Leben' and *lība* 'Leih' are not the same. On the latter see *MLN.* xxiv, 49.

*vaisundi* 'Lufttröhre, Speisröhre, [Ader]' should be referred to (*vis*) 2. 'etwa flüssig oder feucht sein' (cf. *Color-Names* 16).

387. With *vēnuma* 'glänzend' cp. Gk. *ἡν-οψ*, Hom. *φῆνοψ* 'leuchtend' (*Color-Names* 13).

392. For (*veb*) 3. 'Unsinn reden' : Lith. *vapēti* 'schwatzen, plappern,' etc., cf. *MLN.* xv (1900), 98.

401. *vulpu* 'Herrlichkeit' should not be put under (*vel*) 4. 'sehen' unless this is made identical with *vel* 2. 'winden ; drehen.' Cp. Skt. *vālati* 'sich wenden ; sich äußern, zeigen,' *valana-m* 'Wendung ; Wogen, Wallen ; Hervortreten, Sichzeigen' (cf. *Color-Names* 11).

403. For *valv(i)o* 'reseda luteola' : Lat. *lütum* cf. *Jour. Germ. Phil.* II, 213 ff.

407. With *vik* 'weichen' ['hewegen, sich hewegen'] cp. also Lat. *vigeo* 'he lively or vigorous; thrive,' *vigor* 'activity, force,' etc. : Skt. *vēga-s* 'heftige Bewegung, Andrang, Geschwindigkeit, Kraft, Wirkung,' etc. (*AJP.* xxvii, 60).

411. For *vīpla* 'Befleckung' : Lat. *vitium* cf. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 7. Cp. also OS. *in-wid* 'Bosheit, Tücke' (stem *widja-* = Lat. *vitio-*), OE. *in-widd* 'deceitful, wicked' (*AJP.* xxvii, 62).

413. With *vīla* 'List, Betrug' cp. Lat. *vīlis*, etc., Lith. *vēlù* 'wire,' root *wei-* 'hend, twist' (*MLN.* xvi (1901), 22 f.).

For *viska* 'Wisch' : Lith. *vīzgū* 'zittere' [and *viskiù* 'hebe,' Skt. *vēsatī* 'ist tätig, wirkt,' *vēskā-s* 'Schlinge zum Erwürgen,' Lat. *viscera*, etc., root *wei-s-* 'twist, whirl'] cf. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 8.

415. *vundra* 'Wunder' certainly belongs to *vend* 'wiuden, sich wenden.' Cp. OE. *windan* 'wind, twist, turn, move, delay, hesitate,' *gewand* 'being ashamed, hesitation,' *wandian* 'hesitate,

care for, regard, stand in awe of,' and, for meaning, OE. *wāfian* 'waver, hesitate, be amazed, wonder at, gaze in wonder at' (*MLN.* xv (1900), 98; cf. Skeat *s. v. wonder*).

417. For *vrempan* 'drehen, krümmen'; Gk. *πέμψω* 'umherdrehen' see *IF.* xviii, 13 f.

418. *vritan* 'ritzen, eiuritzen, schreiben' probably comes from pre-Germ. *yreid-* 'move to and fro, turn, rub, etc.' Cp. early LRh. *writen* 'drehen, verdrehen,' Du. *wrijten* 'zanken,' and, for meaning, MHG. *rīben* 'reibend wenden oder drehen, reibeu, schminken,' MLG. *wriven* reiben, wischen, scheuern, schleifen, zerreiben' (cf. *Mod. Phil.* iv, 494).

To *vrīban* 'drehen, winden, binden' add 'reiben, beschmieren': ON. *rīða* 'drehen, winden, binden; bestreichen, beschmieren,' N. Icel. 'knit, twist; rub, smear.' These two sets of meanings I at one time referred to different roots (cf. *Mod. Phil.* iv, 495), but now see from Sylt *wrīr* 'reiben' (Siebs, *Sylter Lustsp.* 221) that they go back to the same root *yreit-* 'twist, wind, turn, move back and forth, rub, etc.'

422. For *saigula* 'Hiebwaffe, Stock,' [OHG. *sigan* 'sich vorwärts bewegen, sich senken,' *seigen* 'senken; schleudern werfen,' etc.]: Lat. *sīca* 'dagger,' Lith. *sȳkis* 'Hieb,' [Skt. *sāyaka* 'Wurgeschoss, Pfeil'] cf. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 14.

428. For a different explanation of Goth. *sidus* 'Sitte' see *MLN.* xviii, 13.

434. For *semōn* 'schmausen': Gk. *ψωμός* 'Bissen,' etc. cf. *IF.* xiii, 120.

435. *serdan* is incorrectly defined 'coire cum femina.' Cp. MHG. *serten* 'stuprare; quälen, plagen, belästigen; schlagen, hauen; locken, verführen, täuschen, betrügen,' *zer-serten* 'zerhauen, -schneiden, -schlagen verderben; intr. Scharten bekommen, verderben,' etc., pre-Germ. \**ser-to-* 'attack, assault; beat, strike; annoy, worry; violate, etc.': Skt. *sīsarti*, *sārati* 'rennt, eilt, fliesst,' *abhi-sar-* 'herbeieilen, hinzutreten, losgehen auf, jem. einen Liebesbesuch machen,' Gk. *ὅρμη* 'assault, attack; eagerness, violence, passion or appetite,' etc. (cf. *Mod. Phil.* v, 283 f.).

450. For *skanka* 'schieß' [ON. *skekka* 'schieß machen']: *schenken* see *IF.* xviii, 27<sup>1</sup>; *Mod. Phil.* v (1907), 284.

453. *sker* 1. 'scheren, schneiden' [eig. 'sprengen' ?] is perhaps identical with (*sker*) 2. 'hüpfen, springen' (cf. *Color-Names* 40 f.; IE. *ax : axi : axu* 135 f.). From 'spring' also come 'spriug back, shrink: become small, thiu, sharp' (whence also might come words for 'scrape, cut') and 'be sprung, bend, slant.'

457. With (*skerz*) 2. 'eig. springen' in ON. *skjarr* 'scheu, furchtsam,' *skirra* 'schucuheu,' N. Icel. 'prevent, avert; refl. shrink from, shun' cp. Lith. *skēras* 'quer, schielend,' Gk. *ἐπικάρσιο* 'schieß, schräg,' *κάρσιον* 'πλάγιον' (cf. *Color-Names* 40). These undoubtedly come from *sqr* 'spring,' whence 'spring back, shrink, shun' and 'spring aside, bend, slant.' Cp. the following: OS. *seurgan* 'avertere, wegstossen,' MHG. *schraege* 'schräg,' OE. *scringan* 'shrink'; MHG. *schrecken* 'springen; erschrecken,' OE. *serinecan* 'shrink,' OHG. *skrenken* 'schräg stellen; seitwärts abweichen'; ON. *skréimi-hlaup* 'attack to inspire fear,' Sw. *skrämma* 'erschrecken,' MHG. *schramen* 'biegen, krümmen, schrägle machen,' OE. *scrimman* 'be bent'; ON. *skrefa* 'go or spring with long strides,' *skræfask* 'shrink back with cowardice.'

458. (*skel*) 1. 'spalten, trennen,' *skel* 2. 'schallen,' (*skel*) 3. 'dürр werden,' (*skel*) 5. 'schieß, schräg sein,' (*skel*) 6. 'springen' may possibly all come from IE. *sqel-* 'spring,' whence 'burst, spalteu'; 'burst, crash, schallen'; 'be sprung, schieß sein'; 'spring back, shrink, shrivel, dürр werdeu' (cf. *Color-Names* 39 f.). Perhaps here also *skel* 4. 'schulden' (= 'kurz kommen, mangeln'?).

460. *skalka* 'Knecht' in Goth. *skalks* 'Dienner.' MHG. *schalc* 'Knecht; ungetreuer, arg, hinterlistiger Mensch' belongs better under (*skel*) 5. 'schieß sein.' Cp. MDu. *scale* 'arglistig, gemein,' Dan. *skulke* 'sich hinwegschleichen.' NE. *skulk*, etc. To (*skel*) 5. add also Lith. *skelpiu* 'wölbe,' *skelpas* 'Leichengewölbe,' OHG. *scelp* 'Wölbung,' ON. *skifl* 'Hochsitz,' OE. *scyfl* 'peak, crag; pinnacle, turret': *skelban* 'schwanken, zittern' (*ibid.*).

462. *skir(i)a* 'hell, klar, rein' should be given under (*ski*) 2. 'scheiden.' Cp. OE. *scir* 'district, shire,' *sciran* 'distinguish, decide; get rid of': *scir* 'clear, bright' and Lith. *skēdžu* 'scheide,' *at-skaida* 'Abteilung': *skaidrūs* 'hell,

klar' (cf. *Color-Names* 66). Here also belongs OHG. *skēri* 'sagax, acer ad investigandum': Gk. κίραφος ἀλώπηξ i. e. 'der Gescheite' (*Class. Phil.* III, 76). Other words given under (*ski*) 3. 'schiefe sein' might better be here.

466. With *skauna* 'Schirm' ep. MHG. *schönen* (*IE. ax : axi : axu* 134).

469. (*skup, skuf, skub*) 2. 'sich biegen, wölben' should be stricken out. OHG. *scōf, scopf* 'Scheune,' etc., belong under (*sku*) 2. 'bedecken': *skusta* 'Haupthaar,' *skauba* 'Büschen, Bündel' to *skuf, skub* 3. 'schieben' (cp. esp. OSl. *skubati* 'vellere,' Pol. *skubać* 'zupfen, pflücken, raufen'); MHG. *schopfen* 'stopfen; geschwollen sein' to *schieben*. Cp. ON. *bryngua* 'drängen, pressen; anfüllen, anschwellen.'

471. On *skrē* 2. '(hüpfen) spritzen, stieben'; *sker* 2. 'hüpfen, springen' cf. *Color-Names* 40, 56.

473. (*skrenk*) 1. 'schräg, kreuzweise stellen' in OHG. *skrenken* 'in verschrenkte Stellung bringen, schräg stellen; intr. seitwärts abweichen,' *scranchōn* 'in verschräukter Stellung sein, schwanken, wanken,' etc., is the same as *skrenk* 2. 'sich zziehen' in OSw. *skrunkin* 'schrumpfig,' Norw. dial. *skrøkka* 'einschrumpfen,' OE. *scrin-can* 'shrink; wither,' NE. *shrink* 'zusammen-, zurückfahren, sich zziehen' (ep. OHG. *skrenken* 'seitwärts abweichen'), early Swab. *verschrucken* 'zgeschrumpft,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 44).

474. (*skri*) 1. properly means 'scratch, scrape,' and may well be referred to *sker* 'cut.' Cp. Antw. *af-schrijnen* 'de huid lichtjes afschaven, awrijven' (Cornelissen en Vervliet, *Idioticon van et Antwerpsch Dialect* 1537).

*skri* 2. 'schreien' is probably from IE. *sqrei, sqrei-* 'leap, spring': Lith. *skrēti* 'sich schnell im Bogen oder Kreise bewegen,' Lett. *skrēt* 'laufen, fliegen,' etc. Cp. Gk. σκαίρω 'hop,' OHG. *scerōn* 'mutwillig sein, jauchzen,' *scern* 'Scherz, Spott,' Bav. *gescher* 'Geschrei, Lärm' (*Color-Names* 113).

475. (*skrut*) 'schnarchen, brüllen' probably meant primarily 'make a harsh sound, crash.' Cp. Norw. dial. *skrota* 'indsnit, skure,' 'Einschnitt,' *skrutlen* 'fliset, ujævu; skrøbelig,' Lith. *skraudus* 'rauh, brüchig.' This comes from a root *sqreu-* 'cut, break,' whence 'be rough, make a harsh sound, scrape, grate, crash, etc.' :

MDu. pret. pl. *scrouwen* 'schreien,' OHG. *scrouwen* 'gannire, garrire, ON. *skruma* 'schreien, prahlen,' *skraume* 'Prahler'; *skruðningr* 'Lärm, Rumpeln'; *skriúpr* 'zerbrechlich, spröde': 'Krachen,' Norw. dial. *skropa* 'schaben, kratzen,' *skrøypa* 'skryde,' 'prahlen,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 114).

476. For *skrūbō* 'Schraube': Lith. *skverbiù* 'steche bohrend' cf. *PBB.* xxiv, 532. However, I should now separate these words, comparing *Schraube* with Lat. *scrūpus* 'rough, sharp stone,' ON. *skrof* 'broken ice,' Sw. *skroflig* 'rauhi, uneben,' *skrubba* 'scheuern,' MLG. *schrubben* 'reiben, kratzen,' etc. (cf. as above); but referring Lith. *skverbiù* to MLG. *schüren* 'scheuern, reiben,' Gk. σχύπος 'Abfall beim Behauen der Steine,' etc. (cf. *IE. ax : axi : axu* 136).

479. (*stek*) 1. 'bedecken' is also in EFries. *steken* 'stecken, verbergen,' MHG. *stecken* 'festsitzen, festhaften; festheften, befestigen,' etc., base *stheg-* 'stand, cause to stand, check, hold, stop, close, cover, etc.': Skt. *sthāgati, sthagayati* 'hemmt, verschliesst, verbirgt, verhüllt,' Gk. στέγω 'keep off, hold off; hold in check (tears), hold in, coutain, cover over, shelter, protect.' This is certainly more than 'tegere,' and may be identified with (*stek*) 2. 'stehen, ragen, steif sein' in EFries. *staken* 'stehend oder stillstehend machen, zum Stehen oder Halten bringen, Einhalt tun, hemmen, festsetzen,' etc. (cf. *MLN.* xx, 44; *IE. ax : axi : axu* 130; *Mod. Phil.* v, 285).

490. *stijōn* 'Pferch, kleiner Stall' together with Lith. *stáinė* 'Pferdestall' is better derived from *sti* 'stehen' (cf. *IE. ax* etc. 129).

500. *strēla, strēlō* 'Strahl' and OSl. *strēla* 'Pfeil' may be referred to OSl. *strēti* 'ausbreiten,' MHG. *stræjen* 'spritzen, stieben': Skt. *starati* 'streut,' etc. (cf. *IE. ax* etc. 132).

With *strīkan* 'streichen' ep. also Lat. *strigāre* 'be worn out, loose streugh, cease,' *strigōsus* 'lean, lank, thin,' *strix* 'furrow, groove, flute,' Gk. στρῖξ 'row,' etc.

502. *streuna* 'Schatz, Gewinn' in OE. *strēon* 'Schatz, Reichtum, Gewinn, Wucher; Erzeugung,' OHG. *kistriuni* 'Gewinn, lucrum,' etc., whence OE. *strienan* 'erwerben; erzeugen,' OHG. *gistriunian* 'lucrari,' MHG. *striunen*

'schnoppernd umherstreifen,' Bav. *streunen* 'nach gnnten Bissen, kleinen Vorteilen umhersuchen' should be refered to (*stru*) 2. 'streichen, streifen,' Cp. Lith. *strovà* 'Speise, Kost,' *strovyju* 'verzehre, esse,' Gk. *στρέψω* 'rob, deprive,' OE. *strūdan* 'plunder, ravage, destroy,' *strýdan* 'roh, deprive,' *bestriepan* 'strip, roh, plunder,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 81; *IE. ax:axi:axu* 132; *Mod. Phil.* v, 279). For meaning cp. Skt. *lótra-m.* 'Beute, gerauhtes Gut,' Lat. *lucrum*, etc.

505 (*spē*) 2. is inadequately defined. For the IE. base *spē* see *IE. ax* etc. 125. Thus *spēdia* 'spät' = 'stretcht out, long : late,' and is closely related to Lat. *spatium*; *spōdi* 'Eile, Gelingen' = 'a stretching out : hastening': Skt. *sphāti-s* 'das Feistwerden, Mastung.'

512. (*spi*) 1. spitz sein.' With *spinulō* 'Steck-nadel' cp. also Lith. *spyna* 'Vorlegeschloss': Gk. *σφύν* 'Keil,' OHG. *spān*, Skt. *sphyá-s* 'Holzspan'; with *spilō(n)* 'Speiler' also Lett. *spilēt* 'klemmen, zwicken, spannen'; with *spita*, *spitō* 'Spiess' cp. ON. *spítia* 'steckcu,' Lett. *spáidit* 'drücken, drängen' (cf. *IE. ax:axi:axu* 126 f.).

519. (*snak, snēk*) 'schnauhen, schnüffelu ; schwatzen,' etc., are refered to an IE. root *sknē.* For a different explauation see *IE. ax* etc. 120 f.

530. For *smītan* 'schmieren, schmeissen' : Lett. *smaidit* 'schneicheln' see *AJP.* xx, 262; *Mod. Phil.* iv, 496 f. But I also compare Lett. *smaida* 'Lächeln,' Gk. *μειδάω* 'smile,' etc., root *smei-d-* 'drücken, reihen, streichen, schmieren, sich drücken, schleichen, etc.' The intransitive meaning appears in Sw. *smīta* 'sich drücken, sich davon machen, schleichen,' Skt. *smaya-s* 'Stauen, Verwunderung ; Hochmut, Stolz,' i. e. 'a drawing back,' expressing 'astonishment, wonder, shyess' aud 'aloofness, haughtiness,' *smáyatē* 'lächelt, lächelt verschämt errötet,' etc.

531. For (\**smu*) 1. ('in feine Teilchen auflösen') and its derivatiivs see *Color-Names* 95.

532 ff. For the various Germ. bases *slex*, *slīx*, *slūx*, see *AJP.* xxiv, 40-61.

533. With *slek*, *slak* 'schlaff sein' cp. also Lith. *slogus* 'heschwerlich,' *slogà* 'Plage,' *slégiu* 'hedrücke, presse,' Lett. *slēdu* 'schliesse' (*AJP.* xxiv, 42; *Mod. Phil.* vi, 450).

535. Under *slad* 'gleiten' it is said: "German. *slad* verhält sich zu glad, wie slent zu glent,

slend zu glend, slid zu glid." Quite true! But there is no reason for supposing that they are otherwise related than as rime-words. On this point see *IF.* xxii, 133-171.

538. For *slitan* 'reissen, schleissen': Lith. *skleidžiù* 'breite aus' cf. *IF.* xxii, 165. However, *slitan* is hetter derived from pre-Germ. *slei-d-* 'ahstreifen, schleifen.'

539. For *sl̄ban* 'spalten': Lith. *sklypas* 'Lappen, Stückchen,' *sklypūti* 'zerstück'en' cf. *IF.* xxii, 165. Here also we may better refer to a root *slei-p-* 'schleifen, ahstreifen,' with which cp. *slei-b-*: Lat. *libāre* 'herühren, ein wenig wegnehmen, verletzen,' *dē-libāre* 'ahstreichen, ahrechen,' OHG. *slifan* 'gleiten ; schleifen,' etc.

541. For (*sluk*) 3. 'schleichen': Lith. *slaužiu* 'krieche' cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 48.

*slūtan* 'schliessen' may hetter be derived from pre-Germ. *slūd* 'zufallen lassen, zudrücken': ON. *slūta* 'hang down,' Norw. dial. *slūta* 'hang down, hend over,' ChSl. *sludy* 'Ahhang,' Lith. *slaudžiù* 'drücke, dränge, belästige' (cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 49 f.). For meaning cp. Lith. *slégiu* 'bedrücke, presse': Lett. *slēdu* 'schliesse.'

For (*slut*) 2. 'schlaff herabhängen, schlaff, weich sein': MHG. *slōz*, *slōze* 'Schlossen,' NE. *sleet*, etc., cf. *AJP.* xxiv, 49.

544. With *svē*, *svējan* 'sich schwingend hewegen' cp. Skt. *swáti*, *savati* 'treiht an.' Under this are given *svaþa* '(das Schwingen) Anstreifen, Gleiten,' to which are referd OE. *sweþel* 'Windel,' OHG. *swedil* 'Umschlag,' etc. Cp. Lith. *saučiù* 'umgebe, umhülle,' *sautimas* 'das Umgeben' (*Color-Names* 31 f.).

546. For OE. *swegl* 'Himmel, Sonne,' *swegle* 'hell, strahlend,' etc.: Goth. *suyil* 'Sonne' see *MLN.* xvi (1901), 306.

For *svenkan* 'schwingen, hiegen': Skt. *svájatē* 'umschlingt, umarmt' [to which add *sváj-a-s* 'eue Art Schlange] cf. *MLN.* xvi (1901), 24.

547. With *svendan* 'schwinden' cp. OE. *sweþrain* 'cease, subside,' *swodrain* 'be drowsy, sleep heavily,' Ir. *suthun* 'dunce,' Lith. *siaucžiù* 'tohe, wüte,' *siuntù* 'werde toll,' hase *seyet-* 'swing, sway, fall away, subside' (cf. *Color-Names* 96; *IE. ax:axi:axu* 118).

548. (\**svap*, \**svab*) 'kehreu, fegen' are hardly related to Gk. *σφέω* 'scheuche, entferne schnell,' etc. The Gk. words may be referd to a

root \**tueg-*: Skt. *tujáti*, *tuñjáti* 'drängt, stösst, treibt an; Med. in schnelle Bewegung kommen,' *tvángati* 'springt,' ON. *boka* 'bewegen; Platz machen, weichen,' etc. (*Class. Phil.* III, 78). For *snap* see *IE. ax* etc. 118.

*sveb* 'schlafen' in OE. *swefan* 'cease, sleep, be ded,' etc., is from an IE. root *suep-* 'swing, sway, give way, subside': ChSl. *svepiti* 'agitare,' NSl. *svepati* 'wanken,' Lith. *supù* 'wiege, schankele.' This is a change in meaning so common that it is strange that so many overlook it. For this and other examples see *Color-Names* 33 ff.; *IE. ax : axi : axu* 116 ff.

550. *sverta* 'schwarz,' Lat. *surdus* 'indistinct, stupid, dull,' *sordes* 'mud' come from 'stir up, trüben.' Cp. Lith. *sverdu* 'schwanke, taumele,' root *suer-* in *svirus* 'schwebend,' schwankend, baumelnd,' *sveriù* 'wäge,' etc., whence Germ. *sverkan* 'sich verfinstern' (*Color-Names* 90 f.).

551. As *svel* 'schwelen' comes from 'smolder, waste away,' it can hardly be compared with Gk. *σέλας* 'Glanz,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 95 f.). Moreover it is doubtful whether IE. *su-* ever gives Gk. *σ-*. The examples adduced can always be explained in some other way. E. g. Gk. *σέλας* 'light' and *σάλος* 'swell, surge, rolling, disquiet' may both be referred to a root *tue-l-* 'swell, roll, be agitated': ON. *þyrl* 'noise,' *þulr* 'orator,' OE. *ge-þyll* 'breeze,' *þyle* 'orator, buffoon, jester,' Gk. *σαλάκων* 'swaggerer, boaster': Skt. *tūya-s* 'stark, geschwind,' *tāviṣi* 'Kraft, Ungestüm,' ON. *þysia* 'rush forth,' *þausm* 'tumult,' OHG. *dosōn* 'bransen, tosen,' Lith. *tvoskinu* 'schlage stark,' *tvaskù* 'schwätze; glänze, leuchte,' etc. From the same ultimate root, and showing the same development in meaning are Gk. *σείω* 'swing, shake,' Skt. *tvīṣāti* 'ist in heftiger Bewegung, ist erregt, funkelt, glänzt,' *tvējā-s* 'heftig, ungestüm; funkelnd, glänzend,' etc. (cf. *Color-Names* 51).

555. For *svitula* 'hell': Lat. *sūdus* 'dry, clear' (which, however, I refer to *sued-* : *sūd-*) cf. *Color-Names* 100.

*svib* 1. 'drehend bewegen' and *svib* 2. 'ablassen' are identical, as are also *svig* 1. 'sich beugen, nachgeben' and *svig* 2. 'schweigen.'

556. *svō* 'stillen, versöhnen' rests on too uncertain ground. ON. *sóa* 'feierlich töten' may come from \**swōhan* and be compared with OE. *ā-swōgan* 'suffocate,' *geswōgen* in a swoon, ded,

silenced,' pre-Germ. \**suñōq-*. This is the Dehnstufe of the root *sueq-*: Lith. *sukù* 'drehe,' *sunkùs* 'schwer,' Lett. *sukt.* 'schwinden' (cf. *Color-Names* 33; *MLN.* XVIII, 16; *IE. ax : axi : axu* 117). Cp. NSl. *svepati* 'wanken': ON. *sofa* 'schlafen,' *suáfa* 'einschläfern, beruhigen,' *sófa* 'feierlich töten,' Skt. *svāpāyati* 'schläfert ein, tötet.'

559. (24) With *ēdra*, *adra* 'schnell' in ON. *āðr* 'früher; vormals,' OE. *āedre* 'at once,' OS. *adro* 'eilend, alsbald, früh,' OHG. *atar* 'acer, celer, sagax' cf. OHG. *ata-haft* 'fortwährend,' Skt. *ātati* 'wandert, läuft,' *ātya-s* 'eilend' (*Pub. MLA.* XIV (1899), 316; *Color-Names* 57). Comparison with *ātati* is credited to Fick. When and where?

566. (197) *āvaspian* 'auslöschen, vertilgen': Lat. *tesqua*, Skt. *tuccha*, *tucchyá* 'öde, nichtig,' ChSl. *tiūšči* 'leer,' credited to Petersson, *IF.* XX (1907), 367, was given by me years before *AJP.* XX (1899), 267; *Color-Names* 105. But I see no necessity of referring both to *tuesq-*, since a simpler root exists: Av. *tusen* 'sie entleeren sich,' Bal. *tusag* 'ausgehen, erlöschen, verlassen werden, vermieden werden,' *tōsag* 'anlöschen,' etc. Here also may belong Russ. *túsklyj* 'finster,' OE. *ge-puxod* 'dark,' *þēostre* 'dark, gloomy,' etc. (*ibid.*; cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* XXII, 536).

567. (203) *Derb* 2., *derban* 'arbeiten': Lith. *dirbté* 'arbeiten,' *dárbas* 'Arbeit' is my comparison: *AJP.* XX (1899), 258; *IE. ax : axi : axu* 78.

570. (321) *maidian*: and. *mēdian* 'bestechen' = OS. *mēdian* 'bezahlen,' denom. to *mēda*, OHG. *miata* 'Miete,' and has nothing to do with *maidian* 'schädigen.'

571. (349) *ruk* 2: ags. *rēoc* 'wild' (Holthausen *IF.* XX, 328). Another repeated etymology. But the primary meaning is not 'brüllen,' but 'break forth, burst forth,' whence 'belch, bellow; emit, exhale, smoke, etc.' Cf. *Pub. MLA.* XIV (1899), 308 f.

(363). *leba*, *lōbia*. For OS., OE. *lēf* 'schwach': Lith. *lāibas* 'schlank' cf. *IE. ax : axi : axu* 40.

(364). *lēva*: and. *lēvian* 'überlassau' does not belong here but to *laibō* (369).

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BRIGHT, J. W., and MILLER, R. D., *The Elements of English Versification*. Boston : Ginn & Co., 1910.

In most of our colleges the ordinary course in "The History of English Literature" has long needed the aid of a proper text-book in the principles of English versification. Such a book must contain a fuller account of principles than can be found in the brief chapter on prosody usually appended to school and college rhetorics, but it must avoid the discussion of purely scholastic questions. It must go further than the safe ground of defining the simplest terms of prosody ; but it must not go beyond the limit of practical usefulness, into the discussion of confusing theories. The difficulty of preparing such a book has been the cause of its delay, and, perhaps, the actual appearance of such a book is the only thing that can convince many of the possibility of its production.

*The Elements of English Versification*, by Professors Bright and Miller, is a text-book that fulfils the requirements in a remarkable degree. It makes no pretense of discussing theories or of contributing to them ; it advances the student's knowledge into the varieties and finer points of the poet's technique ; it ingeniously avoids the statement of "half-truths" that must be unlearned later. An example of this last virtue occurs on page 60. In avoiding the discussion of the effect of accent upon quantity, the authors remark : "The usual effect of an accented syllable is that of increased force of utterance ; secondary effects, such as length or duration of the syllable or a change of pitch, may or may not in some degree accompany the force of utterance. The usual effect of an unaccented syllable is that of diminished or suppressed force of utterance." Such feats of expression are not infrequent in the book, and they must have cost the authors many a "dream." Possibly, however, the authors have not gone far enough in venturing statements that might well be made with safety. In their account of scansion and variety of verse-stress they might well have adduced and explained what Professor Gayley has emphasized as the "elocutionary pause."<sup>1</sup> As it is, they do not attempt

to suggest a method of obviating the fall of the ictus upon derivative and inflectional endings, prefixes, particles, prepositions, and the like. For instance, the following line from Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* is scanned thus (p. 64) :

That it endures outrage, and dolorous days.

But a use of the elocutionary pause before *outrage* would give the following :

u / | u / | ˘ / | u u / | u u / |,

the elocutionary pause being compensated for by the emphasis laid upon *outrage*, and by the succeeding anapests. Again, the following scansion (p. 73),

In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold,  
might be arranged more in accord with the actual  
rhythm as follows :

u / | u / | u ˘ / | u u / | u / |,

assuming an elocutionary pause after *fashions*, with compensation in the following anapest. But, at any rate, the authors' method of scansion is of that simplicity beyond which there is only a confusion of unsettled theories about various kinds of pauses and substitutions. In the further interest of avoiding what seems forever debatable, only the following kinds of feet are recognized : iambic, trochaic, anapestic, dactylie, and the dactylic and anapestic peons (peon and anti-peon).

The manner of presentation is beautifully lucid and orderly. The book assumes a willingness upon the part of the reader to begin at the beginning of the subject. After a delightful chapter in which the definitions of the elements of versifications (verse, rhythm, melody, meter, foot, etc.) are gradually developed from a comparison of the verse and the sentence, the various meters are enumerated and illustrated at length. Then come chapters on the quality of sounds (where, perhaps, melody and harmony are insufficiently defined ; and tone-color unnecessarily abbreviated, although it usually tempts to undue length), and the scansion of meters. In the second part of the book is a fully illustrated description of the grouping of verses into non-stanzaic groups, stanzas, and complete poems of definite length (sonnet, ode, French forms). Everywhere the style is simple and clear. There is no vague and confusing utterance ; no figurative statement loosely doing duty for definite committal ; no

<sup>1</sup> See, *Rep. Eng. Com.*, vol. I, p. 510 ; *English Poetry: Principles and Progress*, p. lix.

"appreciative" passages to interrupt the logical imparting of information.

Next to the dexterity in avoiding pitfalls of theories, and the clearness of presentation, one is impressed by the abundance of illustrative material. This is what makes the book exceptionally useful for college classes,—for students who learn best by examples, but who, nevertheless, must learn, finally, the principles behind the examples. Page after page of quotations affords practice to the student, and opportunity to the instructor for gently adding or subtracting whatever of principle his individual persuasion may dictate. One is glad that the authors have not held too rigidly to their expressed purpose of omitting historical material. Here and there, scattered among the illustrations, are hints of the development of 'tumbling verse,' of the caesura, and of special forms, such as the sonnet. A note might easily be added on the relation of *enjambement* (which, by the way, is not mentioned) in Chaucer and the Elizabethans, to the 'end-stop' of the eighteenth century. Again, much vista, if not knowledge—much arousing of a student's interest and curiosity, if not filling of his emptiness—might be gained by half-sentences referring, by the way, to remoter or different problems, such as the conjectural origin of verse-rhythm in the choral-dance, or our illogical inheritance of the names of the classical "quantity" feet, or the dependence of the art of verse upon the nature of its material—sound—as compared with the dependance of the other arts upon *their* materials.

As a whole, this text-book will be a very great aid to those who believe that the history of literature should involve an understanding of the "underlying technicalities of the more external side of poetry." The cleverness and the truth of the book, and its clearness and fullness, in dealing with this difficult and too often neglected side of poetry, entitle it to a most hearty welcome from those who wish to teach facts rather than theory.

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*Syntax of the French Verb*, by EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG; with exercises by DE LA WARR B. EASTER. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1909. 12mo, 192 pp.

Le livre de M. Armstrong, qui est accompagné d'exercices et muni d'un vocabulaire, pourra être employé avec profit dans l'enseignement du thème et de la composition, mais l'auteur s'est proposé encore une autre fin : il a voulu en faire un guide que les étudiants avancés pussent consulter en cas de difficulté et qui leur fournirait chaque fois la solution de leurs doutes. Il nous a donc donné un exposé méthodique et raisonné des règles complexes qui gouvernent en français la syntaxe du verbe. C'est précisément cet exposé que je voudrais examiner ici.

M. Armstrong écrit pour des lecteurs américains, et c'est donc la syntaxe du verbe français telle qu'elle apparaît à un étudiant de langue anglaise, qu'il va analyser devant nous. Point de vue très légitime en l'espèce et de plus méthode très efficace : les faits du langage, pris ainsi de biais, se détachent avec une tout autre netteté. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'entreprise de M. Armstrong ait été aisée. Il a été très ambitieux : rompt avec une tradition commode mais détestable, il a prétendu étudier, non pas je ne sais quelle langue indéterminée qui de Malherbe à Anatole France serait par une surprenante fiction restée toujours identique à elle-même, mais bien le langage même de nos contemporains. Sa syntaxe est une syntaxe du verbe dans le français des cinquante dernières années. Il lui a donc fallu se dénier de l'archaïsme, lui faire une chasse incessante. La langue de Zola n'est pas celle de Bossuet ni même celle de Balzac, et les électeurs de la troisième République ne parlent plus comme les sujets du grand roi, ou même les contemporains de Louis-Philippe. Mais pour sentir et faire valoir ces différences, il faut de la lecture et un sens pénétrant de la langue. Ni l'un ni l'autre ne manquent à M. Armstrong, et il me semble qu'il s'est glissé fort peu d'archaïsmes dans son livre. Et c'est sans doute une chose assez nouvelle dans une grammaire française.

Ce n'est pas là le seul obstacle que le plan de l'auteur l'ait forcé à surmonter. Le français des cinquante dernières années ne forme pas un

tont indissoluble. Il est évident par exemple que la langue écrite et la langue parlée constituent deux grandes divisions qui ont assurément leurs points de contact, mais qui n'en sont pas moins essentiellement distinctes. Nul ne peut se vauter de connaître la langue s'il ne sent cette distinction vraiment capitale. L'idée n'en est pas nouvelle, et elle se retrouve en particulier dans la plupart des travaux des grammairiens scandinaves sur la syntaxe française. Mais, sans erreur, M. Armstrong me semble le premier qui, dans un chapitre complet et important de la grammaire, ait cherché à en tirer un parti systématique. D'un bout à l'autre de son exposé, il ne la perd pas de vue un seul instant : sans cesse il se demande à laquelle des deux grandes variétés du français moderne appartiennent telle ou telle construction, tel ou tel moule de phrase, et toutes les fois que la réponse s'impose nettement il le note avec soin. Ainsi, grâce à lui, nous voyons à l'œuvre à la fois le styliste à qui la forme importe et l'homme ordinaire qui parle comme les mots lui viennent à la bouche. De là l'intérêt que présentent les exemples accumulés dans ce livre. Il est à noter que le plus souvent ce ne sont pas des citations d'auteurs. Si M. Armstrong a emprunté aux livres ici ou là, il a d'ordinaire, tant que je puis voir, fabriqué lui-même ses exemples. A mon avis, il a en bien raison ; non seulement pour le motif d'ordre pédagogique qu'il indique, concentrer le plus possible l'attention de l'étudiant sur le principe qu'il s'agit d'illustrer, mais pour un autre encore. J'ai sous les yeux une toute récente syntaxe du français, du reste très conscientieuse et fort intéressante, mais où la volonté de s'en tenir presque exclusivement à des citations et l'éclectisme dans le choix de ces citations nuisent singulièrement à l'unité d'impression : Molière y voisine avec le *Supplément du Journal*, Bruneau et Curel y condimentent Gyp et Brunant et bieu d'autres encore ; le français dit "populaire" y étale avec complaisance ses constructions baroques, et l'inquiétante impression se dégage que c'est peut-être là le français de l'avenir. On voit bieu à la fois l'origine et le danger de cette méthode. A force de vouloir séparer la langue parlée de la langue écrite et dans la difficulté où l'on est souvent d'observer directement cette langue parlée on va la chercher là où l'on est le

plus sûr de ne pas la trouver mêlée à l'autre, chez les auteurs qui écrivent dans la langue du "peuple." On ne s'aperçoit pas que Bruant et les autres font de la "littérature" encore, et qu'il y a une langue vulgaire des livres qui n'est pas celle de la rue. Mais on s'habitue ainsi à négliger des nuances que les Français ne négligent pas, et pour avoir vonln être trop accueillant au français parlé d' "en bas" on en vient à ne plus voir bien nettement en quoi consiste le français parlé d' "en haut." M. Armstrong a renoncé non seulement à Bruant et à Gyp, mais même au *Matin* et à M. Paul Bourget : son exposition en est moins pittoresque, plus sèche, mais elle y gagne en clarté, en unité et, je crois, en fidélité. Je ne dis pas qu'il n'y ait quelques réserves à faire, et j'en ferai tout à l'heure, mais elles sont d'importance secondaire.

Parmi tout de pages intéressantes, je veux surtout signaler ici le chapitre qui traite des verbes dont le complément est à l'infinitif soit simple soit accompagné des prépositions *de* ou *à*. On y trouvera des tables très précieuses et une foule d'élucidations et d'observations pénétrantes que, rassemblées et éclairées comme elles le sont ici, on chercherait en vain ailleurs. Ces paragraphes donnent une très bonne idée de la méthode et de la science de l'auteur. Je n'ai pas l'intention de rendre compte de la Syntaxe chapitre par chapitre ; le gain serait médiocre, et je crois en avoir assez dit pour montrer l'importance et l'originalité du livre. Peut-être puis-je faire ici quelque chose de plus utile. M. Armstrong a vonln nous donner, en s'en tenant au verbe, un tableau de la langue parlée et écrite en France au commencement du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il importe donc beaucoup à son dessin que ses exemples appartiennent en effet à cette langue et à la subdivision indiquée. Dans l'ensemble il n'est pas douteux qu'il n'y ait, comme je l'ai dit, fort bien réussi. Mais lui-même ne se dissimule pas que la tâche était difficile, et dans sa Préface il se demande si un étranger n'est pas trop audacieux de s'aventurer ainsi sur un terrain où lui manquera malgré tout ce sûr instinct qu'on ne possède jamais que dans sa langue maternelle. Il est heureux pour nous que M. Armstrong ne se soit pas laissé effrayer par cette considération, et il est certain que s'il a été hardi il a été singulièrement heureux dans sa

hardiesse. Mais je crois répondre à l'appel contenu en quelque sorte dans cette phrase de sa Préface eu examinant à mon tour ces exemples et en venant proposer à l'auteur mes doutes et mes hésitations,—sans attribuer plus d'importance qu'il ne convient à mon seul témoignage sur des points parfois fort délicats.

Avant de passer à ces remarques de détail, je voudrais pourtant soumettre à M. Armstrong quelques idées qui me sont venues en lisant et relisant son chapitre sur le subjonctif. Ce chapitre ne me satisfait pas complètement. Non que j'y aperçoive des erreurs, ou que je trouve à redire aux analyses fines et précises de l'auteur. Mais il me semble qu'arrivé au bout du chapitre le lecteur s'arrête quelque peu perplexe. Il est surpris de la complexité de la matière, surpris de la subtilité et du flair des Français qui ont pu créer ce dédale compliqué de règles, de distinctions et de nuances, et qui savent chaque jour s'y retrouver. Et je me demande si ce lecteur n'a pas raison de s'étonner. Est-il vrai que les choses se présentent tout à fait ainsi pour le Français moyen ? Ici je crois qu'il faut insister sur la distinction entre le français écrit et le français parlé encore plus que ne l'a fait M. Armstrong. Dans la langue parlée, à prendre les choses un peu en gros, je distinguerais seulement deux emplois du subjonctif : 1. Le cas où le subjonctif est nécessaire. *Il faut que tu viennes.* Aucun Français ne dit : *il faut que tu viens.* Et là on emploie le subjonctif, à mon sens, pour la même raison qu'on met *de* et non pas *à* après tel ou tel verbe : parce qu'on a toujours entendu dire ainsi. Pourquoi la langue dans l'ensemble met le subjonctif après *il faut que*, c'est une autre question : il y en a peut-être des raisons logiques, il y en a plus probablement des raisons historiques. Mais ou je me trompe fort, ou l'individu (et je le prends cultivé et raisonnant sur sa langue) ne met ici le subjonctif que par la force d'une habitude invincible : *il faut que tu viennes* ne forme presque pour lui qu'une expression unique. 2. Le cas où le subjonctif est facultatif. Ici il y a choix possible entre deux modes, et le raisonnement peut intervenir. Là encore pourtant, à mon avis, il intervient peu. Il y a, dans le français ordinaire, une tendance de plus en plus marquée à employer, partout où c'est possible, l'indicatif au lieu du subjonctif. Chez certaines personnes la tendance

est portée très loin ; d'autres, sous l'influence de la littérature et de l'enseignement de l'école, y résistent davantage ; certains auront des hésitations, des scrupules, mettront l'indicatif ici, et là, dans un cas analogue, retiendront brusquement le subjonctif. *Choisissons un endroit où il y ait de l'ombre* (p. 63). Voilà certainement un subjonctif qui peut admirablement se justifier, et beaucoup de gens l'emploieront en effet ; d'autres n'hésiteront nullement à dire : *Choisissons un endroit où il y a de l'ombre*, et même parmi les gens de la première catégorie il s'en trouvera pour dire ainsi à l'occasion,—quitte à revenir au subjonctif le lendemain. La grande différence, dans la conversation, entre l'indicatif et le subjonctif est surtout une différence de ton ; l'un est plus familier et peut même être vulgaire, l'autre est plus soutenu, plus digne et parfois (selon les cas) plus pédantesque. Il y a des gens avec qui il faut user beaucoup du subjonctif, et d'autres avec lesquels on peut risquer pas mal d'indicatifs ; de même qu'il y a des gens à qui ou dit M'sieu et d'autres à qui il faut dire Monsieur. Question d'opportunité et de mesure. Dans la langue littéraire naturellement la distinction logique entre l'indicatif et le subjonctif reprend tous ses droits. Et c'est surtout pour cette langue que valent les analyses de M. Armstrong. Il s'agit ici, le plus souvent, de finesse de style, et la subtilité y est de mise. Mais même dans la langue écrite bien des subjonctifs n'ont pas d'autre raison d'être que de donner plus de tenue à la phrase, et plus d'un indicatif est surtout un souvenir plus ou moins conscient de la langue parlée.

Je viens maintenant aux remarques que j'ai annoncées :

P. 8. Je le fais examiner les documents (cf. p. 9).—*Lui* me semble beaucoup plus fréquent dans la langue parlée.

P. 15. “Il me faudra lni parler” is not used.—Pourrait s'employer, à mon avis. De même : il me faut vous parler, etc., p. 61. “Il faudra que je lui parle” could be used.—Je dirais : est la forme usuelle. *Il faudra lui parler* s'emploie surtout dans le sens de : “We shall have to speak to him” (ou : “One of us will have. . .”).

P. 18. Ils s'en sont allés.—Ne serait-il pas bon de noter la fréquence de : ils se sont en allés ?

P. 23. Lui ou sa sœur sera le premier à

arriver.—Ou bien on tournerait autrement, ou bien "c'est sa sœur ou lui qui arriveront les premiers" sera, je crois, la phrase qui se présentera naturellement à l'esprit : ce pluriel surprendra moins (malgré son étrangeté) que le masculin dans la phrase de M. Armstrong.

P. 25. *Dès* has the same meaning as *depuis*, but it is far less frequent.—Pas tout à fait, à mon avis : il y a une différence entre *dès le matin* et *depuis le matin*.

P. 30. Alors il sera parti *pour les plages*.—Je disais plutôt : pour le bord de la mer, les bains de mer.

P. 34. Le premier câble sous-marin fut posé en 1851, mais ce n'était qu'en 1858 que l'on établit la communication télégraphique entre l'Europe et l'Amérique.—N'y a-t-il pas là un lapsus pour : *est* (ou *fut*) ?

P. 37. Aux verbes dont le présent prend un sens spécial, ajouter : *je voulus*, I insisted on . . . (and won my point).

P. 42. A mon avis le passé antérieur surcomposé (double compound perfect) est très fréquent dans la conversation familière, où il rend de grands services. On s'en déifie quand on écrit, car les grammaires ne lui ont jamais nettement donné droit de cité. On le trouve pourtant de temps en temps dans les livres, et moins rarement qu'on ne croirait.

P. 48. Le ciel m'en *conserve*.—Liscez : *préserve*. Qui vive ? *Un ami*.—Plutôt : *Ami*.

P. 54. Pensez-vous qu'il *pleuve* demain ? Pensez-vous qu'il *pleuvra* demain ?—Il m'est impossible de voir ici la différence que signale M. Armstrong. Selon moi la seconde phrase est un peu plus courante, la première un peu plus "littéraire."

P. 58. Il m'*ennuie* que vous soyez en retard.—Noter que *il m'ennuie* s'en va devant *cela* (*ça*) *m'ennuie*; de même *il lui fâche* de . . . devant *cela le fâche* de . . .

P. 59. Que ce ne soit pas mon avis, je vous l'ai déjà dit, madame.—Le subjonctif me semble employé ici simplement pour annoncer que la phrase dépend d'un verbe à venir et pour éviter ainsi la légère obscurité qui résulterait du début insolite : Que ce n'est pas mon avis . . . (où l'on ne voit pas le sens de *que*).

P. 61. Il dit ne pas vouloir le faire.—On évite cette tournure, je crois, dans la langue écrite aussi bien que dans la langue parlée.

P. 62. Je désespère que je réussisse.—Ne se dit guère. Je désespère de réussir.—Très courant dans tous les styles.

P. 63. S'il existe un homme qui *ne* puisse comprendre cela, je voudrais le trouver.—La négation *ne . . . pas* me semble presque aussi fréquente dans ces phrases que le simple *ne*.

P. 67. Il sera bienvenu, d'où qu'il vienne.—Plus souvent : *le* bienvenu.

P. 68. *Tout . . . que* avec l'indicatif ou le subjonctif. Il ne me semble pas qu'il y ait aucune différence de sens. J'expliquerai les choses ainsi. *Tout . . . que* se construisait autrefois régulièrement avec l'indicatif, et se retrouve encore souvent employé ainsi ; mais d'après l'analogie de *quelque . . . que*, *si . . . que* on en vient de plus en plus à le construire avec le subjonctif. Il y a donc lutte entre deux tendances, l'une traditionnelle, l'autre (probablement la plus forte) analogique. La lutte pourra se prolonger longtemps, car la locution n'appartient pas au vocabulaire de la conversation courante.

P. 69. Etes-vous si fatigué que vous *ne* veuillez m'accompagner ?—Le *pas* me semble presque nécessaire ici. Cf. remarque sur la p. 63.

P. 70, 2 b. Notez les exceptions : *tant mieux*, *tant pis*.

P. 70, 3. Ils n'iront pas à moins que vous *n'y* insistiez.—Je dirais simplement : à moins que vous n'insistiez. Cf. p. 103. Je suis allé jusqu'à y insister.—Plutôt : *sur ce point*, ou familièrement : *là dessus*.

P. 74. Il l'a fait sans qu'on (*ne*) le lui ait dit.—Je supprimerais complètement le *ne*.

P. 75. Ne serait-il pas bon de noter que : il l'a fait pour qu'il vous plaise, est presque impossible au sens de : "He did it to please you" ?

P. 79. Même s'il voulait le faire, je ne crois pas qu'il le *pût*.—Conversation : *pourrait*. Cf. p. 78.

Je n'ai jamais cru qu'il le *fit*.—Conversation : *ferait*.

P. 80. Il n'aurait pas dit que je *fusse* son ami, Je ne croyais pas qu'il *eût* volé l'argent.—*Etais*, *avait* s'emploieraient très bien ici dans la conversation.

P. 88. Il aime à déjeuner bien.—Bien déjeuner est plus naturel. De même : voilà parler bien (p. 90) surprend un peu. Plutôt : voilà parler comme il faut, voilà (qui est) bien parler.

P. 90. Il dit ne pouvoir pas venir.—*Ne pas* pouvoir me semble plus naturel, et la phrase ordinaire serait ici : il dit qu'il ne peut pas venir. (M. Armstrong le sait bien, mais le comprendrait-on d'après l'énoncé de son paragraphe) ?

P. 91. Il a manqué de tomber.—J'indiquerai que le *de n'est pas nécessaire*. De même p. 62 dans : Je ne nie pas *de vous* avoir dit cela.

*Penser au sens de 'just miss'* me semble uuellement archaïque.

J'enverrai le chercher.—Plutôt : je l'enverrai chercher.

*J'ai déjà été le voir.* Il *fut s'asseoir*.—Ne faudrait-il pas noter que la première phrase est de la langue la plus courante, que la seconde au contraire est rare même dans la littérature ?

P. 95. Il *était* le premier à arriver, le troisième à partir, et le seul à échapper.—On ne saisit pas bien le sens de cet imparfait. Est-ce : ce jour-là ? Ou s'agit-il d'une action répétée (He used to be, he always was . . .) ?

P. 96. Je lui ai payé à *déjeuner*.—Ne serait-ce pas plutôt *lunch* que *breakfast* ?

P. 102. Vous *le conseillerez* de se taire.—Je dirais *lui* (mais : vous *le conseillerez*).

P. 107. L'occasion *offrant*, j'accepterais,—Je dirais *s'offrant*.

P. 111. Elle s'est coupée à la main (*she has cut her hand*); elle s'est coupé la main (*she has cut off her hand*).—La distinction est juste, mais j'ai peur que l'anglais ne soit ici (comme souvent quand il s'agit de mouvements) plus amoureux de la précision que le français. Il est certain qu'on entend très souvent : il s'est coupé le doigt, alors qu'on veut parler d'un simple bôbo.

J'ai loué tout à l'heure M. Armstrong d'avoir le plus souvent composé ses exemples lui-même. Ce n'est pas qu'on ne sente ici ou là un désavantage de cette méthode. L'auteur voulant dans tel cas éprouver tous les possibles afin de montrer les différents aspects de l'application d'une règle aboutit à l'occasion à des phrases qui quoique très correctes ne sont nullement courantes ; il faut parfois faire un effort pour se représenter dans quelles circonstances on les emploierait. Ainsi :

Je ne *crus* pas qu'il le *fit*, p. 76.

Quand je partis, ils *restaient*, p. 39. (Cet imparfait ne s'accorde guère ici avec le sens du verbe 'rester').

Il ne m'a pas écrit qu'il *vienne*, or *vint*, p.

78.—L'imparfait du subjonctif me semble bien peu naturel ici. *Vienne* est très correct, mais *viendra* (ou *viendrait*) sont certaiuelement les formes de la conversation.

Je ne sais pas qu'il *soit* malade, p. 54.—Il me semble que ce subjonctif amènerait presque nécessairement : je ne sache pas.

Savez-vous qu'il *soit* malade ? (Do you know whether he is sick ?) p. 54.—Sans doute, mais ne faudrait-il pas noter que l'équivalent courant de l'anglais est : savez-vous s'il est malade ?

Il y a beaucoup (it is almost sure), p. 58.—Je ne comprends pas. Peut-être uu mot est-il tombé après *beaucoup* ?

Quelques fautes d'impression : p. 40, l. 23 : a demande, lisez demandé ; *al* fouillé, lisez *ai*; p. 42, l. 10 : repondais, lisez répondais ; p. 46, l. 13-15 : une incendie . . . se serait déclarée, lisez *un . . . déclaré*.

Dans toutes ces remarques il y a bien des minuties, mais peut-être ne sont-elles pas hors de place quand il s'agit d'un livre où tout est soigné jusque dans le détail ; et d'autre part si j'ai volontiers employé les formules d'atténuation, ce n'est pas par une affectation de politesse, c'est simplement parce qu'en matière de syntaxe moderne on ne saurait trop se garder du dogmatisme : il est tel cas où il n'est pas seulement difficile de se rendre compte de ce que disent les autres, il devient malaisé de savoir ce qu'on dit soi-même. J'espère qu'en tout cas mes observations montreront à l'auteur l'intérêt que j'ai pris à son livre et l'estime qu'il m'a inspirée. On ne peut que souhaiter le prompt achèvement de la grammaire complète que M. Armstrong promet de nous donner en collaboration avec M. Kuersteiner.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

### SEVERAL VERBAL QUERIES.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—May I call your attention to a peculiar use of the word "fewter" in *The Second Report of Doctor Faustus* (1594), chap. 6, where the following passage occurs : "and there upou with a boone courage aduanciug himselfe vppon his toes,

and weeding himselfe in the best Germane fashion, as he could very well, began to traualle vnto her, but rembring his bad apparell stopt backe and blusht, and hid his face, but sodainely retourning againe as if he had known now how rather to become his weedes began to fewter himselfe, but O wonder, his habite was changed with his thought and he was now no more Wagner but *Armisuerio* the Ladies Lorde."

Professor Browne has kindly informed me that the meaning here indicated by "fewter" (*i. e.*, "prink up") is quite new to him, and I too know of no place where it is similarly used. Can any of your correspondents give other instances of its use in this sense?

Another mysterious passage in this same "Second Report of Dr. Faustus" is found in chap. 2 : "So long they druncke, that at last they came to be within a little of druncke, fetching ouer the *Green nine Muses* so often at sundry drafts . . ." What can be the meaning of the "Green nine Muses?" Was it a driuking formula, a toast, or a song, or what?

Lastly, may I notice the interesting passage in chap. 22 :—"the Elephant flying from the horse and the horse following the Elephant, as you might see *Seignior Propsero* lead the way in Mile end Greene in the ringles." Who or what was "*Seignior Propsero?*" Was he Marocco the "dancing horse" we find mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost*, or has it any reference to the name in the *Tempest*; or was it the name of a celebrated racing horse of the time (1594)?

So far I have not been able to elicit any information upon any of the passages mentioned, and I should be very grateful to any one who can give some light upon them.

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#### LLOYD'S NORTHERN ENGLISH.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—The revised edition of Lloyd's *Northern English* has already formed the subject of at least two brief reviews, the one appearing in *Englische Studien*, xl, 3, 403 ff., the other in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, Feb. 1909; and I purpose here simply to point out a few typographical errors, which may be corrected in the next edition of Lloyd's excellent little book. The errors that I have observed are the following :

P. 7, l. 12 : for "hard palate" read "soft palate." The author is describing labio-velar sounds, in the formation of which the back of the tongue and the soft palate are brought into

play.—Considerable confusion prevails in the distribution of the vowels *a*: and *a:*. Thus *a*: is found in *pa:ðz*, *ka:vz*, *ha:vz* § 145, *ra:ðz* § 228, *fa:ðz* p. 55, l. 16, p. 69, l. 4, but the back *a*: in the transcription of "half," "path," "father," "rather," § 141. Similarly the word "hard," has *a*: § 239, but *a*: § 200. A small *r*, which Lloyd uses to indicate a coronal vowel, should be placed over the second vowel in the transcription of "rather" § 141, and also of "sugar-tongs" p. 125, l. 7.—P. 39, l. 10 : "woman" is transcribed as *wʌmən*, but as *wumən* p. 40, l. 5, and as *wumən* § 147, § 235, p. 99, l. 20.—P. 46, l. 25 : *e:t* in the preterit *e:it*, in *el've:yfən* p. 79, l. 25, and *iu merime:ikɪŋ*, p. 109, l. 11, should be *e:*, to conform to Lloyd's practice of writing *e:* before voiceless sounds. On the other hand, *e*: in *v'ke:ʒən*, p. 79, l. 20, ought to be *e:t*.<sup>1</sup>—§ 227 and p. 113, l. 1 : *ləndən* is not consistent with *landənz* p. 35, l. 1, and *ləndən*, p. 35, l. 6.—P. 79, l. 1 : *bro:kən* appears by the side of *bro:kən*, l. 4.—§ 234 : *ju:zu:płi* and *ju:zu:ali*, p. 61, l. 1, are evidently incorrect. Whether Lloyd would now write *ju:zu:ali* is a question that can't be answered ; cf. *ju:zu:ali* p. 101, l. 18, and see Schröer's comment in *Eng. Stud.* xl, 3, 403.—P. 75, l. 21 : the *j* in *vik'to:rjəs* should be *i* ; for if *j* were pronounced, the preceding *r* would tend to disappear. Lloyd has the better notation in this class of words, for example, in *i:θi:riəl* p. 75, l. 18, *m'ti:riəl* p. 113, l. 5. Jespersen,<sup>2</sup> it is true, defends the use of the group *rj*.—P. 87, l. 14 : for *nju:zpe:pł* read *nju:zpe:pł*, as in § 232.—P. 87, l. 22 : for *moł* read *mo:ł*, as in § 153.—P. 91, l. 10 : for *litł* read *litł*, as in l. 22.—P. 97, l. 8 : the transcription of "apothecary's" as *v'pəθəkərɪz* and of "apothecary" as *v'pəθəkəri*, p. 99, l. 9, looks very unusual for British English. One would expect *ə* instead of *e* in Lloyd's notation of the syllable next to the last ; cf. *imadʒinəri*, p. 103, l. 3.—P. 99, l. 28 : for *eks'pektiŋ* read *eks'pektiŋ*, as on p. 111, l. 22 ; and for *eks'ple:in* p. 101, l. 11, read *eks'ple:in*, as in § 225.—P. 105, l. 26 : in the transcription of "better already," *r* should not form a coronal vowel in the final syllable of "better," but should have its full value as a consonant before the initial *ə* of *ə:l'redi*.—P. 109, l. 20, and p. 127, l. 18 : the final vowel in the notation of "prefer" ought to be marked long.—P. 123, l. 25 : "they're" is transcribed as *ðə:*, but seems to have elsewhere a close *e* ; as, for instance, on pp. 101, 109, 113, 121.—P. 125, l. 13 : *bʌd* is probably a mistake for *bʌt*, unless one may regard the *d* in *bʌd* as due to assimilation of *t* before the following *ð* in *ðis*.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Western, *Englische Laul Lehre*<sup>2</sup>, § 16.

<sup>2</sup>A Modern English Grammar, p. 373.

The form *bʌd* occurs in Lloyd's type of careless, rapid English ; and the substitution of *d* for *t* in "but" is, moreover, common in the speech of illiterate natives of Yorkshire. I am inclined to think, however, that the *d* in *bʌd* is a priuter's error.

It may be worth while to explain what Lloyd means by saying, in *Northern English*, § 92, that Northern English *ə:* and *ə* are both "more decidedly half-open than German short *o*." In his classification of the vowels, Lloyd treats *ə:* and *ə* as half-open ; hence when he affirms that the *ə:* and *ə* of Northern England are more decidedly half-open than German short *o*, he means merely that they are more decidedly open than German short *o*. It is not surprising that Western<sup>3</sup> finds Lloyd's statement unintelligible, especially as Lloyd<sup>4</sup> appears to make the mistake of identifying Northern English *ə:* with the vowel in French "tort."

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#### ON THE FORM OF THE SONNET.

To the Editor of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIR :—The table of rime combinations in the English sonnet published by Mr. L. T. Weeks in the June number of *Modern Language Notes* leaves something to be desired in point of clarity. In his explanation of the table Mr. Weeks says (p. 176): "Where any of the octave rimes, A, B, C, or D, are carried over from the octave into the sestet, they are still printed in capitals, this being always the sign of an octave rime." Applying this rule to Spenser's *Amoretti*, we have, as the formula for 87 out of 88 of the series, *ABAB BCBC-CeCeff*. Yet in the table this combination does not appear at all ! Instead we have *ABAB BCBC-efe egg*, which does not at all represent the real rime-relation of the Spenserian sonnet.

And the trouble is much deeper than a mere confusion of rime-symbols. The Elizabethan sonnet does not consist of an octave and a sestet, but of three quatrains and a couplet. This is its prevailing structure in thought as well as in rime. Sidney affords the connecting link between the Italian and Elizabethan forms, with his *abbaabba edcd ee* frequently divided in thought both after the octave and before the couplet. The typical Shaksperian structure, in which the division into octave and sestet has no meaning at all, is shown in Sonnet LXXXIII.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, § 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Northern English*<sup>2</sup>, § 92.

That time of year thou mayst in me behold  
When yellow leaves, or none or few, do hang  
Upon those boughs that shake against the cold,  
Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.

In me thou see'st the twilight of such day  
As after sunset fadeth in the west ;  
Which by and by black night doth take away,  
Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.

In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,  
That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,  
As the death-bed whereon it must expire,  
Consumed with that which it was nourish'd by.

This thou perceivest, which makes thy love more strong,  
To love that well which thou must leave ere long.

H. M. BELDEN.

*University of Missouri.*

#### Obituary.

JOHN ERNST MATZKE.

In the death of Professor John E. Matzke, which occurred suddenly in the City of Mexico, September 18, 1910, American Romance scholarship has lost one of its leading representatives. Born in Breslau, Germany, October 20, 1862, he received his collegiate education at Hope College, and, having passed in 1888 his examinations for the doctorate at the Johns Hopkins, was successively professor in Bowdoin College and the University of Indiana and associate in the Johns Hopkins faculty, before assuming in 1893 the headship of the department of Romance Languages in Stanford University, where he remained for the seventeen years that have since elapsed. The forty-six books, journal articles, and reviews that have appeared over his signature in the twenty-four years since he began to write bear testimony, by the notable evenness of their distribution through the time of his scholarly activity, to the steadiness and constancy of his investigations, while their ever-increasing grasp and penetration manifested that he would still have had before him his period of greatest maturity and productivity. As the editor of text-books in French and Spanish, by his work in modern French literature, and particularly by his editious

and studies in Old French literature and by his researches in the field of French historical grammar, he has contributed in no small measure to the advance of Romance teaching and scholarship in the United States. To the accompanying bibliography of his published work there will still remain to be added an article on Sir Beves of Hamtoun which will shortly appear in *Modern Philology*; another on the Roman du Châtelain de Couci and Fauchet's Chrouique, ready for the proposed volume of studies in honor of A. Marshall Elliott; still another on The Legend of the Eaten Heart; a critical edition of the Châtelain de Couci, so nearly completed that its publication is assured; and perhaps some other studies far enough advanced to render their appearance probable.

Professor Matzke will be sorely missed, and his place can not easily be filled, but his personality and his varied activities have left an impression upon the scholarship of the country which assures the permanence of his influence.

Review of Sachs' *Geschlechtswechsel im Französischen*. *MLN.* ii (1887), 167-168.

Modern Picard *bieu* from *bellum*. *MLN.* iv (1889), 8-11.

Review of Wölflin's *Über die Latinität der Perigrinatio ad loca sancta*. *MLN.* iv (1889), 218-219.

Review of Schele de Vere's edition of Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. *MLN.* iv (1889), 248-249.

Review of Haas' *Zur Geschichte des l vor folgendem Consonanten*. *MLN.* iv (1889), 249-251.

Review of Waldner's *Quellen des parasitischen i*, and of Sabersky's *Parasitische i*. *MLN.* v (1890), 50-53.

Review of Jespersen's *Articulation of Speech Sounds*. *MLN.* v (1890), 86-87.

*Dialektische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des muellierten l im Altfranzösischen*. *PMLA.* v (1890), 52-108; also separately, Paris, Welter, 1890. 57 pp. (Johns Hopkins dissertation).

The Development of *cl* into *l'* in the Romance Languages. *MLN.* v (1890), 177-179.

Edition of Hugo's *Hernani*. Boston, Heath, 1891. xxvii, 201 pp.

The Historical Heruani. *MLN.* vi (1891), 37-41.

A Study of the Versification and Rimes of Hugo's *Hernani*. *MLN.* vi (1891), 168-171.

Some Remarks on the Development of *ct* in the Romance Languages. *MLN.* vi (1891), 136-139.

*I* in French *lieu* == Latin *locum*. *MLN.* vii (1892), 65-69.

Review of Rousselot's *La méthode graphique*, and of Koschwitz's *La phonétique expérimentale*. *MLN.* vii (1892), 146-149.

On the Sources of the Italian and English Idioms meaning 'To take Time by the Forelock.' *PMLA.* viii (1893), 303-334.

Review of Schwan's *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*. *MLN.* ix (1894), 103-110.

Diez Memorial. *MLN.* ix (1894), 192.

On the Pronunciation of the French Nasal Vowels, *in*, *ain*, *ein* in the XVI and XVII Centuries. *PMLA.* ix (1894), 451-461.

Review of Garner's edition of Hugo's *Ruy Blas*. *MLN.* x (1895), 140-143.

Ueber die Aussprache des altfranzösischen *ue* von lateinischem *o*. *ZRPh.* xx (1896), 1-14.

Edition of Tamayo y Baus' *Un Drama Nuevo*. New York, Jenkins, 1897. iv, 107 pp.

*First Spanish Readings*. Boston, Heath, 1897. iv, 219 pp. *A Primer of French Pronunciation*. New York, Holt, 1897. vi, 73 pp. 3d edition, revised, 1905. xi, 104 pp.

The Question of Free and Checked Vowels in Gallic Popular Latin. *PMLA.* xiii (1898), 1-41. The Unity of Place in the Cid. *MLN.* xiii (1898), 197-205.

Spanish Readings. *MLN.* xiii (1898), 391-392.

Edition of *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant*. Paris, Picard, 1899. liv, 32 pp.

The Sources of Corneille's Tragedy *La Mort de Pompée*. *MLN.* xv (1900), 142-152.

The Anglo-Norman Poet Simund de Freine. *TAPhA.* xxxiii (1902), xc.

Review of Thomas' *Mélanges d'étymologie française*. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 187-190.

Review of Meyer-Lübke's *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft*. *MLN.* xvii (1902), 259-262.

Contributions to the History of the Legend of Saint George. *PMLA.* xvii (1902), 464-535; xviii (1903), 99-171.

Edition of Corneille's *Cinna*. Boston, Heath, 1903. xvi, 128 pp.

Corneille's *Cinna*. *MLN.* xviii (1903), 217-218.

Edition of Corneille's *Horace*. Boston, Heath, 1904. xx, 144 pp.

A Neglected Source of Corneille's *Horace*. *MPhi.* i (1904), 345-354.

The Legend of Saint George; its Development into a Roman d'Aventure. *PMLA.* xix (1904), 449-478.

Some Examples of French as spoken by Englishmen in Old French Literature. *MPhi.* iii (1905), 47-60.

The History of *ai* and *ei* in French before the Dental, Labial, and Palatal Nasals. *PMLA.* xxi (1906), 637-686.

Edition of Molière's *Le Tartuffe*. New York, Holt, 1906. xxvii, 169 pp.

The Source and Composition of Ille and Galeron. *MPhi.* iv (1907), 471-488.

The Lay of Eliduc and the Legend of the Husband with Two Wives. *MPhi.* v (1907), 211-239.

On the History of Palatal *n* in French with Special Reference to *o* and Open *e*. *PMLA.* xxiv (1909), 476-493.

Edition of *Les œuvres de Simund de Freine*. Paris, 1909 (*SATF.*), vi, 187 pp.

Review of Luquien's *Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology*. *JEGPh.* ix (1910), 107-112.

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## A. Marshall Elliott

1844-1910

On the morning of November the ninth, A. Marshall Elliott died at his home in Baltimore. His death closes a long and notable chapter in the annals of Modern Language work in America, a chapter in the making of which his part was essential. Of Quaker stock, he was born in Pasquotank County, North Carolina, and received his secondary education at the New Garden Boarding School, later known as Guilford College. Graduating from Haverford in 1866, he taught for one year in his home school, and then entered Harvard, where he received his bachelor's degree in 1868. Soon after this he went to Europe and continued his studies, returning to America in 1876 as Associate in the first faculty of the Johns Hopkins University. The opening years of his connection with the institution were devoted to the organization of its Romance work, and the success of his efforts was recognized by his promotion in 1892 to be Professor of the Romance Languages.

Early in his teaching career he felt the need of unifying and broadening the work in Modern Languages, and conceived the idea of the Modern Language Association of America. In 1883, through his initiative, the Association was organized and he became its first secretary, and editor of its publications. After nine years of service, he resigned from these offices, but in 1894 served a term as president.

In order to furnish a medium for the issuing of critical material in the field of Modern Languages, Professor Elliott founded in 1886 the *Modern Language Notes*, of which he has remained managing editor up to the present time. This journal was created to reflect existing scholarship in America, and above all to raise the standards of Modern Language teaching and quicken the interest in Modern Language work. Scientific articles; critical reviews of text-books; items of academic interest; lists of recent publications, of foreign book catalogues, of contributors to the *Notes*;—these were made the means to attain its aim. The same energy and resourcefulness that gave life to the Modern Language Association overcame the mechanical and financial difficulties which confronted him in publishing the *Notes*. There was but one subscriber to the first issue. During the first seventeen years, the journal was printed in a temporary structure in the back yard of his residence, while the editing and most of the folding, sewing, wrapping and addressing was done in his library.

Professor Elliott's training as a scholar was exceptional. Eight years of residence, travel, and study in Europe gave him the broad foundation which is one of the striking features of his teaching and his writings. His first inclination seems to have been toward specializing in Oriental languages, but at the same time the comparatively new science of Romanee philology commanded a liberal share of his interest. Upon his return to America, this interest in the modern field was intensified by the manifest need of raising to the plane of academic studies the languages which had hitherto been regarded mainly as a medium for colloquial intercourse. He was well equipped for leadership by his intimate knowledge of the educational conditions and the languages of the various European countries—a knowledge kept fresh by his yearly trips abroad.

In the field of productive scholarship, he was a frequent contributor, during his early years, to *Education*, the *Journal of Education*, the *American Journal of Philology*, the *Transactions of the Modern Language Association*, and *Modern Language Notes*. His contributions ranged from general themes, such as "Modern Languages as a College Discipline," to such special topics as "Verbal Parasynthesies in -a" or "The Origin of the Name Canada." His chief fields of work were, however, French dialects and early French literature. His published studies on Canadian French belong to the period before 1885; his edition of the fables of Marie de France, which death left incomplete, formed the center of his labors during the last two decades of his life.

But it was as a teacher that he rendered his greatest service to scholarship. He knew what constitutes good work, he knew the severe discipline it demands, and he upheld and enforced his ideals; but, while he criticized and at times reproved, he had the rare power to do this without disheartening or discouraging. His relations to his pupils were as of father to child; his personal influence was no less potent than his learning and has left an imprint that will endure. Scholars and teachers whom he formed are continuing his work in every part of America, the first links of an unending chain.

In every field of his activity, his touch was firm, his foresight sure. The Modern Language Association has amply justified his faith; *Modern Language Notes* has vindicated his belief in its needfulness; modern languages have their place as a study of scientific value; and our Romance departments show increasing efficiency commensurate with their rapid increase in numbers.

Strongest of all Professor Elliott's titles to esteem was his personality. Frank but gentle, his criticism chastened, but left no sting; his praise where merited, was not withheld nor stinted in its measure. His genial altruism was reflected in all his dealings, and even those who knew him only by correspondence quickly came to feel that his interest in them and their work was personal and lasting. In perplexity or trouble all instinctively turned to him, and found him of ready counsel and unfailing good cheer. When in his closing days pain laid a heavy hand upon him, his thought was still of others and their comfort. Knowing they suffered in his suffering, his only words were words of hopefulness. And to the last his chosen themes were his pupils, colleagues, friends, and work. Respect, admiration, and love for him are a bond that holds together those who knew him and those who knew him not but honored his name.

## THE CYNEWULFIAN RUNES OF THE FIRST RIDDLE.

It seems a flat contradiction to assert that no lines in Old English poetry have received more frequent attention than the verses in which Cynewulf has preserved his name, and to affirm in the same breath that the treatment of these runic acrostics has been wholly inadequate to their importance. And yet the second statement is as true as the first. The many scholars who have discussed the name-passages have largely neglected the chief aids to their proper interpretation, riddle usage and runic custom. By an appeal to such evidence as these freely furnish, I shall now seek to reveal the hitherto hidden presence of Cynewulf's runic signature in a logograph which the consensus of scholarly opinion has long since withdrawn not only from the category of his works but even from the list of enigmas; and, in a second article, to establish the author's close regard for the traditional connotation of the symbols which he so dexterously introduces into his four religious poems.

In regard to the methods of early poets wishing to embalm their names in the amber of runic acrostics, that laborious pioneer in the study of runes, Olaus Wormius, proves a valuable witness. "It has long been the custom of authors," he tells us in his pompous Latin,<sup>1</sup> "to insert into their poems by means of logographs or enigmatic letters, either their own names or those of their friends." Ole straightway produces an "exemplum Danicum" in illustration of this logographic doctrine. But the example is not Danish at all, as the language and metre (*sextánmælt*) demonstrate; but the work of an Icelander and is rightly attributed by Jón Thorkelsson<sup>2</sup> to Ole's helpful correspondent, Magnus Ólafsson (1573–1636), who intended it to occupy a place among the congratulatory effu-

<sup>1</sup> See *Literatura Runica*, Copenhagen, 1651, Appendix, pp. 169 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Om Digningen på Island i det 15 og 16 Århundrede*, Copenhagen, 1888, pp. 469–470. For this valuable reference I am indebted to that eminent kenner of all things Scandinavian, Eiríkr Magnússon of Cambridge, England. His, too, are the excellent English interpretations of all the Icelandic logographs that I shall cite.

sions at the head of the volume. Thorkelsson's quotation of this acrostic from the *Arna-Magn.*, 148, 8vo., is, of course, far superior to Worm's inaccurate version:—

Höll laxa, flóð fjalla,  
Fold kát, skýja grátur,  
Ymers ljós, úrkoma,  
Ágat svana kæti,  
Ok jórs, og dufts auki  
Etter skrifað verk setti,  
Ýtar sjá hálærðs heiti  
Her doktors skráð vera.

Hall of salmon, flood of fell	= óss, löggr	= O 1
Field gay, cloud's weeping	= ár, úr	= a u
Ymer's light, come- down	= sól, úr	= s U
Excellent swans' joy (river)	= óss	= o
Yoke of steed, dust's increase	= reið, maðr	= r m.
(Here)-after written work composed.		
Men see the name of the highlearned		
Doctor to be written here.		

Worm follows this with another runic acrostic, "logogryphus generis Dróttkvætt attmaelt" upon his name (*Olaf Uorm*). This is also by Ólafsson and is also preserved in the *Arna-Magn.*.

Now these logographs of Ólafsson's represent an Icelandic tradition which can be traced back to the fifteenth century at least. Thorkelsson's book is rich in logographs of exactly the same or similar types as the Wormian ones. I quote two of these with Mr. Magnússon's renderings.

Ormr Loftsson wrote about 1460 a cycle of *Rímur* of "Vilmundr viðutan," which he dedicated to a lady named "Sofia." At the end of the sixteenth *ríma* he introduces by means of runes (or rather synonyms for them), her name and his own in the following manner (Thorkelsson, p. 274):—

Veraldar prýði og veglegt ár,  
Verða mótt við græði,  
Auðurinn nöggur og ísinn blár  
Eignast máttu kyaði.

Vegleg hvíld og vatna mótt,  
Virða gamanið blíða,  
Grátur skýja og ferðin fljót  
Ferju Hárs nam smíða.

<sup>3</sup> "I suspect that we ought to read : Virða gamni blíða, dat = hinu blíða gamni virða, i. e., the lady Sofia : viro-rum blando oblectamento naviculam Hari fabricavi" (Magnússon).

World's glory [sol] and stately year [ár], S a  
 ↓  
 Meetings (of rivers) happen at the sea [óss] o  
 ↓ ↑  
 Wealth enough [fē] and the ice blue [íss], f → i  
 You may have the poem.

Stately ease (car) [reið] and waters' meet [óss], r ← o  
 ↓  
 Men's delight blithe [maðr], m  
 ↓  
 Weeping of clouds [úr] and journey quick [reið] u → r.  
 Did fashion Har's (the Dwarf's) ferry = the poem.

Hallr prestr Ögmundsson, who resigned his living of Stad in Steingrimsfjörð, 1539, presumably on account of old age, composed a religious poem called *Náð*, i. e., "Mercy on Anna and Mary," in 110 stanzas. In the 104th he hides his own and a friend's (Biorn's) names as follows (Thorkelsson, p. 320) :—

Orma kauor [= kör] með ári vörmu,  
 Aurriða grund er hvergi bundinn,  
 Tjörn og skúr má telja eirnin,  
 Tiguleg ferð hefir drápú gerða  
 Auðling bað [mig] Ásgarðs stuðla,  
 Unnar skjól og eð þraungva vólað,  
 Vala erfði og vegleg selja  
 Vessa skyldi eg um kvinnu þessa.

Snakes' sickbed [hagl] with a warm year [ár],  
 The char's land (haunt) [lögr] is nowhere bound,  
 Tarn [lögr] and shower [úr] may also be counted,  
 Stately journey [reið] has made the drapa.  
 Favorite of Asgarð's stays (the gods) [áss? or óss?],  
 Wave's shelter [íss] and pressing misery [nauð],  
 Vals' [=horses'] toil [reið] and stately willow [bjarkan] r<sup>4</sup> B<sup>1</sup>  
 Bade me make verses on this lady.

H a  
 l  
 l u  
 r.  
 o<sup>3</sup>  
 i<sup>2</sup> n<sup>5</sup>

Thorkelsson cites many other runic acrostics of equal interest : the *Ignatius kvaði pislarvotts* of the sixteenth century, "Olifr," i. e., "Olafur" (p. 85); the last of the anonymous *Skald-Helga-Rímur*, "Tumas" (p. 134); Olafur [Kolbeinsson's] poem on Mary Magdalene, the author's name (p. 321); Thorðr Magnússon of Strjúgur in the last of his *Rollants Rímur*, the author's name backwards (p. 345), and in the *Heilræða-Ríma*, the name "Illugi(-e)" (p. 349); and finally Olafur Thomasson (d. 1595), in the last strophe of his memorial poem on Bishop Jón Arason, the author's name (p. 390). More recent even than

these are the runic acrostics of the *rímur* writers cited by Gollanez in his interesting volume, *Hamlet in Iceland* (1898). As this scholar has duly noted,<sup>4</sup> the modern Icelandic rune-play suggests the signatures in Cynewulf's spiritual poems. One *ríma*, indeed, in its combination of acrostic and charade, is so very much to the purpose of the present article that several lines must be quoted. In the twenty-fourth number of the *Bálants eða Feracuts Rímur* by Guðmundr (1701),<sup>5</sup> the poet thus preserves his name and that of his patron, Arnljotur :—

Árferð, vinda agg og lögur,  
 Is yfir skarði landa,  
 Tyr, úr, reið, sá beiddi umbögur  
 Brjotur kennist landa.

Valdráður og vífa fē  
 etc.

Ár(A); ferð = reið(r); vinda agg = nauð(n), lögur(l)  
 is(i); skarði landa = ós(o)  
 tyr(t); úr(u); reið(r)

Valdráður(= Guð); vífa fē(mundr)

Mr. Magnússon believes that this Icelandic runic tradition may go back to Cynewulf himself and quotes a remarkable passage in the oldest grammatical treatise in the Icelandic language, about 1140 A. D.,<sup>6</sup> which seems to show that by the middle of the twelfth century there were in Iceland books written in Anglo-Saxon and understood by some Icelanders.<sup>7</sup> It is in any case, un-

<sup>4</sup> *Hamlet in Iceland*, pp. lxxvii, lxxxi-lxxxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.

<sup>6</sup> "And yet Englishmen write the English with Latin letters, all such as suit the sounds in the English (tongue), but where they do not suffice they employ other letters, as many and of such a kind as are required, but the others they discard which do not suit the sounds of their language. Now, after their example, since we (i. e., Icelanders and Englishmen) are of one tongue (speak one and the same tongue), though one of the two may have changed much or both to some extent . . . I have also written for us Icelanders an alphabet . . ." ("Snorra Edda," *Arna-Magn*, ed. II, 12, 10.)

<sup>7</sup> To sustain this point Mr. Magnússon points to the Icelandic labors of eleventh-century missionary bishops from England like Bernhard the Bookwise and Hróðolf, the cousin of Edward the Confessor (see Ari, *Islandinga-bók*,

deniable that there is a close connection between the Old English rune-song on the one hand and the Norwegian and Icelandic runic-poems on the other.<sup>8</sup>

I have no inclination to press the argument of direct literary relation between the Old English and Icelandic logographs. Whether or not Cynewulf's acrostics influenced the Northern tradition is not of great moment. One thing, however, becomes clear in the light of the Scandinavian illustrations of runic method—and here we have made an important step in advance—that, in typical runic acrostics, the rune was so obviously associated with a definite naming-word, that, at the sight of the name or its synonym, the reader immediately supplied the symbol, or conversely, at the sight of the symbol, substituted the set name. Cynewulf, in his runic acrostics, was doubtless following a conventional scheme popular among poets and familiar to the readers of his time.

In the name-passages of his religious poems, Cynewulf pursued the method of suggesting the letter-name (*Cēn* or *Wyn* or *Lagu*, as the case might be) by the runic symbol, but there are very strong indications that he employed at least once the traditional Icelandic device of substituting for the letter its name or some synonym of its name. The application of this scheme to the so-called "First Riddle" produces such illuminating results that I am led to the conclusion that scholars have been hasty in taking this puzzling poem out of the rank of enigmas and in putting it in the category of *The Husband's Message* and *The Wife's Complaint*. The guise of the lyrical monologue it certainly has, but it seems also to bear the stamp of Cynewulf's cipher.<sup>9</sup>

ch. 8; "Hungrvaka" *Biskupasögur*, I, 64–65; Appendix to the "Landnáma," *Islandingasögur*, I, 332), [see Tanger, *Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske, Christiania*, 1890, pp. 166, 172, 182–188], and to the Icelandic knowledge of the *Beowulf* in the *Grettissaga*, which "seems to draw from the written Anglo-Saxon book, not from oral tradition." This belief in a direct literary connection between the two works is not shared by Anglists (cf. Brandl, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, 995–996).

<sup>8</sup> Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, 1887, pp. 83, 281.

<sup>9</sup> It is apposite to note here the kinship in motif between the "Reed" riddle (No. 61), which is surely an ampli-

Before we proceed to an analysis of the First Riddle, let me make clear one or two features of logographic usage. Leo's interpretation of the poem<sup>10</sup> was doubly at fault: it was far-fetched and fanciful, marked, too, by a total ignorance of riddle-methods; it was moreover, as Sievers showed,<sup>11</sup> linguistically impossible, since *cyne*, *cāne*, *cēn* and *cwān* could not interchange. But it does not therefore follow that another interpretation which pursues closely a traditional scheme and commits no linguistic absurdities is inapt. The poem, whether by coincidence or no (and the chances are enormous against a merely accidental concourse of so many elements), may easily be read as a cryptogram like the runic *rīma* of Guðmundr (*supra*), combining acrostic and charade. Both were very popular at this time: Aldhelm, Tatwine and Boniface delighted in the one<sup>12</sup>; the vogue of the other is established by Æthelwald's *priscus cassis* for Aldhelm ("Ita *cassis* per culmina *prisci* splendent *præfulgida*," etc.),<sup>13</sup> and by Æthelwulf's self-title, *Clarus lupus* ("Haec *lupus*, alte pater, stolido de pectore *clarus*," etc.)<sup>14</sup> Acrostic and charade are combined in a tenth-century poem at the close (78 b) of the Bodleian ms. Rawlinson C. 697:—

*Archalis clamare triumvir nomine Saxi  
Dive tuo fors prognossim feliciter ævo  
Augustæ. Samu cernentis rupis eris el h  
Larvales forti beliales robure contra  
Sepe seges messem fecunda prenotat altum in  
Tutis solandum petrinum solibus agmen  
Amplius amplificare sacra sophismatis arce  
Nomina orto petas donet precor inclita doxus.*<sup>15</sup>

fication of Symphosius (No. 2), and *The Husband's Message*, which follows it in the *Exeter Book*. Indeed, all "first person" verse riddles are lyrical monologues.

<sup>10</sup> *Quæ de se ipso Cynewulfus Poeta Anglo-saxonicus tradididerit*, 1857.

<sup>11</sup> *Anglia*, XIII, 19–21.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. Ehwald, *De Aenigmatibus Aldhelmi et Acrostichis*, Gotha, 1905; my edition of *The Exeter Book Riddles*, 1910, pp. xxxi, xxxii, xlvi.

<sup>13</sup> Jaffé, *Bibliotheca*, 1866, III, 46. See Lingard's *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, II, 188.

<sup>14</sup> *De Abbatibus, etc.*, XXXIII, 1, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 603.

<sup>15</sup> I cite the manuscript note of "Bodley's librarian," Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, in the Bodleian copy of *Cata-*

Both enigmatic modes were familiar to Cynewulf. He uses the acrostic in the *Christ*, the *Elene*, the *Fates*; he employs the charade in the *Juliana*, and perhaps in the Latin enigma, *Rid.* 90, if we accept the ingenious interpretation of the Erlemanns.<sup>16</sup> Indeed in the *Juliana* passage he, like the Anglo-Saxon Johannes, welds the two devices together by regarding *CYN* and *EWU* as word-groups and *L*, *F*, as runic symbols.<sup>17</sup> Hence there is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition that once again he combined acrostic and charade—working, in his presentation of the runes of his name, not counter to, but quite in accord with, runic tradition, as we meet it elsewhere.

Now let us apply the Icelandic method to the First Riddle. The requirements of space make it necessary to transfer the tabular view into the next column :—

<i>Lēod</i> = <i>Cyn</i>	<i>Lēodum</i> is mīnum swylice him mon lāc gīte:
<i>hȳ</i> = <i>Cyn</i>	willað hȳ hīne āþecgan, gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
<i>hīne, hē</i> = <i>Wulf</i>	Ungelice is ūs.
<i>Wulf</i> ic = <i>Cyn</i> (?)	Wulf is on igee, ic on ðōerre;
<i>Cyn</i> Wulf	fenne bāvorpen,
	sindon wætreōne weras þær on igee;
	willað hīne āþecgan, gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
<i>rēn</i> = <i>Lagu</i> (?)	Unzelice is ūs.
<i>beaduwaſa</i> = <i>Cēne</i> ( <i>C</i> )	Wulfes ic mīnes wīdlāstum wēnūm hogode;
	ponne mīc se beaduwaſa bōgum bīlegde:
	was mē wyrn tō bon, was me hƿawþre ēac lāx.
	[Min] wulf, mīn wulf, wēna mē hīne
	sēocc gedydron, hīne seldcymas,
	15 murnende mōd, nāles metelisic.
<i>hwelhp</i> = <i>Cyn</i> (?)	Geliþrest þū, Fadwacer? Uncerne earne hwelp
<i>Wulf</i>	bireð wulf tō wuda.
	pēt mon eāþe tōslīðe þattie nāfē gesonnad wres,
	uncer gīcld geador.
	<i>bōg</i> = <i>boga</i> = <i>Yr</i> ( <i>V</i> )
	<i>wyrn, wēn</i> = <i>W</i>
	<i>Uncerne</i> = <i>Ur</i> ( <i>U</i> )

*logue of Rawlinson MSS. C*, p. 351, where this acrostic has been printed:—"The writer of these verses at the end is 'Johannis,' certainly an Anglo-Saxon, and he addresses 'Adalstan,' Bishop of London ('Augustæ'), who is to be a 'rupis' against ghostly enemies. He wrote them between 970 and 981. . . . As *saxi* = *stān*, so *archalis* = *adal*."

<sup>16</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, cxI, 59 f., cxv, 391 f. Cf. my notes, *Exeter Book Riddles*, pp. 230–232. The solution of the Latin enigma hinges upon the adequate interpretation of its second line, "Obcurrit agnus [rupi] et capit viscera lupi," which is doubly cryptic. As I have shown (*I. c.*), it has a spiritual signification. The Lamb, Christ, through the Rock, Peter (*Matt. xvi*, 18), destroys the Wolf, the Devil. But there is a personal allusion as well. Edmund Erlemann has well explained the "Agnus . . . capit viscera lupi" as a reference to the relation of *ewu* and *wulf* in Cynewulf's name; but neither he nor his fellows have interpreted the "Obcurrit agnus [rupi]," not realizing that the inserted word is demanded by the exigencies of medial rime. Only one explanation seems possible. In the name, *Cynewulf*, *ewu* meets *cyn* . . . *y*, which by a favorite form of inversion of letters (cf. *Fates*, *Rid.* 25, and my solution of *Rid.* 1), becomes *clif*—quite near enough to *clif* (frequently glossing 'rupes') for the word-play of a riddler, who was certainly not writing for twentieth-century philologists.

<sup>17</sup> These runes will be discussed in my second article.

All phases of charade and acrostic must now be discussed. The keystone of the problem is the poem's second line exactly as in the Latin Riddle (*Rid.* 90). They (*Lēod* or *Cyn*) will oppress him (*Wulf*), if he comes to want or need (*þrēat* or *Nyð*)—that is, *Cyn* will oppress or press upon<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Grein (*Sprachechatz*, I, 45) translates *āþecgan* as "receive," Bradley (*Academy*, March 24, 1888) as "give food to"; but the rendering of Schofield (*PMLA*, xvii, 266) and Imelmann (*Die Altenglische Odoaker-Dichtung*, 1907, p. 16) "oppress" is supported by other forms of *þecgan*. Significant indeed is the likeness to *tribulantes* in the fourth line of the Latin enigma (*Rid.* 90), "duo lupi

*Wulf*, if the syllable comes to *N*, the last letter of *Cyn*. The line is so important that the poet repeats it a few lines later. Rieger<sup>19</sup> long since recognized the propriety of substituting for *Lēod* the first syllable of the name of *Cynwulf* (the form here as in *Christ* and *Fates*). There can be no doubt that *hine* and *hē* refer to *Wulf*, who has probably been mentioned in a line now missing.<sup>20</sup> In its frequent meaning of "compulsion," "distress," *þrēat* (sec. B. T., s. v.) is an adequate synonym of *Nýd* (*N*), just as *þraungva vólað* is of *Nauð* (*N*) in Hallr's Icelandic acrostic. The unusual expression, *on þrēat cuman*, finds therefore its explanation in the needs of the enigma, not in an untenable theory of Old Norse origin.<sup>21</sup>

stantes et tertium tribul[antes]." According to Götzen's postscript to the Erlemann solution (*Herrigs Archiv*, cxI, 63), 'two letters of the name, *Wulf*, oppress or press upon a third.'

<sup>19</sup> *ZfdP.*, I, 215-219.

<sup>20</sup> That a line is lacking seems attested by the need of an antecedent for the pronouns, by the absence of *Wulf* from this division of the poem and from no other, and perhaps, though the strophic structure is more than doubtful (see *infra*), by the shortness of the first strophe. This Bradley, Schofield, and Lawrence recognized.

<sup>21</sup> The use of strophe and refrain, if we may in any way speak of a "strophe," when the so-called "refrain" *Ungelic(e) is iās*, is more closely associated in thought with the following than with the preceding lines, is no more indicative of an Old Norse origin of our poem than the *fornyrðislag* strophe of the Beo Spell (*Bibl.*, I, 319) or the twice repeated refrain in the spirited Charm against the shots of Witches (*Bibl.*, I, 317), *Ūt, lȳtel spere, gif hēr inne siē!* By the aid of such arguments as Lawrence and Schofield employ to prove a Scandinavian source for the First Riddle (*PMLA*, xvII, 247, 262), it would be very easy to show that the Witch Charm is Norse. If the alliteration of *w . . . hw* (*Rid.* 1<sup>12</sup>) points, as Lawrence thinks, to the carelessness of a translator, how shall we explain its appearance elsewhere in the Riddles (7, *Leid.* 11; cf. *Gu.*, 323, *Beow.*, 2299, *Jud.* 249), and what shall we say to the many metrical irregularities of the Witch Charm? *Ēsa* (Witch Charm, ll. 23, 25), a *hapaxlegomenon* in Anglo-Saxon, points, in its meaning of "god," far more directly to the Scandinavian (cf. the frequent *āss*, "god") than *ieg* (*ig*) which appears in so many Old English compounds and place-names; *ylyfa gescot* (Witch Charm, ll. 23, 25) which appears elsewhere in the *Charms*, is not less Norwegian (here let one lay undue stress upon the *aliskukt* of modern Norway!) than the thoroughly English idiom (*Rid.* 1<sup>12</sup>), *wes mē wyn tō þon* (cf. *And.*, 1113, 1162, *næs him tō māðme* (*ēðle*) *wyn*; *Seaf.* 45, *nē tō wīfe wyn*; *Gu.*, 189 *tō þon eald-ēndas ondan nōmon*); and the suggestion of "wild hunts"

into the fourth line of the poem Leo long since read a "Cynewulf" charade by the quite inadmissible substitution of *cwēn* (= *ic*) for *cyn*; and several of the scholars with whom I have discussed my interpretation seem inclined to believe that a charade is still possible here, if we regard *ic* as identified with *cyn* by the opening clause of the enigma, *Lēodum is mīnum*. If such identification is permissible, then it is but an easy step to the early view that "the two islands" refer to the two syllables of the poet's name. So much for the charade at present.

Now for the acrostic, which, in the light of the repeated keyline, becomes clear. Just as in the Icelandic acrostic (*supra*), Hallr gives Biorn's name as *OINRB*; so Cynewulf follows in the *Fates* the order, *FWULCYN*, and here he prefers *FNLCYWU*. As in the *Fates*, "*Feoh þār on ende standeþ*"; and the letter-name finds a fitting synonym in *lāc* (with *lāc gife* compare *feoh-gift*, which appears three times in the *Beowulf*, 21, 1025, 1089). *Nýd* (*N*) has already been explained. *Ēglond* may have read originally *Ēalond* (the two forms are found side by side in *Whale*, 12, 16, 21, and *Deutschlbcin*<sup>22</sup> notes that *ēalond* is the invariable form in the Anglian Beda) to suggest more readily, through the first member of the compound, the desired rune-name, *Lagu* (*L*), but the likeness is not in any case far to seek (cf. *ēgstrēam*, "water," "sea").<sup>23</sup> The identi-

of Woden and of a *Hývamól* charm against Witches (cf. Grendon, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxII, 214) is certainly as strong in the one as the hint of the *Völuspá* in the other. If such arguments are permitted to carry the least weight, what shall we say to the striking "strophes" and "refrains" of the Nine Herbs Charm (*Bibl.*, I, 320) and of its references to Woden and the slaying of the serpent that recall the *Völuspá*, 55, 56? Are the *Exeter Gnomes* Norse because they abound in short verses and strophic paragraphs and because the Eddas furnish a dozen striking analogues to their maxims? The theory of translation takes no account of the persistence in Anglo-Saxon of very old Germanic traditions and modes of expression, and is as futile as the recent attempt to assign an Old-Saxon origin to portions of the *Christ*.

<sup>22</sup> *Paul u. Braune's Beiträge*, xxVI, 224.

<sup>23</sup> As, in *Rid.* 4<sup>18</sup>, "rain" finds its poetical equivalent in *lagustrēama*, it is barely possible that Cynewulf is stressing by repetition the *L*-rune (as he repeats for effect *N*, *W*, and *U*) when he writes (line 10) the not very apposite *rēnig weder*.

tification of *wælrēowe* as *cēne* was the work of Leo, who quite inadmissibly regarded *cēne* as the first syllable of the poet's name (*cēne* == *cyn*) and not as the name of the *C*-rune, in which sense it is found in the *Christ*, the *Elene*, the *Fates*; but *beaducāfa* (l. 11) is a far better synonym of *Cēne* (*C*) than *wælrēowe*. The rune *Y* the poet found less adaptable. It was no easy thing to hide away in his monologue so irrelevant a word as *Yr*, "bow" or any of its synonyms. He got bravely over this difficulty by a bit of word-play. Just as the *Exeter Book* riddler plays upon *weg* and *wēg* (*Rid.* 69<sup>13</sup>) or upon the two meanings of *wong* (32<sup>14</sup>), *blād* (38<sup>15</sup>), *hāft* (73<sup>16</sup>) and *blace* (93<sup>17</sup>), so *bōgum* (*bōg*) is intended to suggest *boga* = *Yr* (*Y*). The difficult letter is treated in quite another fashion in the three acrostics (*Christ*, *Elene*, *Fates*), but more of that in my second article. The two remaining runes gave Cynewulf little trouble. Both names of the *W*-rune, *Wyn*, *Wēn*<sup>24</sup> appear in lines 9, 12, 13,—indeed the second furnishes a *leitmotif* to this division of the poem. And *Ūr* (*U*) is twice presented through its equivalent *uncer(ne)* (lines 16, 19). It is significant that Cynewulf employs here the same connotation of the *U*-rune, as in his religious poems. In the last two lines of the lyric we have an obvious reference to the enigmatic purpose of the writer.<sup>25</sup>

Now even the skeptical, hampered though they are by absolute ignorance of the ways of riddlers, will admit that the chances are prodigiously against this cryptogram being accidental. That the application of a thoroughly accredited enigmatic method to this obscure little poem should reveal the runes (and those only) that compose

<sup>24</sup> Sievers has shown conclusively (*Anglia*, XIII, 3–4) that, in Anglo-Saxon poetry (not only in *Rid.* 91<sup>1</sup>, but in *El.* 1090, 1264; *Chr.* 805; *Fates* 100; *Run.* 8) *W* always demands the interpretation *wyn*, a rendering of the rune sustained by the Anglo-Saxon alphabet in the Salzburg ms. (Wimmer, *Runenschrift*, p. 85). On the other hand, *wēn* is the letter's name in many runic alphabets (Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, I, 99, II, 830).

<sup>25</sup> Merbot, *Aesthetische Studien zur angelsächsischen Poesie*, p. 26, in his discussion of the various meanings of *gied*, points out that in *Rid.* 56<sup>14</sup>, *gieddes*, the word means "a riddle," and compares the *Exeter Gnomes*, 4, *gleāwe men secolon gieddum wrixlan*. Perhaps there is a similar implication here. In any case, there is no need to change *giedd* to *gēd* with Herzfeld and Schofield.

the name of the very author who elsewhere discloses his identity by runic devices can hardly be explained on any other theory than that of literary design. Add to this that the poem contains also a charade cloaking the name of this writer, who has attested in the *Juliana* his fondness for charades—and the interpretation seems indeed strongly intrenched.

To this logographic explanation there are certain very obvious objections. And yet some of the strongest of these may be easily converted into favorable arguments. For instance, the striking sentence, *Uncerne earne hwelp / bireð wulf tō wuda* (16–17) must do more than merely introduce a *U*-rune. Its place near the end of the poem and the implication of the enigma's closing lines lead me to believe that it is a phase of the charade. The word *hwelp* may perhaps be regarded as a synonym of the common "progenies," connotation of *cyn*; though I am not aware that *cyn* is ever limited to a single offspring. Grant to the exigencies of a riddle the possibility of such a substitution; and the meaning becomes, "Wulf bears our *Cyn* to the wood"; or simply "Wulf carries away *Cyn*," since the association of wolf and wood is conventional.<sup>26</sup> But how explain *Ēadwacer*? All efforts to account for that mysterious person have been vain. Leo's attempt to interpret the name as an equivalent of the vowel *E* cannot be made to square with the invariable synonym of *E*, *Eh* or *Eoh*, "horse," and moreover falls completely with the abandonment of the *cēne* (= *cyn*) interpretation of *wuda*. Schofield's effort to define the word as "a translation of an Old Norse epithet, *Auðvákr*, i. e., 'The Easily (or Very) Vigilant One'"<sup>27</sup> is ruled out by the spuriousness of the ostensibly Norse coinage and by the appearance of the name *Ēadwacer* at least twice in Old English<sup>28</sup>; and Imelmann's more recent ascription of the poem to an *Odoacer* cycle comprising also *The Wife's Complaint* and *The Husband's Message* collapses with his failure to interpret as *Ēadwacer* the runes at the end of the last-named lyric.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Judith*, 206, *Brunanburh*, 65, *wulf in (on) walde*; *Cotton Gnomes* 18, *wulf sceal in bearwe*; *Elene* 113, *wulf, holtes gehlēþa*.

<sup>27</sup> *PMLA.*, xvii, 267.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 189; Bradley, *Athenaeum*, 1902, II, 758.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bradley, *Modern Language Review*, II, 365–368.

*Ēadwacer*, in my opinion, plays in the poem no rôle of " swift whelp " or of cuckoldy husband,<sup>30</sup> nor has he apparently ought to do with the historical *Odoacer*, of whom, as Nutt rightly says,<sup>31</sup> there is no trace in England ; but he is merely the friend to whom the poet addresses his enigma—some Anglo-Saxon Postumus or Lollius.

Though our Anglo-Saxon cryptogram has so much in common with the Icelandic name-poems, there is one very obvious difference between them. In the Icelandic *rimur* the synonyms of the runes fill the text to the exclusion of other ideas ; in the English enigma the equivalents of the letter-names are skilfully woven into the story of the poem. Such, however, is Cynewulf's method. His other acrostics amply attest his cleverness in inserting runes into his verse without checking the flow of thought. This ingenuity does not fail him here.

For his cryptic purposes Cynewulf chose a form of poetic expression common in his day, the lyrical monologue, and wove his name into a little story of a woman's love, which may or may not have been familiar to his hearers ; but it is evident that, in the opening lines, in the frequent reference to *Wulf*, in the constant selection of words and even motifs adapted to charade and acrostic, and in the riddling close, the enigma has gained at the expense of the lay. Viewed merely as a lyrical monologue, the poem is enveloped in obscurities which are in striking contrast to the simplicity of other compositions of this sort, and which seem to suggest hidden meanings. Regarded as a logograph, the verses are easy to interpret, since the hint of *Cyn* given in the first word of the poem is reinforced by the mention of *Wulf* in every division ; and since both syllables are immediately brought together in a key-line (ll. 2, 7). After the charade has thus furnished all clues, the tracing of the acrostic becomes an exercise not beyond the ingenuity of readers accustomed to this kind of diversion.

In closing may I be permitted a few words in

<sup>30</sup> The *þū* (l. 16) can only be *Ēadwacer* ; and *uncerne*, like *uncer* below, must refer to the tie between the lady and *Wulf*, since *hwelph*, which *uncerne* qualifies, is only in point if used of the wolf-breed or -kin. Moreover, as Imelmann has pointed out (p. 17), *gehyrest þū* has the force of an interjection, *georstu*.

<sup>31</sup> *Athenaeum*, 1902, II, 587.

regard to the bearing of this acrostic-charade upon the important question of the authorship of the Riddles of the *Exeter Book*? In my very recent edition of these poems I thus summarized a detailed discussion of the subject<sup>32</sup> : " Not much value can be attached to any single variation [in the text of the *Riddles*] from Cynewulf's usage or indeed to the accumulative force of all that have been cited ; but, in the absence of one jot of evidence connecting the *Riddles* with this poet, these differences add slightly to the heavy burden of proof resting upon him who seeks to revive the moribund claim of Cynewulfian authorship." Now all is changed. The proper interpretation of the " Cynwulf " cryptogram shifts the burden of proof to the shoulders of him who endeavors to show that this collection of poems, in the main homogeneous,<sup>33</sup> was not (with a few exceptions) the work of Cynewulf. Certainly the effort to assign the enigmas to an earlier period than that of the poet has been signally unsuccessful.<sup>34</sup> His name is written large in the very first riddle of them all (just as Aldhelm writes his in the introductory acrostic to his enigmas) and appears again towards the close of the collection. The undoubtedly variations in meter, language and style<sup>35</sup> from the usage in the generally accepted poems of Cynewulf are after all too slight to avail against the explicit evidence of the First Riddle and the substantiating testimony of Riddle 90. Belief in the poet's wide range of literary activity and of linguistic and metrical expression, and a consequent reconstruction of the Cynewulf canon are the inevitable conclusions resulting from an acceptance of my interpretation of the " Cynwulf " name-poem. Hence, the far-reaching significance of this attempt to lift forever from the First Riddle the ban of double terms and to restore it to its rightful place at the head of the *Exeter Book* enigmas.

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<sup>32</sup> *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. lxii.

<sup>33</sup> In my Introduction to the *Riddles*, pp. lxiii-lxix, I have given at length my reasons for believing that by far the greater number of these enigmas are from a single hand.

<sup>34</sup> See *Riddles*, pp. lvi-lviii.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. lx-lxii.

OLD FRENCH *ACOILLIR*.

In the June number of *Modern Language Notes* there appears an article on "The Weavers' Inscription in the Cathedral of Chartres," wherein Professor William P. Shepard ingeniously deciphers the "inscription très obscure dont on ne pcut qu'entrevoir le sens." Dissatisfied with previous readings which inform us simply that a "confrérie" of Saint Vincent gave the window, leaving us in darkness as to the connection of the "confrérie" with the altar and the masses said thereon, Mr. Shepard proceeds to decipher the inscription and succeeds in forming a "perfectly legible and grammatical Old French sentence, making good sense and accounting for every letter of the inscription."

The rendering is as follows : *Li confrere Saint Vincent cil qui donerent ceste verriere sont acoilli en totes les messes q'en chantera a eest autel*; or in Modern French (still quoting Mr. Shepard), "Les confrères de Saint Vincent, ceux qui donnèrent cette verrière, sont accueillis en toutes les messes qu'on chantera à cet autel."

In thus reading the inscription, Mr. Shepard is doubtless correct, and he is for the most part quite right in concluding that "it is evident that at Chartres the 'tisserands' had formed a fraternity under his [i. e., Saint Vincent's] patronage, and had dedicated a window to him"; but, when he adds that "they asserted the right to be present at all the masses celebrated on the neighboring altar," he makes, I fear, a slight error due to a misinterpretation of the word *acoilli* (<*acoillir*) which has a specific ecclesiastical sense, as may be seen from the following instances of its use.

Godefroy gives as equivalents of *acueillir* the following words : *recevoir, admettre, donner part à, faire entrer en part de*, and cites these examples : "Pour estre acueillis es oroisons des diz religieus"; and "Estre acuillis as bonnes prières et ouraison des dietes religieuses."<sup>1</sup>

We are not, however, dependent on Godefroy for illustrations of the use of the word in question. Du Cange furnishes the following : "\*nostris acueillir et aqueullir eadem notione. Charta ann. 1292 in Chartul. S. Petri Carnot. : je confirme que

l'abbe et le couvent de Saint Pere de Chartres. . . tiennent . . . en main morte pour aueillir moi et mes ancesseurs en leurs prières et pour ce que mes ancesseurs le leur avoient doné et otroïé, tout ce que il ont en mon fié en queneque leu que ce soit"; and further, under the same word, we read : "Testam. Petri comit. Alencor, ann. 1282 : Es queles (messes et oraisons) nos aqueullons nostre aiole la raine Blanche."<sup>2</sup> The expression occurs with a not unlike meaning in *la Vie de Saint Gile*<sup>3</sup> :

"Sire" fuit il "nus te priuns  
Acoil nus en tes oreisuns." ll. 2055-2056.

and again :

"Mcis il me dist veralement  
K' il vus vendrad ici veer,  
Si vus durad de sun aver,  
E l'aeoillerez en frarie  
E es benfeiz de l'abbie."

ll. 3272-3276.

Moreover, the word is found in the statutes of the Confraternity of the Trinity at Caen :

"Item, et à ceux infés de lèpre ou semblable maladie, en fera dire une messe basse ou il plaira audit maladec ès despens de ladite charité et conduire hors les faubourgs de Caen avec la croix et la baniere, le provost eschevin et serviteur, et le clerc et, au départir, dire epistre et evangile et à celuy bailler et délivrer la somme de xx souls t., pour une fois seulement de l'argent et revenu d'icelle charité, se il le requiert. Et sera tenu quitte de payer le dit denier par sepmaine. Et néanmoins sera accuilly à toutes les messes, orai-

<sup>2</sup> Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s. v. *accolligere*.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Paris and Bos. Cf. Nos in fraternitatem interdum et laicos recipimus. (Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s. v. *Fraterfratres conscripti*). Ecclesia Compostellana . . . recipit in societate sua Annonem Episc. (*ibid.*, s. v. *Confratria \*\*3 confraternitas*). Vos in fraternitatem nostram recipimus. (Convention between two monasteries cited by Georg Zappert in *Über das Fragment eines Liber dativus*. (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Philos.-Histor. Classe, XIII. Band, 1854, p. 105).

For this custom vd. Léopold Delisle, *Des Monuments Paléographiques concernant l'usage de prier pour les morts* (Bibl. de l'Ec. des Chartes, 2me série, tome 3 (1846, p. 361); and Georg Zappert, *Über sogennante Verbrüderungsbücher und Nekrologien im Mittelalter* (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Philos.-Histor. Classe, X. Band, 1853, p. 417).

<sup>1</sup> Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *acueillir*.

sons et prieres et à tous les bienfaits d'icelle charité et apres sa mort, aura vigilles et messes.”<sup>4</sup>

*Acoillir* apparently corresponds to the italicised Latin expressions in the following donations and conventions entered into by monasteries and individuals and associations.

Excepto quod . . . fuerit oblatum ad partem Monasterii . . . vel per conversionem, vel per orationem, id est, *suscipiendo aliquem in suis orationibus aut per testamentum.*<sup>5</sup>

In suo consortio sive *in orationibus recipere.*<sup>6</sup>

*In nostram fraternitatem et orationem susceptus.*<sup>7</sup>

Sumus *recepti . . . in confraternitatem et oraciones Dominorum et sororum.*<sup>8</sup>

Et vos et monachi vestri *me in orationes vestras recipere dignetis.*<sup>9</sup>

Ego Guihomar . . . conventionem cum monachis Sancte Crucis . . . faciens ut in beneficiis eorum vivens *participarer* et pro redemptione anime mee.<sup>10</sup>

Donum quod ego Quiaricus . . . monasterio Kemperelegensi . . . concessi . . . pro redemptione anime mee, ut post hujus vite debitum finem, orationum et beneficiorum eorum *particeps* effectus a commissis culpis sublevatus misericordiam Dei consequi merear.<sup>11</sup>

Notum sit vobis . . . hoc esse antiquitus statutam inter nostram ecclesiam et vestram congregationem scilicet vos esse *fratres et participes* omnium beneficiorum quae fiunt in Ecclesia S. Martini, nocte et die, in Missis et psalmis et orationibus et vigiliis.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>4</sup> E. de Beaurepaire, *Caen Illustré*, Caen, 1896, p. 371.

<sup>5</sup> Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s. v. 5. *Fraternitas, Charta Ann. 1123 apud Puricellum in Basilica Ambrosiana*, p. 569.

<sup>6</sup> Zappert, *op. cit.*, p. 431, note 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 435, note 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 436, note 12.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 439, note 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte Croix de Quimperlé* (ed. Maitre and Berthou). 2d edition, Paris et Rennes, 1904, p. 185.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>12</sup> *Convention between the Canons of Saint Martin's London and the Gild of Saddlers of London*, cited by Thomas Madox, *Firma Burgi*, London, 1776, p. 27, note (d). For other instances of this use of *Particeps* and similar expressions vd. Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s. v. 5. *Fraternitas*, also Zappert, *op. cit.*, X (1853), pp. 421, R., 422, V., 423, W., 424, X., 426, Z., 426, AA., 427, BB., 428, CC., 430, note; 433, note 11); and again *op. cit.*, XIII, (1854), pp. 108, 109, 180, note, 246.

The English expression seems to have been “partner,” if one may judge from the following instances:

“Graunting you to be partyners of masses, mateins and other houres of prayers fastynges, almes-dedes, hospitalitees, abstynences, watches, pilgrimages, goostly laboures and of all other good dedes by the brethern of oure religion don or to be don worlde withouten ende.”<sup>13</sup>

“partyners of theire suffragies perpetually.”<sup>14</sup>

“partners with theym as wele in this lyf as after of all masses, prayers, prechynge, etc.”<sup>15</sup>

“parteners in the masses & other dyvyne seruices by the said preest to be seyd & doon for euermore, & cetera.”<sup>16</sup>

From what precedes, it would seem that the “tisserands” in question did not so much assert the right to be present at all the masses celebrated at the chapel altar, as indicate that the members of their “confrérie” were remembered, commemorated, or prayed for,<sup>17</sup> in all the masses of-

<sup>13</sup> *Memorials of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (ed. C. M. Clode). London, 1875, p. 50.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>16</sup> *The Medieval Records of a London City Church*. Early Eng. Text Soc., o. s., 128, p. 8. Among other English equivalents might be remarked: “parcyall” and “partaker.” Cf. *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, prayers:

þat cristen soules þat passed here  
fro þis lyue, þat synful esse  
þat ilk one haue part of þis masse

E. E. T. S., o. s. 71, I, p. 42.

“Parcyall”—“Graunting theym to be parcyall of the benefytes of theire religion don or to be don.” *Mem. of the Merch. Tay. Co.*, p. 51.

“Partaker”—“If any one has a desire and is willing for the honour of the holy Trinity to be received into the said guild that he may be *partaker* of the alms and benefactions thereof, he shall give to the said guild a certain sum of money to the maintenance of the said alms and benefactions, according to what shall be agreed upon by the aldermen and the brethren thereof.”—§ 6 of the additional Usages and Customs of the Guild Merchant of the Holy Trinity of Lynn Regis, cited by Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, II, p. 164.

“These are, and long have been, the stereotyped English locutions used in connection with masses said for individuals; e. g.:

“That they have my soul in mynde.”—*The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate*. London, E. E. T. S., o. s., 78, p. 95.

“That the said Wardeyns . . . kepe yerely for euermore

ferred there. This conclusion is quite in accord with what is known of the customs of such organizations and has already been divined or suggested by M. Émile Mâle, when he writes : "de ce texte confus il résulte que les tisserands formaient une confrérie de Saint Vineent et qu'ils faisaient dire des messes (sans doute pour les membres défunts) dans la échapelle du saint."<sup>18</sup>

WILLIAM A. McLAUGHLIN.

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ZU UHLANDS VOLKSLIEDERN,  
Nr. 43.

Uhlands Quelle für dieses Lied war die Fassung eines fliegenden Blattes in einem in seinem Besitze befindlichen Sammelbande von Einzeldrucken des 16. Jahrhunderts (jetzt in Tübingen, Univ.-Bibl.), S. 319 ff.: *Drey schöne neue Lie- / der / Das Erste / Es sasz ein / Yl vnd span. / [Holzschlitt : Eine Eule am Spinnrocken] Das ander / Es ist ein schnee ge- / fallen / hudemump. / Das dritte liede Jch klag den / tag vnd alle stund. / [4 Blätter, 8°, ohne Ort u. Jahr, wahrscheinlich Strasburg ca. 1570].*

*Das ander Lied.*

- [1] Es ist ein schnee gefallen,  
Jörg nissel, sigmichel hudemump

the Day of myn Anniversary in the said chirch . . . together with the commmoracion of the soules aforsaid."—E. E. T. S., o. s., 128, p. 15.

"The said preest . . . to be . . . alwey charged specially & deuoutly to pray daily at his said morowe masse . . . for the soule of the said John Nasyng."—E. E. T. S., o. s., 128, p. 18.

The word "*Recommend*" is also used ; e. g.:

"Also I bequethe . . . so that my soule be recommended in Goddys seruice therc."—E. E. T. S., o. s., 78, p. 31.

"And to do recommande my soule and þe soules afor said in the same myndc (i. e. year's mind.)"—*Ibid.*, p. 32.

In wills mentioning the foundation of Chantries, we not infrequently find the words "to sing for me" (E. E. T. S., o. s., 78, p. 31), or "to synge dyuyne service" (E. E. T. S., o. s., 128, pp. 1-2, 5, 9, 11, 13), or "to syng & sey dyuyne service" (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 17), or "to syng & prey for my sowle" (*ibid.*, p. 19).

<sup>18</sup> *L'art religieux au XIII<sup>e</sup>. siècle en France*, Paris 1902, p. 368.

hansz jocel, güt tuch hudemumpe,  
wann es ist noch nicht zeit.

- [2] Ich wolt zu meinem bûlen gan, jörg nissel . . . [etc.]  
der weg ist mir verschneyet.
- [3] Es giengen drey gesellen, jörg . . .  
spatzieren vmb das hausz.
- [4] Das Meitlein was behendc, jörg . . .  
es lügt zum laden ausz.
- [5] Der ein der was ein Reuter, jörg . . .  
der ander ein Edelman.
- [6] Der dritt ein stoltzer schräciber, jörg . . .  
den selben wolt es han.
- [7] Das mcitlein das kondt stricken, jörg . . .  
biss es sie ausz gemacht.
- [8] Er thet dem meitlein kromen, jörg . . .  
von siden ein haarschnür.
- [9] Er gabs dem selben meitlein, jörg . . .  
bind du dein haar mit zu.
- [10] Ich will mein haar nit binden, jörg . . .  
ich wil es hangen lan.
- [11] Ich will wol disen somer lang, jörg . . .  
fröhlich zum dantze gan.

Uhland druckte das Lied ab mit veränderter Orthographie und ohne den drolligen Kehrreim. Er liesz ferner Str. 7 des fl. Bl. aus, weil dieses Fragment "iu keinem Reimverbande steht und den Zusammenhang stört."<sup>1</sup>

Die Vatikanisehe Bibliothek besitzt einen aus der alten Heidelberger Bibliothea Palatina stammenden Sonderdruck (Nürnberg, Fr. Gutknecht, ohne Jahr, ca. 1550?), mit einer Uhland unbekannten abweichenden Fassung dieses Liedes.<sup>2</sup> In diesem fl. Bl. ist das Lied als 7 vierzeilige Strophen (ohne Refrain) gedruckt, unter Wiederholung der Verse 1, 2 und 3, 4 einer jeden Strophe. Ich lasse hier einen Ahdruck folgen ohne die Wiederholungen der Str. 2-7 :

- [1] Es ist ein Schnee gefallen,  
wann es ist noch nicht zcit.  
Es ist ein Schuee gefallen,  
wañ es ist noch nit zeit.  
Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen,  
der weg ist mir verschneit,  
Ich sollt zu meinem Bulen,  
der weg ist mir verschneit.

<sup>1</sup> Uhland, Schriften 4, 39 ; siche auch *PBBeiträge* 35, 448 f.

<sup>2</sup> Beschreibung, *PBBeitr.* 35, 425.

- [2] Es giengen drey gesellen,  
späcieren vmb das Hausz.  
Das Meydelein was behende,  
es lugt zum Laden ausz.
- [3] Der Erst der was ein Schneider  
das ander ein Edelman.
- [4] Das Meydelein das kunndt stricken,  
es strickt ein halbe Nacht.  
An einer seydin Hauben,  
ausz garn ist sie gemacht.
- [5] Von seydin ist die Hauben,  
Von Perlin ist die Schnur.  
Damit da bindt das Mägetlein,  
sein gelbes Haar mit zu.
- [6] Ich will mein Haar nit binden,  
wenn ich wils hangen lan.  
Ich wil wol disen Sommer lang,  
damit zum Tantze gahn.
- [7] Der vns das Lied hat gesungen,  
ausz frischem freyen muth.  
Das hat gethon ein Goldschmid,  
Got geb jm ein fein gut Jahr.

Von der 4. Str. dieses älteren Liedes sind in der durch Uhlands fl. Bl. vertretenen Fassung Vers 3 und 4 ausgefallen, wohl wegen eines Gedächtnisfehlers. Die dadurch entstandene, Uhland unbegreifliche Störung des Zusammenhangs hat wohl die Abweichungen der darauffolgenden vier Verse veranlaszt.

CHARLES ALLYN WILLIAMS.

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#### ANOTHER UNKNOWN LETTER BY CHARLES SEALSFIELD.

A recently discovered communication from Postl to his publisher, Heinrich Erhard,<sup>1</sup> enabled me to settle for the critical Sealsfield edition now in preparation the puzzling question regarding the extent of the author's responsibility for the text of the second editions (first collected edition) of the *Lebensbilder aus der Westlichen Hemisphäre*. It was another instance of a trite bit of documentary

evidence solving an intricate critical problem. Another letter, purchased one year ago at an auction in Berlin, deserves, in my opinion, to be made public, notwithstanding its want of intrinsic importance, because in a small way though it be it extends our limited knowledge of Sealsfield's life in this country; it furnishes, besides, a clew to further biographical inquiry.

[Address.]

N. WORMS ESQR

10 Sydney Place, Brooklyn  
L. J.

PHILADELPHIA, 28 May 185 (?)

Hochgeehrter Herr

Mich auf Herrn Dr Davys freundliche Vermittlung beziehend, bin ich so frey, Ihnen zu cröffen, dass ich nächsten Montag den 2 ten Juny in Brooklyn einzutreffn, und in Ihrem Hause abzusteigen beabsichtige.

Ich bitte Sie und Ihre hochgeehrte Frau die Versicherung meiner besondern Achtung zu genehmigen, und zeichne mich mit Ergebenheit

Ch Sealsfield.

The lack of the last numeral in the date is clearly due to the accidental gliding off of the pen onto the pad. The postmark, while perfectly legible as to the month and day (May 28), does not state the year at all. Nor can this be safely determined by the stamp, as that issue had a long and probably not exclusive vogue. According to calendar calculation, however, the year in question can be positively identified as 1857. Sealsfield had left Switzerland in 1853 for a prolonged sojourn in the United States. He spent full five years on the western continent. Of the earlier part of that period we possess some meagre knowledge through letters; but about the middle of April, 1856, the biographers lose trace of him.<sup>2</sup> He was then known to be in Philadelphia. Our letter shows him to have remained at the Atlantic Seaboard for a considerable time or, at all events, to have returned thither in the following year. The name of Dr. Davys (?) and that of the addressee, N. Worms, point to heretofore unknown connections, the further exploration of which may eventually prove of value.

OTTO HELLER.

*Washington University, St. Louis.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Euphorion*, xvi, 2-3, pp. 516-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield, etc.*, p. 156.

*Essai sur la composition du roman gallois Peredur,*  
par MARY R. WILLIAMS, M. A. Paris, 1909.  
vi, 21 pp.

## I.

One after another the romances which constitute the mysterious cycle of the Grail are being brought forward to yield their quota of evidence on the growth of that legend, and the transformations it underwent in the course of mediaeval literature. Among those having especial significance both for the legend as a whole, and the racial and historic conditions which shaped it, is the *Peredur*. Written in Wales, an important section of the Celtic domain whence Arthurian literature sprang, the *Peredur* nevertheless has been considered an immediate borrowing or adaptation from the French. In a very recent publication Professor Golther says<sup>1</sup>: "wer immer noch Peredur und Percyvelle für selbständige, nicht aus Kristian's Perceval abgeleitete Darstellungen nimmt, mit dem ist überhaupt keine Verständigung möglich." In spite of various, more or less desultory attempts to prove that the *Peredur* is independent of Crestien, Golther's view, first elaborated in 1890,<sup>2</sup> has in general prevailed among scholars. It is now for the first time categorically challenged in the monograph before us, the author of which affirms in her conclusions: "le récit gallois n'est ni une traduction, ni même une adaptation du poème de Chrétien."

Let it be said at the outset that Miss Williams has no misgivings. She proceeds fearlessly on her course, apparently unaware that Golther's study was ever written; or, if so, that its tenets are worth mentioning, much less refuting. In itself, this attitude might be justified by the desire to avoid preconceived theories and to keep the mind free to draw its own conclusions. But then, it may be asked, why does not Golther's study find

a place in the bibliography? Its absence there, however, is not essentially more conspicuous than that of a number of other studies. The treatises of Heinzel, Steinbach, Hagen, Newell and Wechsler are also passed by in silence, although these scholars have dealt, indirectly at least, with the problems Miss Williams considers. Her study thus is of necessity too narrow to treat other than superficially the larger question in which the *Peredur* is concerned. To do so successfully at once a broader and a deeper investigation would have been required. All this, however, is evidently within Miss Williams's intention. She remarks in her introduction that desiring to examine only "la formation du roman de Pcredur, nous nous bornons à prendre celui-ci comme centre d'étude en n'utilisant les poèmes de Chrétien et de ses continuateurs et celui de Wolfran que pour la comparaison." In other words, the veil is to be lifted from the *Peredur* by viewing it solely as a literary composition, distinct—as far as possible—from those other works to which it has thus far been linked, and in large measure, subordinated.

Suggestive as this study is, and on the whole Miss Williams is cautious in her statements, the attempt thus made to divorce the *Peredur*, even momentarily, from the general grail question seems to me ill-judged. The *Peredur* is not so much the work of an individual, as of a class of poets using essentially the same method of composition. Like all Arthurian stories—from which it cannot be arbitrarily set apart—it consists of certain wide-spread story motifs, which are held together by a slender thread of plot. Its author may have given his ideas local color, but he employed the materials and methods of other Arthurian poets. Saran ingeniously remarked some years ago: "das epos hat eine historisch verknüpfende, der Artusroman eine episodenhafte technik."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the plot of the epic centers in an event, historical or pseudo-historical in nature, and remains fixed or stable as far as that event is concerned. The Arthurian romance, however, derives from an idea, mythical, romantic, at all events essentially imaginative, which other similar ideas are made to subserve. Its subject-

<sup>1</sup> *Zeit. vergl. Literaturg.*, xviii (1910), 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der bayerisch. Akademie*, II, abth. 2, 171-227. See Freymond, *Jahresbericht*, I, and G. Paris, *Romania*, xx, 504, who remarks "cette thèse intéressante est bien plutôt affirmée que démontrée." Also, A. Nutt, *Revue Celtique*, xii, 181-228. Golther's review of the present work (*Literaturblatt*, 1910, cols. 286-287) reached me after my review was written.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch. Spr. u. Lit.*, xxi (1896), 290.

matter is not only pliable but is especially adapted to the expression of racial, cultural and individual preferences. Roland is the representative of an established, national, point of view, of which he is indeed the typical expression ; whereas Perceval is Welsh only in surname (*li gallois*), and his real character is dependent upon the special ideal the romancer may have had in mind. But adaptable as the Arthurian motifs are, their number is small, and the same motifs recur with frequency, even in the course of a single romance. Thus the relatively late *Rigomer* contains no less than six instances of the 'bospitable host,' all contributing in increasing measure to an otherworld adventure ; and Crestien's fondness for the fairy-mistress story is known to all readers of *Erec* and *Yvain*. As a consequence, the inter-relation of the romances—that is, their composition—depends wholly on a minute analysis of the various versions of the episodes of which they are constituted. Partial analyses of this kind have been made with respect to some of the better-known romances, such as the *Wigalois*<sup>4</sup> and the *Yvain*.<sup>5</sup> In view of the wide diffusion of Arthurian material, this method is the only one on which we can at present rely. In the case of the *Peredur*, which has been such a bone of contention, it would be sure to yield interesting results.<sup>6</sup> That Miss Williams has not chosen to employ it is due, I believe, to a mistaken point of view.

Until recently<sup>7</sup> the *Peredur* was accessible only in the fourteenth century *Red Book of Hergest*, which Lady Guest and J. Loth have separately translated. An earlier text is now on hand in the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Saran, *l. c.*, and Schofield, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, IV, Boston, 1895.

<sup>5</sup> A. C. L. Brown, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, VIII, 1903 ; *idem.*, *PMLA.*, XX, 676 ff. Cf. also, Ehrismann, *Beiträge z. Gesch.*, etc., XXX, 14 ff., and W. P. Ker, *Folk-Lore*, V, 121.

<sup>6</sup> See below my remarks on the framework of the story. The important thing, of course, is the *scenario* (see Brugger, *Zt. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXXV (1909), 55). As Gother has shown (p. 199) the emphasis Crestien has placed upon the "educational" training of his hero is also dominant in the *Peredur*. Yet if Miss Williams is consistent in following Nutt, she must accept his last dictum (*Folk-Lore*, XXI, 109), that "in the pristine myth the real stress is upon the permanent factor, the representative of the life-force, the Fisher King."

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gaidoz, *Revue Celtique*, IX, 393.

so-called *White Book Mabinogion*.<sup>8</sup> Its editor, Mr. Evans, placed the manuscripts of this edition at Miss Williams's disposal before they were published. Thus she controlled the entire ms. material—in all, eleven manuscripts. Seven of these are copied respectively from the other four. The four basal manuscripts are Peniarth [P]—the name of the collection—4, 7, 14 ; and the *Red Book* [R. B.] P. 4 and 7 are of the end of the thirteenth century. The text of P. 4 is essentially that of R. B. ; but P. 7 has lost its beginning, and P. 14 lacks all except the beginning.

As regards the filiation, P. 4 and R. B. go back to the same source : the argument being that each contains words or phrases not found in the other, yet occurring in some third manuscript of the group. The common original considerably antedates P. 4 since R. B. contains archaic linguistic forms to which analogues are found in the famous *Black Book* of the twelfth century. Miss Williams thus agrees with Loth<sup>9</sup> that "les Mabinogion . . . paraissent avoir été écrits à la fin du douzième siècle," although she reserves judgment as to whether they "serrent de près une source française." Momentarily it is of importance that the greatest number of manuscript variants occurs in the first section of the *Peredur* ; whence she argues that the story was recited orally before being fixed in writing, and that the first part of it, as far as episode 21, was an earlier version of the tale to which the conclusion as found in P. 4 and R. B. was later added. To lend color to this theory, Miss Williams adduces the example of P. 7, in which episode 20 terminates with the words : "c'est ainsi qui se terminent les progrès de Peredur ap Efrawe." Furthermore, as the language test shows, P. 7 cannot be a copy of P. 4, though its date is the thirteenth century ; and in descriptions, similes and style it clearly excels the latter. On the other hand, it was written by a careless scribe.

But there remains the question of its relationship to the original of R. B., which we saw abounds in archaisms. After noting that "on trouve une grande similitude entre les passages de P. 14 et de P. 7, mais aussi entre les formes de mots qui par cela même diffèrent de P. 4 et en même temps du Livre Rouge [R. B.]," Miss

<sup>8</sup> See Williams, p. v.

<sup>9</sup> *Les Mabinogion*, I, 18.

Williams passes on to correct an error of Lady Guest and J. Loth whereby an agreement with the *Parzival* had been obscured. Yet she had observed previously that<sup>10</sup> in P. 7, as well as in R. B., we find words of an older form than in P. 4. All of which would go to show that P. 4 and R. B. cannot be considered sources of P. 7, but leaves in doubt the original of R. B. A decision must be left to the Celticists. P. 14 and P. 7, however, are grouped together with good reason; moreover, here, as in *Sir Percyvelle*, Gawain and not Owein gives Peredur advice as to how to disarm the Red Knight.

Thus, while it is impossible to deny that P. 4 and P. 7 may represent an earlier redaction of the *Peredur*, (1) this fact has not been proved, (2) a shorter redaction is not necessarily a more primitive one, and finally (3) the internal evidence, as we shall see, is not conclusive on this point.

## II.

The remainder of the monograph is devoted to the literary relationships of the *Peredur*. Miss Williams, in sharp contrast to Golther, seeks first to free her romance of the incubus of Crestien. She accepts the reality of Kiot,<sup>11</sup> if on no better authority than that of Miss Weston. To her, too, she acknowledges indebtedness for the remark that generally speaking the romances agree in their descriptions of the lance and the sword, but differ as to the grail. The *Peredur*, which omits the grail entirely, is in her opinion a vengeance-story; while the *Perceval*, in which the grail is prominent, is based on a healing- or cure-motif. This distinction, though mentioned by others, seems to me more apparent than real. Vengeance and cure are clearly akin in folklore.<sup>12</sup> The lat-

ter is contingent on the former, so also is the idea of the disenchantment of nature, which is so prominent in some of the grail romances. One may even question the possibility of distinguishing between these ideas according to logical canons: they embody essentially the same motif, and the predominance of the one over the others may depend on the romancer's individual preference, especially on his success in suiting the story to a particular social *milieu*. Of this kind of adaptation Crestien, and in greater degree Wolfram and de Boron, are excellent examples; whereas Wauchoier remains popular; that is, close to the soil. In this respect the author of the *Peredur* seems to me literary; his interest is in the setting and not in the meaning of his story, for much of it is meaningless to him. On a later page Miss Williams remarks: "Peredur est ainsi en même temps le vengeur et par cela même [the italics are mine] le guérisseur." But she stretches a point in identifying him on that account with the Peredur, head-physician, mentioned in the *Black Book*. A Peredur Arvandur is also known, and the name is found coupled with that of Gwrgi, a doubtful companion, however, for "le héros très francisé de notre récit."<sup>13</sup>

It is easier to follow her identification of the head-on-the-platter, as a summons to vengeance, with Bran's head,<sup>14</sup> the agrarian significance of which is now evident—though she fails to note the fact—and which she justly classes with the giant's head in *Pierre Bercheur*.<sup>15</sup> The underlying concept here is part of the folklore theme of the Fisher King, as I have endeavored to show elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> Therefore the lance, which strikes the dolorous-blow, is more generally significant than the grail. If Miss Williams had understood the meaning of the lance, she would have realized that the possibilities of reconstruction are greater now than is commonly believed. The primitive Arthurian forms are no longer the *terra incognita* they once were. Thus, we are safe in adding to

<sup>10</sup> See p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> This question is, however, still undecided. For example, Baist, *Parzival u. der Gral*, Freiburg, 1909, p. 15—"einen andern Graldichter als Chrestien hat er [Wolfram] nicht gekannt"—and F. Lot, *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, LXX (1909), 571, note—"J'ose à peine faire observer, après tant d'autres, que le *Parzival* de Wolfram ne doit être utilisé et qu'il est vain de lui chercher une source commune à lui et à Chrestien de Troyes." On the other hand, see Heinzel, *Ueber Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival*, 28 ff.; Martin, *Parzival*, II, p. xliv; Hertz, *Parzival*, 417, and Brown, *PMLA*, xxv (1910), 2.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, xxi (1910), 112. Llew in

the Mabinogi of *Math* is not restored until he is avenged on Grouw Pebr.

<sup>13</sup> Loth, *op. cit.*, II, 65.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the Mabinogi of Bran.

<sup>15</sup> *Reductorium Morale*, bk. XIV, prologue; cf. *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 44.

<sup>16</sup> *PMLA*, xxiv (1909), 404, 409.

the example of the Goon-Desert episode, which she adduces from Manessier,<sup>17</sup> that of the Garlon-Balin story in the *Huth Merlin*.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the veneer of Christian allegory removed, the same folkloristic background at once appears in the account of destructive forces in the *Perlesvaus*; one has but to think of the Chastel Mortel, Waste City and other similar episodes.<sup>19</sup> On the lance itself most of the data have been collected.<sup>20</sup> Mythically a weapon of light, ritualistically an instrument of sacrifice, the lance is one of the wonders of the Celtic otherworld. In the hands of the enchanter who forged it, it appears capable of infinite harm. But when wielded by the chosen person (the Initiate)—Perceval, Gawain, Peredur, Galaad—its beneficial properties are seen, and it restores vegetation, heals wounds and avenges human wrongs. Such an explanation of it is in every respect more pertinent and real than the assumption<sup>21</sup> of a far-off, esoteric origin in the *introitus* of the Greek church. In some respects the grail-sword is a parallel to it.

The idea then suggests itself that the Red Knight of the grail romances may be identical with Garlon the Red. In any case, this is a possibility Miss Williams might have considered because of its bearing on the theme of the *Peredur*. The Red Knight is consistently the enemy of Perceval's kin; in *Syr Percyvelle* he is the instigator of the blood feud. According to Crestieu<sup>22</sup> the hero's father has been wounded, *parmi les jambes*, a statement which brings to mind the Fisher King's wound, vv. 3474–3475 :

[Qu']il fu feruz d'un javelot  
Parmi les hanches amedos.

In *Perlesvaus*<sup>23</sup> the Red Knight (*de la forest des Ombres*) falls beneath the arrow of Perceval, who

<sup>17</sup> V. 34935 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, *Soc. d. anc. textes* (1886); see A. C. L. Brown in *PMLA*, xxv (1910), 42 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Potvin, I, 102, 185, 209–217, 328; Heinzel, *Franz. Gralromane*, 174.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Brown, l. c.; and my study in *PMLA*, xxiv (1909), 375.

<sup>21</sup> See Burdach, *Deut. Literaturzeit.*, xxiv (1903), cols. 3050–58; Baist. *op. cit.*, 18; W. Golther, *Parzival u. der Gral* in *Deut. Sage des Mittelalters u. der Neuzeit*, Munich, 1903 (*Walkalla*, IV).

<sup>22</sup> Baist's text, v. 416.

<sup>23</sup> Potvin, I, 108 ff.; also 192 ff.

then is attacked by various of his kin, such as Chaos li ros, Clamados des Onbres and the like. Besides, the Gurgalon of the prose romance<sup>24</sup> is apparently identical with Garlon, in name and in attributes, and the sword of St. John thus can be traced to the bleeding lance as a prototype; so, too, Arthur's squire,<sup>25</sup> like Garlon's enemies, is slain by an arrow flying invisibly. In the *Peredur* the sorceresses of Gloucester participate in the Red Knight's feud. In *Syr Percyvelle*<sup>26</sup> a sorceress is his mother. According to Gerbert<sup>27</sup> a sorceress combats the grail knight by order of the King of the Waste City. Like the Scáthach of the Cuchulinn saga (*Tochmarc Emire*) — with whom Miss Williams classes the sorceresses—they are destructive agents causing enchantments.

If there be a measure of truth in the above, then the Red Knight is not simply a lay figure in the romances. Indeed, his connection with the lance may be of fundamental importance. As I conceive of his rôle, it is to bring the hero into contact with the central mystery of the lance (and grail) by an attack on the hero's own family. In the early myth<sup>28</sup> the stress must have been on the vengeance or cure of the Fisher King.

<sup>24</sup> Potvin, I, 75 and my article, *op. cit.*, 408.

<sup>25</sup> Potvin, I, 5. The squire's name is Chaos, which I explain as a confusion of the victim with the slayer.

<sup>26</sup> *Thornton Romances*, p. 33; v. 849.

<sup>27</sup> The sorceress (*une vieille*) in Gerbert has a life-restoring balm; on this see Nutt, *Studies*, 165 ff. and R. H. Griffith, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxv (1910), 102 ff. Griffith calls attention to the fact that in *Fierabras*, vv. 522 ff., and in Gerbert, the balm is connected with the Resurrection, but fails to notice the same traits in the *Rigomer*, vv. 17000 ff.:

“C'est ei Marie Madelaine,  
S'a porté de l'ongement  
Don ele fist a Diu present.”

This is an example of syncretism, as I have pointed out in my *Fisher King*, *PMLA*, xxiv (1909), 412. The caldron of Bran, Loth, I, 75, which has been frequently compared to the grail, see Nutt, *Studies*, 186, Heinzel, *Gralromane*, 192, has precisely this property; for a similar vessel in Welsh, see *Peredur*, Loth, II, 86, etc. What Griffith means by saying, p. 103, “that it is quite a different sort of thing” is incomprehensible. The power of restoring the dead to life is attributed to the Tuatha Dá Danaan, see Keating, *Irish Texts Society*, IV, 203—also Brown, *PMLA*, xxv (1910), 35. Their magic talismen were well known.

<sup>28</sup> See A. Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, xxv (1910), 109.

The questing initiate—and I agree with Nutt that he was always a part of the story—was of importance only because he accomplished the task for which he was needed. In order to attract him to it, what simpler method was there than to imagine that the welfare of his own family was involved in its success? Hence the Red Knight's attack. But as time went on a shifting of interest occurred; “the quest has transcended its object, the quester the person whom he seeks.” Thus arose the romances of Perceval, Parzival and Peredur, in the last of which the object of the quest has been so obscured that it remains only as a part of the background. Of this chain of development the English *Syr Percyvelle* is possibly the last link. Instead of being a survival of a primitive Perceval story, as Miss Williams believes, on so good an authority as G. Paris, it may just as well be, as Steinbach<sup>29</sup> and Nutt<sup>30</sup> argued, in the main a clever rearrangement of Crestien's text. For granted that the *Syr Percyvelle* is artistically planned, it is not difficult to see how the author could have simplified the apparently double vengeance theme of the original through the omission of the Fisher King's rôle, now grown meaningless, and the corresponding expansion of the fairy mistress episode.<sup>31</sup>

The bearing of these facts on Miss Williams's theory of composition is now apparent. Golther has already pointed out, what is probably clear to

<sup>29</sup> *Ueber den Einfluss des C. d. T. auf die alteng. Lit.*, Leipzig, 1885.

<sup>30</sup> *Studies*, 150.

<sup>31</sup> I am quite aware, however, that the *Syr Percyvelle* is a problem unto itself. Its primitive elements have long been apparent. Noteworthy among these is Arthur's statement:

“Fyve geres hase he thus gane,  
And my coupes fro me tane,  
And my gude knyghe slainye.”  
vv. 633-635.

The possibility always exists that the Round Table and the Grail Feast have essentially the same origin—thus one might explain the Red Knight's relationship to Arthur as the same as Galon's connection with the Lame King. In general, however, I am inclined to attribute these “primitive” traits to later popularization of a more or less literary original. The romance is certainly worthy of a most careful investigation. On Dá Derga and similar examples of a red knight, see now A. C. L. Brown, *PMLA.*, xx, 678; xxv, 19 ff.

any careful student, that parts of the *Peredur* are independent of the main Perceval tradition, being based directly on “echt kymrische geschichten.” Thus one must agree with Miss Williams in considering episodes 13–20, which culminate in Peredur's love-affair with the Empress (part B) as having a “caractère vraiment celtique,” provided always it is understood that the story-material alone, and not necessarily the motif, is peculiarly Welsh. But the determining factors in the case are episodes 1–13 (part A) and 20–24 (part C), since they constitute the story proper. It is part C. which is lacking in P. 4, and according to Miss Williams's inference in P. 7 as well. Now minimizing, as she does, the *ritual* of the bleeding-lance in the primitive Peredur story, she explains its importance in parts A. and C. as due to later borrowing.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the fact that in A. “two youths carry an enormous lance from the point of which 3 streams of blood flow to the ground,” whereas in C. there is but one man and one stream of blood,<sup>33</sup> leads her to infer that the primitive text was enlarged on two distinct occasions<sup>34</sup>: first in accordance with the original of the *Perlesvaus* and the *Crône*; and, secondly, in imitation of the source of Crestien and Manessier. In addition, she notes<sup>35</sup> that in part C., as in Crestien, it is the second uncle who is lame and not the first, and the grail castle stands in a valley (or the middle of a lake) and not in a forest, near a meadow. Alluring as this theory is, it is far from convincing. The similarity of C. to Crestien and Wolfram is of course undoubted, though in the present state of uncertainty as to Crestien's text too much reliance cannot be placed on the number of blood-drops falling from the lance. Baist's text reads (v. 3160), *s' issoit une gote de sanc*; but the *Prose Perceval*, which agrees with Crestien in the Didot manuscript, reads in the Modena manuscript, *et sainoit par le fer .iii. gouttes de sanc.*<sup>36</sup> So that the number varies in

<sup>32</sup> P. 107. The lance itself she admits is primitive; moreover, Pierre Bercheur says: “caput hominis mortui positum in lance affuit.”

<sup>33</sup> Loth's version is: “une goutte de sang qui se changea en un torrent.”

<sup>34</sup> “à deux reprises au moins, probablement même plusieurs fois.”

<sup>35</sup> P. 105.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Jessie L. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, 59.

different manuscripts of the same work. The prime objection, however, to the present theory is one of technique. Considering the late, confused form in which the *Peredur* is extant, we should have to allow in any case for considerable contamination from without in the matter of details. The story may have been partly transmitted by word of mouth, and another grail work, the *Perlesvaus*, was current in Wales. Still, the fact remains, as Golther had shown, that from the start the *Peredur* must have had the structure of Crestien's tale, and not that of the *Perlesvaus* or of the *Crône*. Furthermore, since the subject of the *Peredur* is the vengeance of the hero's cousin and the cure of his uncle, the ceremony in which the lance appears is an integral part of the original tale, regardless of the relative obscurity into which it gradually fell. We must assume therefore that part A. always emphasized the bleeding lance: Miss Williams herself remarks, "c'est cette partie, en effet, qui varie le plus dans tous les manuscrits," thus accounting for whatever minor changes occurred. It follows then that part C. cannot be entirely an addition either, since various incidents, the shape-shifting, the death of the sorceresses, etc., are needed to bring the story begun in part A. to its predestined end. As for C.'s version of the chessboard episode, Miss Williams has noted its similarity to the account given in the Dutch *Walewein*, though it escaped her that a *résumé* of it is found united in the *Perlesvaus*<sup>37</sup> with Gawain's visit to the grail castle. She derives the *Peredur* version from a primitive source, Miss Weston's Chastel Orguellous poem, from which she believes the Wauchier and the *Prose Pereval* versions were also taken. The remark that it is the Welsh author who has best succeeded in making the story une partie intégrante de son œuvre is thoroughly sound. In the *Peredur* alone the story has an immediate connection with folklore, as its association with the shape-shifter also shows. All the more reason, however, for regarding it—and part C. in general—as an essential division of the *Peredur* theme, or, at any rate, as a return, on the part of the author, to local folklore sources. Whichever view we take, part C. can hardly be

a mere addition to the primitive tale. Thus there remain only the incidents belonging to part B., for many of which no immediate analogues have been found in other languages. True as this is, episodes 16 to 21 form a unit in themselves, the theme of which is familiar to us in the particular fairy-mistress episode of the *Eree*, the *Yvain*, the *Lanzelot*, the *Bel Inconnu* and the *Serglige*. The same motif recurs in the Lufamour incident of the *Syr Percyvelle*, possibly even if it is the origin of Crestien's *Blanchefleur* episode.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, involved as the *Peredur* is, we are justified in seeking its primitive, unified form in the same body of material from which the other grail-quests come. It has the same general folklore traits as they. Its plot is essentially that of Crestien's *Perceval*; that is, it is a quest following the same form of exposition. Are we then to assume with Golther that its origin is French, perhaps the *Perceval* itself, and that it was gradually more and more altered to conform to Welsh conditions and to Welsh popular beliefs? Or can we conclude that the plot came immediately from the Celtic and was later altered in compliance with French models? At present it seems to me impossible to decide for either of these alternatives. It will be necessary first to explain clearly why the continuators of Crestien, including the *Perlesvaus*, contain more obvious traces of folklore than the *Perceval* itself. And that, in turn, is contingent upon the general relationship of literary and popular tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup> Certainly the absence of the grail from the *Peredur* is no longer a serious difficulty; it may in fact be used as an argument for an earlier source than Crestien, though this source could

<sup>37</sup> See the Clamadex episode in the *Perlesvaus* (Pot., I, 113, 136).

<sup>38</sup> In general, the problem is to explain why the Arthurian romances are so much more folkloristic than what we have come to regard as their Irish prototypes. It would almost seem that they are survivals of the Celtic etiological myths which in Irish saga have become literary. This is particularly so with the *Yrain*, which in the defense of the fountain offers a clear case of localized folk-tradition, and yet as Brown has shown belongs on the side of technique to such types as the *Serglige Conculaind*. Is it possible that the poet has re-established the connection between a literary and a popular version of the same theme? Other examples are the *Syr Percyvelle* and *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knyght*.

have been French, or Anglo-Norman. Miss Williams is to be thanked for her careful analysis of the Welsh story and the clearness with which she sets forth its intricate character. But her thesis of a tripartite source, artificially constructed, is neither supported by the internal evidence of the plot, nor by the fact that the text contains linguistic forms reaching back to the end of the twelfth century, which is the period when *Cres-tien's* influence had begun.<sup>40</sup>

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### WAGNERIANA.

EUGEN SCHMITZ, *Richard Wagner*. Band 55 der Sammlung "Wissenschaft und Bildung." Leipzig, Quelle & Meyer, 1909. 8o., 175 pp.

FRANZ MUNCKER, *Richard Wagner*. Eine Skizze seines Lebens und Wirkens. Zweite, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage. Bamberg, C. C. Buchners Verlag, 1909. 8o., viii and 168 pp.

WOLFGANG GOLTER, *Richard Wagner als Dichter*. Band XIV der Sammlung "Die Literatur." Berlin, Bard, Marquardt & Co. S. a. kl. 8o., 79 pp.

HANS VON WOLZOGEN, *Richard Wagner*. Band XXVII der Sammlung "Die Dichtung." Berlin und Leipzig, Schuster and Loeffler. S. a. kl. 8o., 97 pp.

"Of making many books there is no end," said the Preacher, letting his prophetic gaze wander down thru the ages into the twentieth century and catching a glimpse of the boundless mass of Wagner literature. And surely, when we consider the monumental Wagner biography of Glasenapp in German, Ellis's still longer adaptation of the same in English, and the shorter works by Chamberlain, Jullien, Finck, Henderson, etc. etc., not to forget the excellent biography by Max Koch, of which the first volume only has appeared, it would seem unnecessary that new ones

be still added to the list. But who, except an occasional specialist, has time to wade thru the long pages of Glasenapp or Ellis? Even works like those of Koch and Chamberlain are too long for the layman, who would gladly acquire some clear and definite information upon Wagner, his works and theories and his place in modern culture, without spending an undue proportion of his time in the process.

For this layman are intended works such as that of Henderson in English and the recent books by Schmitz and Muncker, of which the latter is a revised edition of the Wagner biography which appeared in 1891 as Volume 26 of the *Bayerische Bibliothek*. The two booklets by Golther and Wolzogen, tho of less recent date, have been included here as short and characteristic examples of the tendency to emphasize Wagner's claim to the literary crown, to lay the greatest stress upon his merits as a dramatist and poet. For those who consider Wagner a musician only and who refuse him a place in German letters, it must be interesting to note that of the latest contributions to Wagner literature, several of the most important, namely, the works of Koch, Muncker and Golther are from the pen of prominent professors of literature at well known German universities.

Quite ideal in its scope and treatment, as well as in its nominal price (1.25 M.) is the little book by Eugen Schmitz. Altho the author is evidently an admirer of Wagner,—and must not every successful biographer be an admirer of his hero,—he does not permit himself to be swept away by any flood of Wagnerite enthusiasm. The work is characterized by its absence of rant and exaggerated praise and is admirably objective in treatment, with the possible exception of the paragraphs dealing with the monopoly of Parsifal, where the influence of Bayreuth can be felt. It is a model of clear, concise exposition and illuminating treatment of Wagner and his works and can be recommended to those who desire in small compass an adequate discussion of the Bayreuth master and his literary and cultural significance.

Like Max Koch, Schmitz, too, lays especial stress upon the development of Wagner's principal ideas and theories in connection with con-

<sup>40</sup> The *Perceval* was written about 1175; see G. Paris, *Journ. d. Sav.*, 1902, p. 305. Golther, *Parzival u. der Gral*, Munich, 1908, p. 1, says "um 1180."

temporaneous and preceding literary and cultural movements, and wisely devotes more space to this comparative treatment than to unnecessary biographical detail. On the whole, the book is explanatory and suggestive rather than descriptive. Yet it is not lacking in description, as, for example, the clear illuminating statement of the plot and conflict in *Lohengrin*, page 67 ff. Characteristic of Schmitz's skill in briefly summing up a complicated situation, is his statement of Wagner's relationship to Nietzsche, page 150.

A short but well chosen bibliography and a fairly satisfactory index are included in the little book, which is well printed and contains but a few insignificant typographical errors, cf. Luecas instead of Lucas, page 58.

Muncker's *Wagner*, which appeared in the first edition some eighteen years ago, has been considered one of the best of the shorter biographies, and was the first to lay especial stress upon the literary-historical treatment of the musician-dramatist. While this second edition claims to be completely rewritten (*völlig neu bearbeitet*), this statement must be taken cum grano salis, for much of the text is identical in the two editions. Indeed, many of Muncker's admirers, who were nourishing high expectations in anticipation of his promised "more comprehensive" Wagner biography, will be disappointed in the present work. To the 127 pages of text in the first edition, about thirty pages and a short and none too satisfactory index of names have been added. The illustrations are the same, with one exception, but the execution in the new edition is superior to that in the old. The second edition naturally contains more about Wagner's relations to Frau Wesendonck at Zürich, and Tristan is given a more adequate discussion. The results of recent investigations have been incorporated in the new edition in the changing of some dates and names.

When Muncker says, page 27, that Wagner "involuntarily gave his *Rienzi* the form of the grand opera," he seems to disregard Wagner's own statement that "he looked at his material through the glasses of the grand opera with its five great finales, etc." The statement, page 38, that Wagner took his material before Tannhäuser "ziemlich genau" from some older work is again not to be taken too literally; cf. the Erebe episode

in the *Holländer*. The reference, page 38, to the "genuine old Tannhäuserlied of the 16th century" is misleading. To be sure the printed versions do not date that century, but the song itself certainly goes back to the 14th. Muncker devotes nearly a page (120) to Wagner's *Kapitulation oder Lustspiel in antiker Manier*, a farce unworthy of so much space in such a brief work or of Muncker's laudatory words, altho characteristic enough of Wagner's all-embracing literary activity. Likewise the decidedly mediocre *Festmarsch*, which was composed for the Centennial Celebration at Philadelphia in 1876, is hardly worthy of the discussion, page 128.

Golther in his *Richard Wagner als Dichter* emphasizes at the beginning the mistake commonly made in criticizing Wagner, namely, that of approaching the poet-composer from either the literary or the musical side alone. "Wagner's musical art is not that of the opera composer, nor his poetry that of the man of letters" (page 2). Beginning with *Rienzi*, Golther then discusses Wagner's literary procedure in the composition of his music-dramas, dwelling especially on his relationship to his various sources, and the wonderful manner in which he utilized the most divergent forms of the old legends for his immediate ends. The chief adverse criticism to be made against Golther's booklet is that the "Tendenz" is too marked, and that the influence of Bayreuth is so often felt. Golther demands, for example, that from the *Holländer* on, no cuts or changes be made in any of Wagner's works upon their performance. Page 6, a performance of *Die Feen* in 1833 is mentioned. But Wagner never heard a performance of this early opera, the first one being given in Munich in 1888, five years after the composer's death.

A word of praise might well be said for the artistic garb of this little book. For its nominal price (1.50 M.) it is a model of neat printing and artistic decoration. Fifteen full-page illustrations and two fac-similes lend an added charm. But the vignettes of Aubrey Beardsley offer nothing except interesting specimens of mannerism in art. Could Wagner's Isolde ever be conceived of as the figure in Beardsley's illustration opposite page 54?

Like Golther, Wolzogen in his neat and attractively illustrated booklet aims to be suggestive and to foster an understanding of the poet Wagner, rather than to give a detailed discussion of his work. As might be expected, Wolzogen, too, is under the influence of Bayreuth and exhibits at times the tendency all too common among Wagnerites of leaving the firm ground of reality and soaring into the clouds of abstract and hazy laudation. He is a partisan of Bayreuth, even where the Bayreuth idea would seem to conflict with that of Wagner himself. Page 32, for example, he praises the gradual transformation from the Venus grotto to the vale of the Wartburg, as given in 1904 at Bayreuth. But Wagner's own stage directions read: "Furchtbarer Sehlag, Venus versehwindet, Tannhäuser steht plötzlich in einem schönen Thale." Wolzogen also brings out clearly (page 93) the danger so often incurred of criticizing the poet Wagner on the basis of his language alone. With Wagner "speech is not the only means of expression but the art form is determined by the aesthetic effect of speech plus music." In conclusion, Wolzogen brings together very strikingly, Goethe's poetic expression in the verses of the Pater Ecstasies in *Faust*, and that of Wagner in Isolde's Love-Death in *Tristan*, showing that even without music, Wagner's poetry has sometimes a deep inner relationship to that of the great master of all German poets.

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### THE DIABLO COJUELO DE LUIS VÉLEZ DE GUEVARA.<sup>1</sup>

Eight years ago Señor Bonilla y San Martín published his first edition of Vélez de Guevara's *Diablo cojuelo*.<sup>2</sup> Many flattering reviews, written by leading Spanish scholars, proclaimed the work to be a solid and scholarly production.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo* (ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1910). The second volume of the new series published under the auspices of the Sociedad de bibliófilos madrileños.

<sup>2</sup> Librería de Eugenio Krapf, Vigo, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Among others, cf. those of Rennert, *Mod. Lang. Notes*,

edition has long been out of print and it is a matter of congratulation that the *Sociedad de bibliófilos madrileños* decided to reprint the text in their new series. The first edition contained several errors of detail, as was but natural in view of the many difficulties offered by the language and style of the *Diablo cojuelo*, admittedly one of the obscurest works of the period. The editor himself corrected some of these and contributed new material for the commentary in later publications.<sup>4</sup> Felipe Pérez y González, too, more than any other reviewer, aided in the solving of many of the knottiest problems.<sup>5</sup> In the present volume, Bonilla profits both by the criticism of his reviewers and by his own mature study. Consequently, the second edition is decidedly better than the first. Nearly all the errors have been corrected, and the copious notes leave unexplained very few of the difficulties of the text.

The introduction shows that Bonilla, profiting by the criticisms of Pérez y González, has radically altered his statement as to the date when the *Diablo cojuelo* was written. In his first edition, the former advanced the opinion that Vélez began work on his novel about 1630 and finished it after the month of February, 1637. Pérez y González reached the conclusion that the work was begun after February, 1638, and finished before May, 1639.<sup>6</sup> This was much nearer the truth; but Bonilla, returning to the fray, has shown with much plausibility that the novel was begun after February, 1637, and finished about July, 1640, or two months before the signing of the *aprobación*. It is unnecessary to consider in detail the steps by which Bonilla reaches this conclusion. Suffice it to say that the result now published appears to be substantially accurate.

However, one allusion in the *Diablo cojuelo*, which may have a direct bearing on this question of date, has not, in the opinion of the reviewer,

June, 1904; Foulché-Delbosc, *Rev. hisp.*, Vol. ix, p. 595; Morel-Fatio, *Bull. hisp.*, 1903; Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Sat. Rev.*, September, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Rev. de arch.*, April, 1902; *Anales de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1904), pp. 193-200.

<sup>5</sup> Felipe Pérez y González, *El diablo cojuelo, notas y comentarios* (Madrid, 1903). Most of the material in this little volume first appeared in the columns of *La ilustración española y americana*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

received the attention which it properly merits. I allude to the mention of the play *Troya abrasada* in *Tramo IV*. The uovel abounds in allusions to contemporary happenings, and most of these *actualidades* have been carefully studied by the two scholars who have chiefly occupied themselves with this complicated questiou. It is worth inquiring whether or not, in alluding to this play, Vélez is referring to a theatrical production which commanded public attention at the moment when he wrote.

Bonilla mentions the manuscript of a play of this name existing in the National Library in Madrid, and which, in the *Catálogo* of Paz y Melia is attributed to Calderón; but he makes no detailed study of the play itself, simply referring to the *censuras* at the end of the ms. No mention is made of the other mss. and prints accessible in the Biblioteca municipal. He presents no study of the question of the date when *Troya abrasada* was written or produced. He merely states that the first *censura* which has been preserved shows that the play was acted in the year 1644 and that this production was a revival and not the original performance.

Space does not here permit a thorough consideration of the question of the dating of *Troya abrasada*. I hope to treat the matter more at length in another connection. Only a few facts can here be presented. The autograph ms. contains a *reparto*, in Calderón's own hand, giving the names of the actors who probably first produced the play. One of these is Pedro Manuel de Castilla, who is known to have died at Naples in 1642.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, most of the actors seem to have belonged to the companies of Antonio de Rueda and Mauuel Vallejo, who were associated as partners in and around Madrid during the summer of 1639.<sup>8</sup> Nearly all the other actors in the cast can be shown to have been in Madrid in 1639. On the 27th of July, 1639, Antonio de Rueda signed a contract with a representative of the Montería of Sevilla to appear in that city by

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes á los anales del teatro en Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1899), p. 299. In a document signed July 6, 1639, this actor is mentioned as a joint *autor* with Rueda. Cf. Pérez Pastor, *Histrionismo español* (Madrid, 1901), p. 316.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 314; *Documentos para la bibliografía de Calderón*, pp. 120 f.

the first day of November following for a protracted engagement.<sup>9</sup> He furthermore agreed to leave Madrid before the end of July for the city of Granada.<sup>10</sup> Manuel Vallejo's troupe accompanied that of Rueda south, and for the next two years the most important members of our cast were acting in the neighborhood of Sevilla. Now, Antonio de Rueda produced other plays by Calderón while at Madrid in the year 1639.<sup>11</sup> The fact that the *reparto* was written in Calderón's hand makes it probable that the play was first produced in Madrid or its environs, and everyting tends to show that its date should be fixed at some time prior to August 1, 1639, by which time Antonio de Rueda had contracted to be on his way to Granada.

It is almost certain that *Troya abrasada* was written or produced very nearly at the moment when Vélez was writing his *Diablo cojuelo*, or at all events prior to that time, and, while admitting the possibility that there may have been another play of the same name, I cannot but regard this coincidence of dates as significant. The description which the poet of the inn gives of his play is, on the wholc, a very good caricature of Calderón's piece. Some allowance must be made for the exaggeration of burlesque, for it would be absurd to expect a pedantically accurate description of a play which is being ridiculed.

The question now arises as to whether Vélez was satirizing Calderón in his caricature of the half-crazy poetaster. Bonilla has considered this possibility and very sanely answers the query in the negative. Beyond the fact that the poet is urged to give over writing *comedias de ruido* and to stick to *comedias de capa y espada*, there is little in the portrait which might well be construed as a possible allusion to Calderón. There is, however, another possibility. Bonilla is unaware that the play is the joint work of two authors and that on the cover of Act I appears the name Juo. Zaualeta.<sup>12</sup> Señor Paz y Melia assures me there

<sup>9</sup> *Histrionismo*, p. 317.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Documentos*, p. 120; Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 586.

<sup>12</sup> This point escaped my notice at first. I wish therefore to correct the statement made in the *Rev. hisp.*, Vol. xxi, p. 169, to the effect that *Troya abrasada* is entirely the work of Calderón. A more careful study of the ms. and text has caused me to change my opinion.

can be no doubt but that Acts II and III are written entirely in the hand of Calderón. He is equally certain that neither of the two hands which appear in Act I is that of Zabaleta. Neither is the name Zabaleta that author's own signature. The first act is apparently a *traslado* made by copyists. Nevertheless, there is little reason to doubt that Zabaleta was the author of Act I when his name appears in what was undoubtedly the original ms. It is not impossible that Zabaleta was commonly reputed to be the sole author of the piece. Calderón did not claim *Troya abrasada* as his own when he compiled for the Duke of Veragua the list of his *comedias*. In this instance he probably was rendering good-natured assistance to a youthful aspirant, just as in his younger days he had been glad to collaborate with dramatists of the older generation.<sup>13</sup>

Now, it is just possible that Zabaleta may have been the butt of Vélez's satire. The poet at the inn was a student from Madrid. Zabaleta was a native of the capital, and, if Barrera is justified in placing the date of his birth in the second decade of the century, he was still a young man when Vélez wrote. We know that he was making his début as a dramatist at about this time. Two of the poctaster's plays had been hissed off the stage at Toledo. We know that at least one of Zabaleta's met a similar fate. The fiasco of *Aun vive la honra en los muertos* inspired Cáucer's often quoted epigram :

Al suceder la tragedia  
del silvo, si se repara,  
ver su comedia era cara,  
ver su cara era comedia.

As this piece was not written until 1643, there can be no allusion to it here.<sup>14</sup> But where there was one failure there may have been others. With the exception of Act I of *Troya abrasada*, the play referred to is the earliest of Zabaleta's works that has been preserved. He may have

<sup>13</sup>The reader will remember that Calderón and Zabaleta also collaborated in writing *La margarita preciosa*. As Calderón rarely collaborated with others younger than himself, the fact that he twice did so with Zabaleta would seem to imply that he had an especial fondness for that author.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, p. 600.

written still earlier works which failed on the stage.

On the other hand, it is quite as probable that Vélez had in mind no particular dramatic author. He may have been ridiculing writers of sensational plays as a class. The poet at the inn, besides *Troya abrasada*, had written a play named the *Marqués de Mantua*, another called *El saco de Roma*, and still another entitled *Las tinieblas de Palestina*.<sup>15</sup> If it could be shown that one author had written four plays with these titles, he would manifestly be the original of the portrait. In the absence of such decisive evidence, one can only conclude that while Vélez, in the passage in question, may be satirizing Zabaleta or another, the fact remains unproven. It is much more probable, though, that the *Troya abrasada* alluded to was the play written jointly by Calderón and Zabaleta, a work which in spite of the ridicule heaped upon it held the boards for the better part of two centuries. It was acted at the *Coliseo de la cruz* as late as November 5, 1811.<sup>16</sup>

Bonilla's notes to this edition are exceedingly copious, comprising 132 pages. He keeps his promise of sinning on the side of prolixity rather than on that of brevity. One is somewhat surprised to see singled out for comment such common words as: *alcandaras, blanca, cal, caxa, pajaro*, etc. Surely these are to be found in the ordinary dictionary. To a foreign reader, such phrases as *un nuevo Tostado en verso* and others which might be mentioned seem more deserving of comment, even though they, too, offer no difficulties which are not solved by the usual books of reference. But the personal equation enters into all such matters, and the editor justly observes that what appears simple to him may seem difficult to another and vice versa. It is a matter of more regret that the notes have not been systematically classified. They are arranged alphabetically, but

<sup>15</sup>Lope wrote a *Marqués de Mantua*, Juan de la Cueva, *El saco de Roma*. Nothing is known of the last-named play, but Bonilla points out (p. 230) that the episode of the rending of the veil of the Temple takes place in Damián Salustio's *La vida y muerte de Judas*.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Historia del arte escénico en España* (Madrid, 1902), Vol. III, p. 734. That the *Troya abrasada* there referred to is the identical play under consideration is proved by the fact that the actors' copy used on that occasion is still preserved in the Biblioteca municipal.

instead of listing them under the leading word, Bonilla often chooses the first word of a phrase and places the note accordingly. For instance, the reader seeking information with regard to the play *Las tinieblas de Palestina* would hardly think of searching under the head of the pronoun *se*. The note to the play *Troya abrasada* is listed under *t*. That treating of the *Marqués de Mantua* appears under *c*, the first word of the phrase being *comedia*. This system, or lack of system, renders unnecessarily difficult of access much valuable information.

In a few instances, Bonilla's second thoughts do not seem to be so good as his first. In his former edition, for example, he explains the phrase *un nitesgut español* by suggesting what appears to be the obvious etymology: *nichts gut*. Pérez y González objected to this that the speaker was an Englishman, not a German, and that the meaning suggested by Bonilla would be an absurd anti-climax, coming after the far stronger objurgations of the Frenchman and the Italian.<sup>17</sup> To this Bonilla made answer that Guevara probably understood almost nothing of either English or German.<sup>18</sup> (The German remains dumb during the polyglot altercation.) This would seem a very sensible and likely explanation, but he now abandons it and boldly proposes the etymology: naughty guest. Of course, we are to give to naughty the strong meaning which it still retained when Shakespeare and Vélez wrote. Nevertheless, the etymology will appear plausible to few English-speaking readers. It is to be hoped that this trifling will not come to the notice of a certain Mantuan bachelor, Alonso de San Martín. That waggish critic would make the most of his opportunity.

In these days when the Biblioteca nacional and the Spanish Academy are under fire, one is not surprised to find an echo of the conflict in a work like the present. To Bonilla the Academy is as the *muleta* to the bull. His more recent writings have been filled with truculent attacks upon that venerable institution. Academies admittedly have their limitations, and private enterprise often leaves official endeavor lagging; but the world of letters has much for which to thank the Spanish

Academy. Bonilla might profitably read, in the *Opinions de Jérôme Coignard*, Anatole France's whimsical estimate of the French Academy. On the other hand, it is encouraging to note that Spaniards generally are demanding something better in the way of a dictionary. If ever good workman is justified in complaining of his tools, Bonilla is thoroughly justified in his attack upon the academy dictionary, that most inadequate aid in time of trouble. In a recent number of *España moderna*, Cejador y Frauca called the attention of his countrymen to the fact that since the publication of the *Diccionario de autoridades* next to nothing has been done by their dictionary makers in the way of systematic reading for new words and examples. That work, which was intended merely as a beginning has not been continued, he says, and subsequent lexicographers have worked it as a quarry without themselves adding to its store. It is to be hoped that some good will result from the present agitation and that each new Spanish dictionary will cease to be a copy of its predecessors. Bonilla's editions of the *Diablo cojuelo* offer the lexicographer of the future much valuable material. If the present reviewer has dwelt too exclusively upon *pecadillos*, it only argues his inability to detect serious *pecados*. The merits are taken for granted.

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#### GERMAN ROMANTICISM.

*Deutsche Romantik. Eine Skizze von Dr. OSKAR F. WALZEL.* Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1908. 168 pp.

*Die Poetik der deutschen Romantiker*, von CHR. D. PFLAUM. Berlin, Deutscher Schriftenverlag, 1909. 70 pp.

*Die ältere Romantik und die Kunst des jungen Goethe*, von Dr. HANS RÖHL. Berlin, Alexander Duncker Verlag, 1909. 164 pp.

*Das romantische Drama. Eine Studie über den Einfluss von Goethes Wilhelm Meister auf das Drama der Romantiker*, von KARL GEORG

<sup>17</sup> Pérez y González, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

<sup>18</sup> *Anales*, p. 199.

WENDRINER. Berlin, Oesterheld & Co., 1909. 168 pp.

*Runge und die Romantik*, von ANDREAS AUBERT. Berlin, Paul Cassirer, 1909. 135 pp.

During the last two decades German criticism has taken an active part in a romantic renaissance.<sup>1</sup> This tendency is well meant, since it undoubtedly owes its origin to the somewhat charitable belief that the success of the romanticists is traceable to the fact that they worked with a distinct purpose and according to a clearly defined programme. Modern investigation is therefore trying to find what lesson the romanticism of then has for the literature of now. The enthusiasm with which Walzel has restated the romantic theory and discussed the traditional romantic problems shows that also with him it has been neither a case of mere search after "Stoff," nor a passive response to the request to write vol. 232 of "Ans Natur und Geisteswelt." He came to his task with an exceptionally rich experience. And this has enabled him to set forth in 162 pages the genesis, rise, prosperity, decline and extenuation of so comprehensive a movement. The work covers, naturally with disparate completeness, the period from F. H. Jacobi's "Ednard Allwills Briefsammlung" (1792) to the completion of "Faust" (1832). But it is a contribution to philosophy rather than to literature. He has devoted just three-fourths of his space to the philosophy and poetics of the Jena school and the rest to the poetic creations of early and late romanticism, their connection and their contrast. Starting from the "Stürmer u. Dräger," he shows that these were not metaphysicians while the romanticists were, he carefully reviews the three stages in the development of rom. theory, and traces the metaphysical current from Kant to Hegel with explanatory digressions to Böhme, Bruno, Hemsterhuis, Rousseau, Spinoza and others. But then after all this argument by way of attempting to explain the *genesis* of romantic poetry, he asks the question: Did romantic poetry really grow out of this theory? The answer is a weak 'yes'

and a strong 'no.' The Jena school anticipated,<sup>2</sup> namely, some of the most essential elements of this theory, while the Heidelberg school carried them far beyond the limits intended by their originators. And even the philosophic part teems with unanswered questions, such as: Did Schleiermacher's "Reden" influence Schelling's "Weltseele" or vice versa? Walzel has, without intending to do so, emphasized the superlatively important fact that romantic philosophy is one thing, romantic poetry quite another. A solution of these questions may, from the standpoint of philosophy, be possible and altogether necessary; but experience has not proved that their solution, from the standpoint of real literature, is necessary or even desirable.

Though writing with the laudable desire to make nineteenth century rom. more completely "das Eigentum des deutschen Volkes," Pflaum has also approached his task philosophically. But it is difficult to see how such a study can make rom. popular. It is anything but a popular treatise. It will make a slight appeal to the German scholar, less to the German student, and still less to the English student. The style is forbiddingly heavy, with single sentences of 17 long, closely written lines (pp. 65-66). In a disproportionately elaborate introduction Pflaum makes a courageous defense of "Poetics" and gives an unnecessary survey of European rom. as bounded by Scott, Chateaubriand, Manzoni, Tieck, Oehlenschläger and Stagnelius. About one-fourth of the study is devoted to a discussion of points that have been made many times before. It is too late to write a new book showing, for example, that Hoffmann's interest in music influenced his literary creations. The best part of the discussion is that on Hölderlin. A similar study in Romance romanticism is to follow immediately from the same author. Whatever he may be able to do in that field, this is not the way to popularize German romanticism. There is still room in Germany for a purely practical picture of romanti-

<sup>1</sup> Of 152 references listed by Wernaer under the heading "Historical works, Expositions and Monographs," only 31 antedate 1880, while 57 postdate 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Walzel writes, p. 59: "In der poetischen Ausmündung der Naturphilosophie lag vielleicht der beste Gewinn, den die Poesie aus der rom. Theorie ziehen konnte." Then, p. 137: "Abermals muss Tieck zugebilligt werden, dass seine Anschauung von Natur ihm zuteil geworden war, ehe er von rom. Naturphilosophie etwas wusste."

cism ; for a work that tabulates and appraises all those sources, themes, motives, devices and forms that characterize romantic creations. But there is precious little demand for philosophic studies on romantic poetics.

Röhl's monograph, on the contrary, is a model. It has what so many German studies lack,—form, method, balance and deference for the prevailing opinion. The theme is limited (*der junge Goethe* to 1775) but worked out with refreshing thoroughness. It is a book of testimony impersonally given and ably judged. As a study in "influence," it should find many imitators. The work shows that it is one thing to find a mere conscious imitation in the writings of an unprolific, unreceptive poet, like Fr. Schlegel, it is quite another to find an unconscious assimilation and imitation in the works of a prolific, receptive writer, like Tieck. Pt. I records the individual opinion of the old romanticists concerning young Goethe. Röhl divides them into three groups : (1) Fr. S., Dorothea and Schleiermacher, (2) A. W. S., Caroline and Schelling, (3) Tieck, Wackenroder and Novalis. The first group stood too far from young Goethe, the third too near him to get the correct estimate obtained by the second group. Pt. II discusses the influence of Goethe on the works of the romanticists. Aside from Schelling's "*Widerporst*" and Novalis, this is largely confined to Tieck. Among a number of interesting parallels, Röhl has established an overwhelming influence of *Werther* on Tieck. Pt. III discusses Goethe in connection with the four romantic problems : *Volkspoesie*, *Shakespeare*, *Ossian* and *Hans Sachs*, and is confined principally to the Schlegels. A. W. Schlegel came to the first three of these through Bürger, to Hans Sachs through Tieck. It is a pity, however, that Röhl was obliged to discuss Fr. S. in this connection, whose changing, contradictory opinion on this sort of questions undoubtedly led Röhl to raise the stale and pointless question as to whether, in view of such wide discrepancies in temperament and opinion it is correct to speak of a romantic "school". But this can easily be overlooked. It is a convincing work. And by pointing out the enormous influence of young Goethe on Tieck and his congeners, Röhl has written the foreword to that still unwrit-

ten work : *Romantik und Sturm und Drang*. Then the book is replete with ideas not yet wholly current : that the significance of the phrase *der junge Goethe* was first established by the romanticists (p. 160), who were after all also the first Goethephilologen (p. 161), that the romanticists were influenced by Goethe's "Knittelvers" rather than that of Hans Sachs (p. 103), that there was spare use of the expression "Sturm und Drang" until Tieck made it "gebräuchlich" in his 1828 edition of Lenz' *Schriften* (p. 68), and even the remarkable similarity between the life, work and development of Goethe and Tieck (p. 79).

Wendriner's study is another effort to set up *Wilhelm Meister* as the *Magna Charta* of German romanticism. This has been tried a number of times since Fr. Schlegel declared (1798) it to be one of the three greatest "tendencies" of the age. J. O. E. Donner found (1893) seven determinative points of similarity between *Meister* and the romantic novel : progressive culture, ne'er-dowells as heroes, pictures of sensuality, Mignons, Philines, mysterious births and interwoven lyrics. Wendriner now performs a somewhat similar task by way of determining the relation of *Meister* to the romantic drama. As a really suggestive study of the best known dramas of the German romanticists, as well as those of Oehlenschläger, the work is of enduring value. The ingenuity displayed in reaching certain conclusions necessitated by the very title of the study makes it also interesting. But the writer is naively enthusiastic as to the general influence of Goethe's novel, and entirely too arbitrary in his definition of "Schicksal", around which the main body of the discussion revolves. He claims (p. 37) that there are more romantic fragments in *Meister* than in the "*Athenaeum*". He finds (pp. 29-39) ten important themes in *Meister* that influenced the romantic dramatists. But these themes and traits—such as the feeling of being misunderstood in a Philistine world—lay at the very root and heart of the romantic generation. They existed previous to 1796, and continued to exist after *Meister's* popularity had waned. Some of these are universal. And then, since Goethe in *Meister* ascribed "*Zufall*" to the novel and "*Schicksal*" to the drama, Wendriner analyzes the influence of

Goethe's uovel on the romanticie drama from this standpoint. He makes, however, the gravely exaggerated statement (p. 98) that "there is scarcely a page in the novel on which the word 'Schiexsal' does not oocur". After discussing the varying attitude toward "Fate" in Germany from 1770 to 1796, he comes to the harmless conclusion (p. 115) that Fate is "everything that stands over man and plays with him, whether it brings happiness or sorrow, whether it strikes the guilty or the innoeent." He thus strips the term of its traditional meaning and makes it about equivalent to "motivation". And with this interpretation he analyzes the "Schiexsalsdramen" from "Karl von Berneck" (1795) to "Fortunat" (1816). These dates are chosen because up to 1795 Tieck had ridiculed the idea of Fate, from then on he poetized it until in "Fortunat" he satirized it. "Die Braut von Messina" (1803) is not therefore considered the first Fate-tragedy, nor is "Der 24ste Februar" regarded as in any way dependent upon it. It is simply one in a series, differing from the others only in techniquc. In this way Wendriuer has calmly overthrown the prevailing opinion aud argued from a theory of his own making. And yet the book is valuable as a compilation and suggestive as a study.

In Jacobowski's "Anthologie rom. Lyrik" (Leipzig, 1900), there are a number of beautiful vignettes, a fine frontispiece and one lyric (*Es blüht eine schöne Blume*, pp. 148-149) by Philip Otto Runge, the Novalis of rom. painting with the "Dichtergeist in einem Malerauge." The lyric eentres around "ein edles Blümelein" in a far off land. It is fragrant with the spirit of Böhme, Tieck, Novalis and Heine. Intimate with the Berlin-Jena school, admired by Goethe, stimulated by Schelling, and owing the same sort of fundamental debt to Tieck that Oehlenschläger owed to Steffens, Runge was a romanticist of the truest type. Yet Haym does not mention his name. Aubert has therefore rendered a grateful service. The work is based on Runge's *Hinterl. Schriften* (ed. by the artist's brother, Daniel, Hamb., 1840-1841). It contains preeious few facts concerning Runge's life, nor does it show just wherein Runge's romanticism lay. But these facts can be secured from prosaie books, and

Runge's romantieism will spring into the eyes of all but the purblind. It is not a scientifc treatise. It has no beginning, no middle, no end. The only mark of division is the paragraph. But it is an attractive book. The main interest eentres around the disscussion of Runge's *magnum opus*, "Die Tageszeiten," to which he considered everything else a preliminary study. The treatment of this one work throws radiant light on rom. nature-sense and art endeavour. There are 31 superb illustrations by Runge and one by his teacher, Jens Juel. Aubert has here written one of that long series of individual studies that will include Baader, Bernhardi, the Boissereés, Carus, Esehenmeyer, Loeben, Mesmer, Adam Müller, Passavant, Ringseis, Ritter, Reiehardt, G. H. Schubert, Savigny, Solger, A. G. Werner, and others. And then, after all these studies have been written, the *general* history of German romanticism will have to be rewritten.

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*Les deux Poèmes de la Folie Tristan*, publiés par JOSEPH BÉDIER. Paris: Firmin-Didot, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1907. 8vo, vii, 129 pp.

Professor Bédier, in publishing the three volumes of his study of the legend regarding Tristan,<sup>1</sup> has presented, in convenient form, the Oxford and Berne versions of the episode "Tristan as fool." The Berne version had already been published by Professor Morf,<sup>2</sup> and the Oxford version by Fran-eisque Michel.<sup>3</sup> The latter work is now difficult to procure. In neither of the publications mentioned was a study of the language made. Professor Bédier has reproduced Morf's text with slight alterations. The reader is referred to Morf's article for a comparison of the two texts.

<sup>1</sup> *Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, poème du xiie siècle.* Paris, SATF., 1902-1907. 2 vols., and the volume the title of which appears at the head of this review.

<sup>2</sup> *Romania*, xv, 1885, 558-574.

<sup>3</sup> *Tristan. Recueil de ce qui reste des Poèmes relatifs à ses Aventures.* Londres, Pickering, 1835. 3 vols.

This review deals exclusively with the Oxford version, an edition<sup>4</sup> of which the reviewer had announced in 1903. The reviewer has before him a photographic reproduction of the manuscript: Bodleian, Douce d. 6. The two versions are now available, but, in the case of the Oxford version, a number of errors have appeared, in part due to incorrect transcription of the manuscript. Changes are made, in several instances, without any indication of the manuscript forms, and there is frequently failure to note the manuscript forms differing from those set down in the text as printed, and, also, incorrect forms are ascribed to the manuscript. The poem is corrected to eight syllables. Do we want this? It is well known that the verse-count in Anglo-Norman poems is irregular in a large number of instances. To the French ear these irregularities seem harsh and unbalanced, but we are not concerned here with a continental text. On the other hand, the substitution of *k'* and *ke* for *ki*, nominative, 11, 37, 189, etc., will seem just as strange to the eye. However, the system of Anglo-Norman versification is still an unsettled problem, altho various conjectures have been made regarding it.

Pg. ii, note 4, correct to "t. xxxv, 1906."

The Introduction: P. 6, par. 18: *girfauz: vaus*, 507, are *girfaus: vaus* in the ms. P. 8: *grant* 103, 303, are fem., and not masc. P. 9: *chaseez*, 756, is *chase* in the ms., which is given in the text by B.; *sauve: accorde*, 815, are *sauvez: accordez* in the manuscript, given correctly in the text. P. 10, par. 1: *k'*, 11 (see *variaut* in text), 37, 925, 982, are ms. *ki*. P. 11, par. 3: *lors* does not occur in the ms.; *lores* is the only form present.

Manuscript forms not acknowledged are: 4, 29 *kar*, 31 *pensout*, 37 *hom*, 56 *pelise*, 82 *volum*, 86 *ft'*, 98 *rais*, 115 *gurvирnout*, (In no case is the letter *s* made like the initial letter of this word, while *g* is regularly so made), 116 *cornwaleis*, 126 *quereient*, 133 *droit*, 136 *ki*, 147 *lu dit*, 156 *supirer*, 159 *k*, *il ni prat*, 160 *k*, *il pot truver*, 161

<sup>4</sup>*La Folie Tristran. An Anglo-Norman Poem*, edited by Albert Eugene Curdy. Part I, a Dissertation, Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, John Murphy Co., 1903. (See Preface); and *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, VII, 1902, i, 197.

*valer*, 162 *saver*, 168 *me*, 179 *ore*, 187, *bricū*, 188 *maisum*, 192 *de un*, 198 *averas*, 212 *T.*, *ben*, 241 *me*, *so*, 243 *respūdu*, 252 *cuient*, 265 *lui*, 277 *alettat*, 279 *ele*, 297 *raine*, 319 *Isolt*, 339 *serst*, *n'reir*, 363 *menbrer*, 371 *orc*, 385 *nesst*, 409 *ore*, 420 *lange*, 481 *le ad*, 493 *levres*, 652 *la baivre*, 666 *for*, *tuz*, 683 *fere*, 698 *ne ne me*, 702 *ki*, *ublie*, 715 *ne vus mbre*, 734 *amans*, 743 *kar*, 755 *amite*, 776 *je*, 823 *enbrune*, 824 *dune*, 825 *chair*, 828 *voz*, 844 *ke*, 875 *osteur*, 884 *gant*, or *gaüt*, 897 *fet*, 914 *mustrat*, 925 *ki*, 932 *afaitat*, 948 *occire*, 964 *fin*, 973 *ore*.

Errors in acknowledging manuscript forms occur in: 27 *so*, 270 *aves*, 283 *cele*, 386 *alus*, 398 *Morholt*, 433 *le aviez*, 482 *le ad*, 563 *cist* (in variant 564, read 563), 900 *veret*.

General: *car* 4, 29, 743, is not found in the ms.; the regular form here, as elsewhere, is *kar*; B. substitutes *c* for *s*; ms. *so* 27, 241, *si* 270, *sa* 588, but *so* is left 52, 56, 128, 140, 163, 246. The break between 34 and 35 is not necessary for the sense. 86 *ie*, for ms. *e* in *fiert*; ms. *ft'*, which is not acknowledged. *Ie* occurs only in *tient: vident* 189–190. *O* for ms. *u*: *hom* 137, *trover* 160, *respondu* 243, *trovat* 752, 754; the ms., however, uses both *o* and *u* interchangeably elsewhere. See vocabulary. 147 B. *li*, ms. *lu*. For *lu* elsewhere compare the vocabulary. *Li* is also written for *lui* 265. For *lui* elsewhere, see the vocabulary. *-eir* for ms. *-er*: *valer* : *saver* (not acknowledged) 161–162. *-er* is also the ms. form in *aver* 298, 332, 642, 918. 164 *heeit* for ms. *het*. The text does not require the change of tense. If B. had written *sure*, as in 915, he would have emended according to his method. 277 ms. *alettat* is *aleitat* in the text, and *alettat* in the vocabulary. 283 *Ge la* is clearly *Cele* in the ms. *Ge* does not occur in the ms. nor in B.'s vocabulary. 468 B. has *quai*, also 558, 615, 683, 824, but 551 *quei*. The ms. in all cases abbreviates *q-i*, which rhymes with *tei* 615. 481 *a* for ms. *ad*, and 938 *a* is inserted. Why not *at* as in 152, 524, 937, or *ad* as in 83, 128, etc., twenty-five times. The form *a*, as verb, does not occur in the ms. B.'s note regarding *malarz*, 498, is not convincing. An examination of the manuscript renders his statement, "qui peut assez bien se justifier paléographiquement," incomprehensible. The form *mainz* is

very distinct in the manuscript. The ms. should be corrected to *mainz preng e plunguns e butors*. 628 *vus mist*: read *vus oi*, place the interrogation point after *volt*, 630, and a period after *main*, 633, and doubt regarding the construction disappears. 683 *faire*; ms. *fere*, the only occurrence in the ms. of this form. *Faire* is the general spelling in the ms., ten times, B. substitutes *fere* for *fure* 812.

Vocabulary: *Aparecut*<sup>6</sup> 795, *assembler* 737, *aie*, subj., 616, *ait* 518, *eu* 762, *cert* 17, *chault* 646, *chart pas* 204, *cremout* 101, *criai* 450, *cuident* 252, *cultel* 525, *cumande* 628, better *sauvegarde*, *protection*: *de*, *jour*, 694, *dis*, 8, plur. *desus* 549, not 559, *desguiser* 41, *dait* 777, *devint* 920, *dist* 573, 641, *dreiture* 792, not 762, *dunt*, pron., 704, 899, *entant* 295, *entrat* 260, not 207, *enviat* 393, not 207, *estes*, *voici venir*, 256, *estre*, remove 12, insert 8,423, *es* 322, 369, *fustes* 470, *fet* 595, (ms. *fet* is changed to B. *fait* 897), *faus* 563, in text *fous*, *grue* 493, not 498, *gacte* (*guaitier*) 256, *issez* 378, *ivern* 139, *junes* 718, *kac* 514, *keue* 512, *laissai* 829, *lerat* 992 should be under *laier*, *de loing* 883, is text *loins*, *meis* 968, not 970, *de grant manere* 207, 682, not 202, 632, *mist* 628, not 638, and 885, *Morhol* 398, not *Morhol*, and remove the ?, *mes*, plur. of *mun*, 493, 505, *nus* 876, meaning ?, *oï* 3, pf., *oir* 922, *paisant* 135, *pardonat* 893, *parsiwire*, remove 669, *pleing* 854, *prenge* 138, not *pregne*, *quunque* 66, *quid* 597, *rendre* and *repondre*, out of position; *riant* 389, not 319, *sailer* 747, *soi*, pf. *saveir*, 799, *sei*, refl. pron., 529, *suliez* 942, *ta*, place under *tun* with other occurrences of the form, *tanlant* 256, *te* 296, 370, *tent* 990, *teneit* 716, *tracier*, remove 721, *Trantris*, remove 338, *tresque* 771, *uel* 718, *unc* 916, not 600, *unkes* 911, *unke* 63, *vine* 418, not 148 and 773, *vergunder*, out of position, *vest* 200, *vestu* 645, *vestue* 191, *voler*, out of position, *vostre*, remove 562, *Isolt* 319, 367.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

ORLANDO ORLANDINI: *Le to belesse.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—It may be of interest to add to a recent note on Orlandini (Nando), in *Modern Language Notes* (vol. xxv, no. 5), a mention of a new volume by him: *Le to belesse* (Tipografia legatoria T. Livio, Venezia, 1910), dedicated *A una che no gh'è più*. The various chapter headings *Massa bela*, *Le segie*, *I cavei*, *I oci*, *El naseto*, *I denti*, *La sbessoleta*, *Le man*, *La figura*, *La vose*, *El nome*, *El serto no so che*, show the type to which in the matter of form the sonnets belong. The ancient popular theme of the *io vorria* binds together matter of a *congettoso* style. But the humorous note does not discord with a lyrical feeling quite new in Nando's work; and we here find a melody of verse that prompts congratulation:

*I Penini.*

Sì, benedeta ti, ti a dei penini,  
Che do bisù i zè proprio, do robete,  
Do piè, come se dise, balarini,  
Che insieme invogia a far le piroete.  
Te li vardo incantà, eo ti camini,  
A spessegar come do trotolete,  
Fando balar i cai dei cordonsini,  
Che ben setae te tira le scarpete.  
E se penso a quel omo fortunà,  
Che pol vegnirghe a dar na misurada,  
Senza che ti ghe dise: Via de là!  
Me daria, se podesse, una peada,  
Per non averme dedicà al mestier,  
Belo, simpaticon, del calegher!

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## TWO SHAKESPEARIAN NOTES.

(1) Give me a case to put my visage in :

[*Putting on a mask*]

A visor for a visor! What care I  
What curious eye doth quote deformities?  
Here are the beetle-brows shall blush for me.

*Romeo and Juliet* (1. 2. 29).

The word "beetle-brows" occurs only once in Shakespeare and has been generally interpreted

<sup>6</sup>Omissions are indicated unless otherwise stated.

to mean "bushy," "overhanging" or "prominent brows." [See notes in *First Folio* ed., *Arden and Rolfe*.] The result of this interpretation is to emphasize the form of the mask that Mercutio puts on, whereas, in view of the kind of masks generally worn, I believe that Shakespeare intended by the term "beetle-brows" to direct our attention particularly to the black color of Mercutio's velvet mask. A passage from Lylly's *Midas* (1. 2. 64) gives authority for this interpretation:

*Licio.* She hath a beetle brow.

*Petulus.* What is she beetle browed? [i. e.  
"With overhanging brows." Bond]

*Licio.* Thou hast a beetle head? I say the brow  
of a beetle, a little flie, whose brow is as black as  
velvet.

"Brows" [see "brows," Schmidt's *Sh. Lexicon*], furthermore, has here a broader meaning than that of eye-brows; it refers to the forehead of the black mask that Mercutio announces shall blush for him. The "prominent" or "bushy" eye-brows, or even brows, could not well be the seat of the blush.

(2). The passage quoted from Lylly in the note above proves the correctness of Tiessen's conjecture [*Englische Studien*, II, 187, 1878] that "velvet" in the line,

A whitly wanton, with a velvet brow, *L. L. L.*, 3. 1. 203.

"does not refer to smoothness, but to color, and that it indicates a forehead with eye-brows sufficiently broad and black to justify a comparison to a velvet mask."

In the discussion that has been called forth by the complexion and general coloring of the "whitly wanton," Rosaline, [see *Arden and New Variorum L. L. L.*, 3. 1. 203, and 4. 3. 4. especially] one bit of internal evidence for the whiteness of her complexion has not been given consideration. Biron, her lover, of the four courtiers who praise the beauty of their mistresses, is the only one who praises his lady love's "white hand." Nor does he desist after praising it once. He is so deeply impressed by the fairness of her hand that he refers to it directly four times [3. 1. 159; 4. 2. 123; 5. 2. 230; 5. 2. 411] and indirectly once [4. 3. 189].

Shakespeare's frequent praise of his heroines' "white hand" as in the case of Rosaline, [see "white hand," Bartlett's *Concordance*] gives added point, furthermore, to Mason's addition to the deficient line, "She writ it," (4. 3. 22.) in *As You Like It*. [See *New Variorum As You*, (4. 3. 22), note.] His proposed substitution of "with her own fair hand," I should change, however, to "with her snow-white hand," in

view of Shakespeare's preference for the epithet "white" in cases where a lover describes the hand of his loved one. Biron uses the epithet, "snow-white," in addressing his letter to Rosaline (4. 2. 148.). Phoebe, of whose hand her lover, Silvius, is speaking here, it may be recalled, has with Rosaline "inky brows" and a "cheek of cream."

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#### A BRITISH ICARUS.

*To the Editor of the Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIR:—Prof. Tatlock, in his letter to *The Nation*, October 28, 1909, p. 404, upon "A British Icarus," namely the story of King Bladud as told by Layamon, barely touches upon one of the characteristic incidents in mediæval literature. He quotes Layamon, but only alludes to Geoffrey of Monmouth. Yet Geoffrey's words, ii, eh. 10, are worth quoting: "This Prince [Bladud] was a very ingenious man, and taught necromancy in his kingdom, nor did he leave off pursuing his magical operations, till he attempted to fly to the upper region of the air with wings which he had prepared, and fell down upon the temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum, where he was dashed to pieces."

First, a word or two upon the name of the city. Geoffrey calls it *Trinovantum*, which Layamon renders with *London*. This is quite mediæval. *Trinovantum*, better perhaps *Trinovantium*, should be the capital of the *Trinovantes*, one of the Celtic tribes encountered by Julius Cæsar. They inhabited Essex and a part of Middlesex, that is, a region adjacent to if not included in the modern metropolitan London, but certainly quite distinct in the middle ages. How *Trinovantium* came to be used as an equivalent for the more classical *Londinium* is more than I can say. Enough that it was thus used, and even survived in Elizabethan English in the corrupted form *Troynovant*, as if New Troy. See Peele's *Farewell to Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake*:

bid stately Troynovant adieu,  
Where pleasant Thames from Isis silver head  
Begins her quiet glide, &c., &c.

The fabulous connection between England and Troy is another marvel of the middle ages; but I forbear.

To return to King Bladud's mishap. The story is older than Bladud, if indeed he can be said to be of any age; much older than Lay-

mon and Geoffrey. It is merely a local adaptation of the Simon Magus story as narrated in the *Apocryphal Acts of Peter and Paul*. I quote, freely abridging, from the translation by Alexander Walker, in J. & J. Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. xvi ; the narrative begins at p. 272.

Simon said : Order a lofty tower to be made of wood, and of great beams, that I may go upon it, and that my angels may find me in the air ; for they cannot come to me upon earth among the sinners. . . . Then Nero ordered a lofty tower to be made in the Campus Martius, and all the people and the dignities to be present at the speetaele. And on the following day . . . Nero ordered Peter and Paul to be present. [After the apostles have prayed and been questioned by Nero] Simon said : In order that thou mayst know, O emperor, that these are deeeivers, as soon as ever I aseend into heaven, I will send my angels to thee, and will make thee come to me . . .

Then Simon went up upon the tower, in the face of all, and, erowned with laurels, he stretched forth his hands and began to fly. And when Nero saw him flying, he said to Peter : This Simon is true ; but thou and Paul are deeeivers . . . And Peter, looking steadfastly against Simon, said : I adjure you, ye angels of Satan, who are carrying him into the air, . . . no longer from this hour to keep him up, but to let him go. And immediately, being let go, he fell into a placee ealled Saera Via, that is, Holy Way, and was divided into four parts, having perished by an evil fate.

The legend of the contest in Rome between the two apostles and Simon Magus may be traced back to the beginning of the third century. It grew rapidly with time and assumed many forms. We are not to assume, however, that any of these early mediaeval forms, whether Greek *πράξεις* or Latin *passio*, could have been known to Layamon, a rustie priest of West England. Exactly how he came by his knowledge on the subjeet has not yet been investigated. At any rate, there were English writings from whieh he might have learned the story. Thus, in Aelfrie's *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 380, we may read his version of Simon's disastrous flight. The abbot of Evesham was for his day a learned man, oecupyng a very different position from that of Layamon. His aeeount of Peter and Paul, this part at least, goes back to the Mareellus text of the *Passio*. Further, the flight is narrated in the *Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris, p. 189, and in Wulfstan's *Homilies*, ed. Napier, p. 100. These two versions are also derived from the Latin *Passio*. Thus we see that Layamon had

more than one opportunity of learning the Simon story in his mother tongue.

I have treated the subjeet at some length in the hope of re-awakening interest in Layamon's *Brut* as a compilation. We have many monographs discussing Layamon's language so fully that little remains to be done. On the other hand, his story is comparatively untouched. Yet, despite his verbiage, whieh one soon gets used to, he has a marvelous tale to tell. There is nothing else like it in Middle English. I feel quite safe in asserting that the *Brut* is a veritable gold mine awaiting the exploiter.

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#### THE SEVEN STARS.

To the Editors of the Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS :—A rather curious instance of oversight of the obvious is found in H. Anders' volume on *Shakespeare's Books*.<sup>1</sup> Dealing with the poet's "Astronomical and Astrological Lore," he says (page 247) : "THE SEVEN STARS, mentioned in *Lear*, I, v, 38 ; 1. *Henry IV.*, Aet I, II, 16 ; and in 2. *Henry IV.*, Aet II, iv, 201, are the Pleiads, or perhaps the Great Bear." This is, of course, the usual explanation.

The correect identification of "the seven stars," however, is found in note 3 on page 240 of the same volume, where he quotes "Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum" (1582), New Sh. Soe. Trans., 1877-79, p. 443 :—"whieh Sunne is placed among the seaven great Starres, called the seaven Planets . . . The Sunne is the fourth in placee, as it were a King in the middest of his throne."

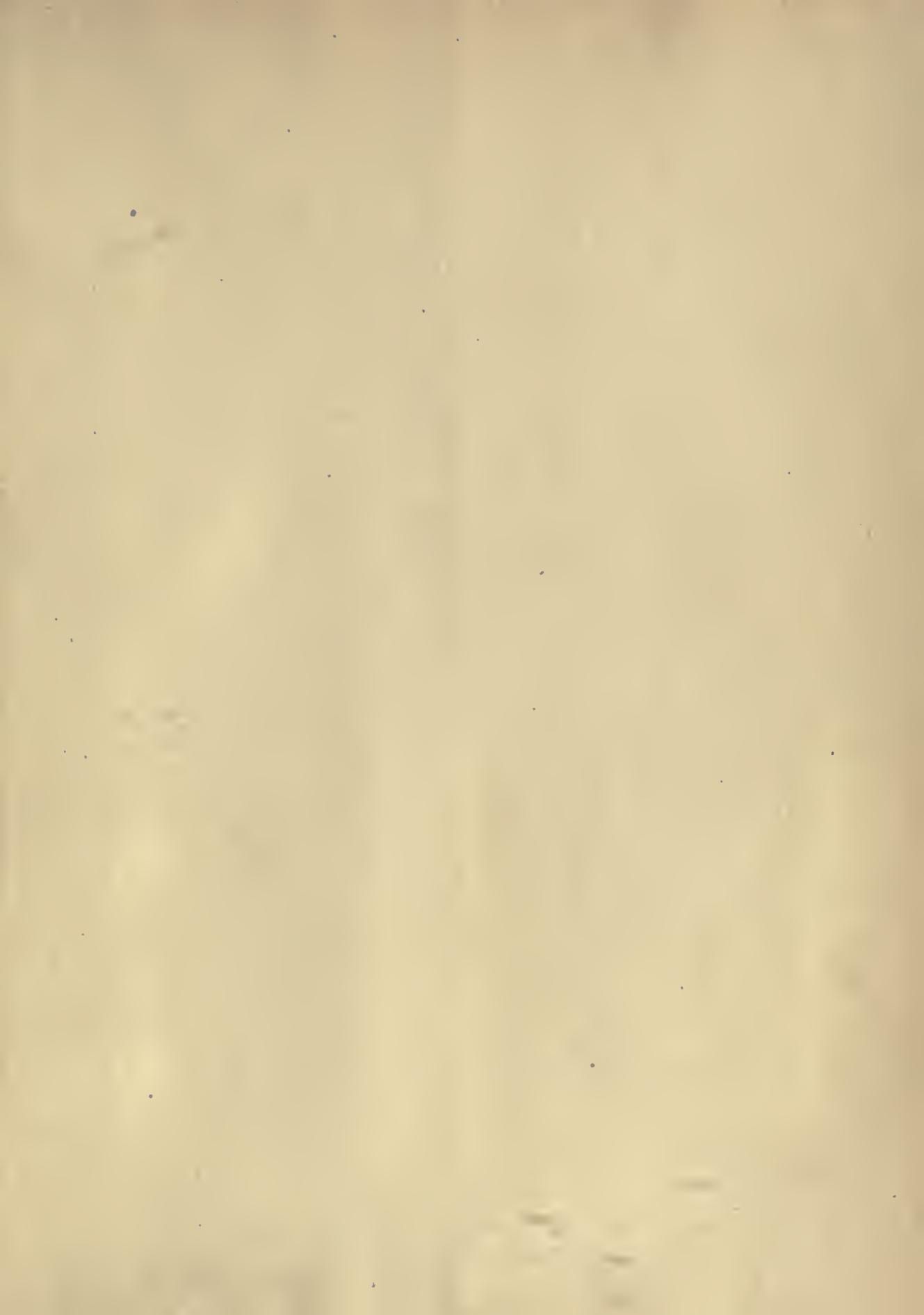
It is true that Falstaff uses the expression merely as an indefinite phrase, whieh it probably was to the general, for he exeludes sun and moon and speaks of the seven stars as nothing more than a symbol of night. Nevertheless, whatever may have been in Shakespeare's mind when he referred to these luminaries, a point that can hardly be determined, the seven stars had certainly been widely known, feared, and trusted ever since the days of Babylonian astrology.

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<sup>1</sup> *Schriften der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, I.









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